HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

SOUTH OF INDIA,

IN AN ATTEMPT TO TRACE THE

HISTORY OF MYSOOR;

FROM THE

ORIGIN OF THE HINDOO GOVERNMENT OF THAT STATE, TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE MOHAMMEDAN DYNASTY IN 1799.

FOUNDED CHIEFLY ON INDIAN AUTHORITIES COLLECTED BY THE AUTHOR WHILE OFFICIATING FOR SEVERAL YEARS AS

POLITICAL RESIDENT AT THE COURT OF MYSOOR.

BY LIEUT. COLONEL MARK WILKS.

VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION.

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JUL 1 1 ...

Prof. A. C. Coolidge
(2 vols)

PRINTED AT THE ASYLUM PRESS, MOUNT ROAD, BY WILLIAM THOMAS.

TO

COLONEL BARRY CLOSE,

THE FRIEND WHOSE INSTRUCTION

AND

AFFECTIONATE ATTACHMENT

HAVE BEEN

THE PRIDE AND DELIGHT OF THE BEST YEARS OF HIS LIFE,

AND THE CHIEF SOURCE

OF WHATEVER HE MAY HAVE DESERVED OR ATTAINED

OF DISTINCTION IN ITS PROGRESS,

THIS VOLUME,

THE EXECUTION OF WHICH

NO ONE IS MORE EMINENTLY QUALIFIED TO APPRECIATE,

IS DEDICATED,

AS A TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE, RESPECT AND AFFECTION,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is difficult to devise any plan for the orthography of Asiatic names that shall be entirely free from objection. The scheme of Sir William Jones would be unexceptionable, were it generally known to the English reader, but without this previous knowledge its adoption might tend to mislead. The letter u in Hindu, for example, would be the correct orthography for Italy ; but to convey the proper sound to the mere English reader we must write Hindoo. There is a variety of sounds which different persons, and even the same person at different times, will express by different English letters, and for practical purposes it is unnecessary to be fastidious in our choice. Whether we write Ali, Alee, or Aly, seems to be quite indifferent ; the second syllable will probably be pronounced the same manner. Where it is to be decided whether errors familiarised to the English ear should be rejected or retained, the rule which I have proposed to myself is to retain the error where it has been uniform, and to reject it where the spelling has been various. An example of each will explain this design. 1st. To substitute for the well known name Seringapatam the true orthography of Sreerung-puttoun, would not only have the appearance of affectation, but would produce real confusion. There are however some few exceptions to the general rule of retaining the error where it has been uniform. Adoni, for example, instead of Adwanee, is so violent a change, and so absolutely unintelligible to any native of India, that after having noticed the identity of the name where it first occurs, I have generally continued the latter spelling. 2d. In the various readings of the same capital Visapoor, Visiapore, Viziapoor, Bejapoor, Beejapoor, Beejapore, there is already abundant confusion, and this is not increased by restoring the true orthography Vijeyapoor. The same observation applies to Vijeyanuggur, and many other words. Two places named Balapoor, Balipoorum, Balabarum, Balipoor, have been written (as one or the other of the four

PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

By this re-print, the Publishers trust they have resuscitated an old, valuable, and now very scarce Historical Work. This Edition, offered at a third of the price which the original London Edition commands, forms two companion-volumes to the Madras re-print of "ORME'S History of Hindustan," more especially as WILKS continues the History of Southern India to 1799, while ORME closes in 1761.

The Publishers have spared no efforts to try and procure a biography of Colonel WILKS, but there appear to exist no materials for its formation. The only information they have met with, is the following extract from the *Asiatic Journal.*—Volume VIII, New Series. *May—August* 1832.

"Colonel Mark Wilks was for some years a vice-president of the "Society, (Asiatic), until increasing indisposition obliged him to "resign that office. His works, which are in the hands of every one "who takes an interest in whatever is connected with the British "empire, must prove an enduring monument of his fame. One of "his last efforts in the cause of Oriental literature was a masterly "analysis and statement of the contents of the philosophical work "of Nasír ud dín, of Tús, entitled *Akhlak i Naseri*, a metaphysical "treatise of great difficulty, and borrowed from the system of Aris- "totle. This essay was printed in the *Transactions* of the Society. "Of his 'History of Mysoor' it may be safely asserted that it, in con- "junction with many other important works, will prove to the world "that the East India Company has long possessed, among its most "active and laborious servants, men whose genius, talents, and ac- "quirements would confer distinction upon any country, however "enlightened. The 'History of Mysoor' displays a degree of re- "search, acumen, vigour, and elegance, that must render it a work "of standard importance in English literature. Colonel Wilks was "a native of the Isle of Man; he received a highly classical educa- "tion, with a view, we believe, of entering the church, from which "cause he did not proceed to India till he was upwards of twenty "years of age: after filling many distinguished situations as an "officer of the East India Company, in the south of India, he was "appointed Governor of St. Helena, and held this office until the "imprisonment of the late Emperor Napoleon on that island."

May 1869.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE first materials of the following work were collected for purposes connected with my public duties, without the most remote view to publication. Personal curiosity, and the increasing interest of the subject, induced me to pursue it, without any definite object, beyond that of rescuing from oblivion, before it should be lost for ever, the information possessed by living characters; and the farther examination of written authorities followed as a necessary and almost imperceptible consequence of what had already been done.

The public is little interested to know the gradation of circumstances by which I have been induced to prepare for publication the substance of a mass of materials collected with so little of fixed design, and still less of literary skill: but I may be permitted to observe, that in their existing state they could have been of little use if placed in abler hands, and that the task of translating, preparing, and arranging them for that purpose, would have been infinitely more laborious than that which I have undertaken.

Extensive opportunities of observing the characters and manners of the people whose transactions I describe, have afforded advantages which may compensate for some defects; but I am too well aware, that a person who has passed all but the earliest period of his life far removed from the ordinary opportunities of literary attainment must appear before the public with very humble pretensions. In presenting to my country a narrative of facts, I hope that I apprehend aright the moral obligations which I incur: and the errors of defective judgment, inadvertence, or unskilful narrative, are at the bar of public opinion.

The reference to authorities, so rigidly exacted in the western world, would be useless to the public in an undertaking where few of these authorities are before it; and the absence of all fixed design in writing many of the notes from which the work has been composed would render it a task of infinite labor, if it were of sufficient

importance, to retrace the manuscript authorities for every fact but as many of these manuscripts, and particularly those of the Mackenzie collection, may hereafter be deposited in some public institution, I have, in some cases, where the fact is either remarkable in itself, or liable to be controverted, endeavoured to state the authority where either memory or written reference has enabled me to trace it. For the rest, it may be satisfactory to the public to be furnished with a cursory account of the principal materials which have been employed.

1st. —An historical memoir, prepared at my request, under the direction of Poornia, the present able and distinguished minister of Mysoor, and his intelligent assistant Butcherow. The best informed natives of the country who were known to possess family manuscripts or historical pieces were assembled for this purpose; and the memoir is a compilation framed from a comparison of these authorities.

2nd - A Persian manuscript, entitled An Historical Account of the ancient Rajas of Mysoor, was found in 1799 in the palace at Seringapatam; it purports to have been " Translated in 1798, at the command of the Sultaun, by Assud Anwar, and Gholaum Hussein, with the assistance of Pootia Pundit, from two books in the Canara language :" this Persian manuscript was conveyed with other works to Calcutta, and I had not the opportunity of perusing it until the year 1807, when my friend Brigadier-General Malcolm obtained a copy from Bengal. A book in the Canara language, of which the contents were then unknown, was given in 1799 by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick, one of the commissioners for the affairs of Mysoor, to Major, now, Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Mackenzie, and has since been translated under his direction with scrupulous care. It is the Canara manuscript from which the Persian translation was made, and is entitled " *The succession of the kings of Mysoor, from ancient Times, as it is in the Canara Cuddutums, now written into a Book by command by Nuggur Pootia Pundit.* It is divided into two parts, as noticed in the Persian translation . the first contains the historical narrative; and the second, the series of territorial acquisitions. In the first the dates are recorded in the year of the cycle only; and in the second they are reckoned by the number of years which had elapsed from the compilation of the work, or, in the language of the original, *so many years ago.* The apparent embarrassment of fixing the chronology was easily surmounted by Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie. By ascertaining a single date, all the rest were at once arranged, and the manuscript was proved beyond all controversy to have been written in the year 1712-13.

The circumstances which regard the discovery of this manuscript are well known. On the death of Cham Raj Wadeyar, the father of the present Raja, in 1796, the family was transferred from the palace to the miserable hovel where they were found on the capture of Seringapatam in 1799. Among the plunder of everything

useful or apparently valuable, which was on that occasion carried off to the stores of the Sultaun, were accidentally thrown to *Cudduttums*,* which attracted his attention nearly two years afterwards, when he ordered them to be examined and translated : and two old Cudduttums, which Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie received along with the book in 1799, prove, on examination, to be the actual originals from which it was copied, and are probably the *two books* mentioned in the Persian translation. A short time before the real compilation of this document, the Raja Chick Deo Raj, who died in 1704, had directed an extensive collection to be made of historical materials, including all inscriptions then extant within his dominions, which were added to a library already reported to be voluminous: the abovementioned work is probably one of the memoirs prepared in conformity to his directions, but it appears to have been presented to his successor, and is a brief but correct record of events up to the year 1712. It is, however, to be regretted that the author furnishes no incidents beyond a mere chronicle of events, after the occupation of Seringapatam by Raj Wadeyar in 1610, probably restrained by prudential motives in respect to living characters. The Sultaun, in removing the Raja's family from the palace, had intended to destroy the building altogether; and gave orders for that purpose, which were afterwards changed. It was reported to him that several large apartments were full of books, chiefly of palm leaf and Cudduttums, and he was asked how they were to be disposed of. "Transfer them," said he, "to the royal stables, as fuel to boil the cooltee (grain on which horses are fed):" and this was accordingly done. A small miscellaneous collection was preserved from this destruction by the

* *Cudduttum, curruttum, or currut*, a long slip of cotton cloth, from eight inches to a foot wide, and from twelve to eighteen feet long, skilfully covered on each side with a compost of paste and powdered charcoal. When perfectly dry, it is neatly folded up, without cutting, in leaves of equal dimensions ; to the two end folds are fixed ornamented plates of wood, painted and varnished, resembling the sides of a book, and the whole is put into a case of silk or cotton, or tied with a tape or ribbon ; those in use with the lower classes are destitute of these ornaments, and are tied up by a common string : the book, of course, opens at either side, and if unfolded and drawn out, is still a long slip of the original length of the cloth. The writing is similar to that on a slate, and may be in like manner rubbed out and renewed. It is performed by a pencil of the *balapum*, or lapis ollaris ; and this mode of writing was not only in ancient use for records and public documents, but is still universally employed in Mysoor by merchants and shopkeepers. I have even seen a bond, regularly witnessed, entered on the cudduttum of a merchant, produced and received in evidence.

This is the word *kirret*, translated (of course conjecturally) *palm leaves* in Mr. Crisp's translation of Tippoo's regulations. The Sultaun prohibited its use in recording the public accounts : but although liable to be expunged, and affording facility to fraudulent entries, it is a much more durable material and record than the best writing on the best paper, or any other substance used in India, copper and stone alone excepted. It is probable that this is the linen or cotton cloth described by Arrian from Nearchus, on which the Indians wrote.—Vincent's Nearchus, part 15., Art. 717.

pious artifice of a bramin, who begged the apartment might be respected, as containing the *penates* of the family. This room was opened in the confusion of the 4th of May 1799, and a large portion of the contents fell into the hands of a British officer.

I have reason to believe, that through various channels I have had access to copies of most of the historical tracts which this collection contained,* and among these was the record of a curious inquiry into the state of the family about the year 1716, for the purpose of ascertaining which of the branches had preserved the true blood of the house unpolluted by unworthy connections; when, out of thirty-one branches, thirteen were pronounced to be legitimate, and eighteen were excluded from the privilege of giving wives or successors to the reigning Raja.

3rd.—Two manuscripts, corresponding to each other in all material circumstances, preserved in different branches of the family of the ancient Dulwoys of Mysoor.†

4th.—A great variety of smaller manuscripts and memoirs in different languages, and of various degrees of merit, relative to detached facts: such, for example, as a memoir of the ancestry of the late Mohammedan dynasty, prepared at my request by the officiating priests at the mausoleum of the grandfather of the late Tippoo Sultaun at Colar; characters of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun, from the pen of my valuable friend Seyed Hussein, Persian secretary to the Raja of Mysoor &c &c.

5th.—The extensive and valuable collection of grants, generally of a religious nature, inscribed on stone or copper, which are in the possession of my friend Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Mackenzie of the corps of engineers on the establishment of Fort St. George. These ancient documents are of a singularly curious texture; they almost always fix the chronology, and frequently unfold the genealogy and military history of the donor and his ancestors, with all that is remarkable in their civil institutions, or religious reforms; and the facts derived from these inscriptions are illustrated by a voluminous collection of manuscripts which can only be trusted with confidence, so far as they are confirmed by these authentic documents. The manuscript of Po[illegible]a, which seemed to deserve a separate description, belongs to this collection which at the period of my departure from Madras, amounted to near one thousand seven hundred grants, and six hundred MSS.

The department of ancient history in the East is so deformed

* If the collection of Sasanums, or inscriptions, has been preserved, it may be considered as an historical manuscript of great value. A few days before my embarkation from Madras its probable existence was ascertained, and I trust that it has been added to the Mackenzie collection.

† *Dulwoy, general*, from Dul, an army (Canara). The word is translated sometimes minister, but more frequently regent, in the records of Madras, and in Mr Orme's history. Nunjeraj, the person who commanded the Mysoor troops at Trichinopoly from 1752 to 1756, held also the appointment of minister of finance, or rather, he and his brother had usurped the whole power of the State in all its departments.

by fable and anachronism, that it may be considered an absolute blank in Indian literature. There is no hope that this important defect will ever be supplied, except from an extensive collection of such documents. Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie has devoted to this pursuit the leisure which he has been enabled to snatch from a long course of active and meritorious service; and has formed, under numerous discouragements, a stupendous and daily increasing collection of all that is necessary to illustrate the antiquities, the civil, military and religious institutions, and ancient history, of the south of India; and I trust that he will in due time communicate to the public the result of his extraordinary perseverance.

I am obliged to Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie for several valuable communications on particular periods of history, written expressly for my aid and information in arranging the materials of the present work: and I cannot acknowledge in terms of too much gratitude how largely I am indebted to an unlimited access to the study of the collection which I have described, and to an intercourse entirely unreserved with its worthy possessor, and his large establishment of learned native assistants, for whatever knowledge I possess of the ancient history of the south of India: a ground on which I have but slightly touched for the illustration of later events.

6th.—The fifth chapter of the present work was written at as early a period as possible, for the purpose of subjecting its facts to the most rigorous test. It was accordingly submitted to the examination of numerous friends, well qualified to correct errors, most of them holding the highest situations under the Government of Fort St. George. Mr. Francis Ellis, a name which it will hereafter be permitted to quote as authority, has furnished me with a learned note,* on a particular subject of discussion, which will be found in the Appendix; and the reader will join with me in regretting the want of more numerous illustrations from the same pen. Mr. Ellis wrote in pencil, on blank leaves, which were inserted for the purpose, such observations as occurred to him on perusing the manuscript of that chapter, and very kindly gave me discretionary permission to apply the facts which they contain: this is the foundation of those notes on that and other parts of the work which refer to his authority.

This profound and ingenious orientalist had in contemplation a work of great labor and public utility, namely, the translation into modern Tamul and English of the Sanscrit text of the ancient law tract, most esteemed in the south, named Vignyan Ishwar, with notes showing the variations of doctrine exhibited in the more modern work of Videyarannea; of which some notices will be found in the fifth chapter of this work: and I advert to the design, in the hope that it may attract the attention of those who ought to patronize and promote it.

7th.—Notes and extracts from the records of the Government of

* The reader is requested to supply an omission of the printer by referring to this note from p. 128.

Fort St. George, to which I had unlimited access from the confidential situations which I had the honor to hold under Earl Powis, and by the obliging permission of Lord William Bentinck, and of Mr. Petrie, during their respective Governments. These results of a long and laborious examination have been rendered less satisfactory from the very defective state of the earlier records. Of the labor itself, Mr. Orme has correctly observed, that it probably exceeds the conception of any of his readers, excepting the keeper of the records.

The removal from Seringapatam to Calcutta of the official records of the late dynasty of Mysoor, had deprived me of an authentic source of information on a variety of subjects. I had hoped, through the interposition of a friend, and the sanction of Sir George Barlow, when Governor-General, which was readily given, to procure an examination of these records for certain special purposes. But I am aware that the labor is greater than can be expected from gentlemen fully occupied by their official duties, on whom I have no personal claims. My expectations from this and some other sources are now extinguished; but although I have been compelled by severe ill-health to leave India at an earlier period than was consistent with the plan which I had formed for completing the work in that country, I hope that I have been able to authenticate by other means most of the facts for which I was desirous to refer to those authorities; and I have since my arrival in England received from Colonel William Kirkpatrick, who long filled with distinguished ability very important public situations in Bengal, some unexpected lights on the subject of a portion of these records, which will demand a more particular acknowledgment in the second volume, to which they chiefly apply.

Acknowledgments to all who have assisted my researches would include a long and respectable list; but I am particularly indebted to Colonel Close, political resident at the Court of Poona, whose observations give light and strength to whatever they approach; to the correct judgment and extensive knowledge of Colonel Agnew; to Mr. Hodgson, and Mr. Thackery, members of the board of revenue, and to Mr. Hurdis of the Sudder Adawlut, for the lights derived from their official labors, and for directing my attention to other valuable records in their respective departments connected with the discussions of the fifth chapter.

I have some doubt how far I am at liberty to mention my obligations to Sir James Mackintosh, who was so good as to peruse the detached portions of this volume which were written in India;* but I trust that he will receive with kindness this public acknowledgment of the instruction which I have received from his observations.

8th. Two military memoirs compiled in the Persian language under my own direction, by Abbas Ali, the field secretary of the late Hyder Ali Khan, from the written memoirs, or oral statements of two distinct assemblies of the oldest and most intelligent military

* The greater part was written during the voyage from India to England.

officers of the late dynasty. Over one of these presided Budder u Zeman Khan, an old officer of distinguished talents and cultivated understanding, well known to the troops of Bombay by his respectable defence of Darwar. The other meeting was directed for a time by Lutf Ali Beg, one of Tippoo Sultaun's embassadors to Constantinople in 1785, and the defender of Nundidroog in 1791. This venerable old gentleman terminated his earthly career before he had finished the compilation, which he had kindly undertaken; and the remainder of the narrative was chiefly directed by Jehan Khan, the officer who repulsed the flower of Sir Eyre Coote's army from the fortified Pagoda of Chillumbrum in June 1781, and was desperately wounded in the breach of Seringapatam in 1799; a plain, unlettered old soldier, of clear and distinct understanding, and a memory uncommonly retentive and correct.

9th.—A history of Coorg, written by the present Raja, whose romantic character and adventures are well known in India. Its pretensions to profound historical research are not extensive, but it presents some characteristic traits of the mountaineers of the west of India, which are singularly curious.

10th.—Desultory memoranda, containing the results of repeated personal intercourse with every surviving individual, sufficiently well informed for my purpose, who had been employed under the late dynasty in civil, military, or diplomatic situations: and written memoirs from the most intelligent of them on such transactions as were most interesting or important.

11th.—The last in this enumeration is a work written under the personal direction of the late Tippoo Sultaun himself; and as this circumstance will probably excite some curiosity, I shall here subjoin a short account of this remarkable performance.

The title of the work is *Sultaun u Towareekh* or the *King of Histories;* the substance was dictated by Tippoo Sultaun himself and the work composed by Zein-ul-ab-u-Deen Shusteree,* brother of Meer Aalum, the late minister at Hyderabad.

The style of the work is an example of the false taste introduced into modern works in the Persian language; but it is the style of a person well skilled in that sort of composition, and accomplished in the literature of Persia.

It begins, as is usual, with the praises of God and the prophet, his descendants and approved associates, in a manner which holds a middle course between the tenets of the Sultaun and his secretary, who were of opposite sects† of the Mohammedan religion.

* Shusteree; his family-name being from Shuster; the Suza of the western geographers.

† Tippoo, although educated, and usually classing himself, as a Soonee, affected a superiority of religious knowledge, which looked down on all the sects, and aspired to the character of inspiration: but his zeal for holy war gave him a particular veneration for the character of *Ali*, the doctrines of whose sect he seemed on many occasions to patronize more than those of Ooner (or the Soonee) in which he had been educated.

The author then proceeds to a dissertation on the gradations of creation; the dissimilitude and inequality of men in their mental qualities, as well as in their exterior appearance. This inequality, he observes, has existed even in the apostles, sent at different periods by the Almighty to enlighten mankind: it exists also among the inferior orders of men: Government is requisite for the protection of mankind, and kings have existed in every age: the same distinctions are observable in the relative characters of kings, as among the apostles above them, and the mass of mankind below them, and the proof of this relative superiority of one king over another is exemplified *in the superiority of Tippoo Sultaun, over all kings, ancient and modern.* The author then goes on for several pages to compare the Sultaun with the sun, the moon, the stars, and the planets; the prophets and apostles; and the most celebrated kings and philosophers of antiquity, in a style of accomplished extravagance and absurdity.

Such, he proceeds, was Tippoo Sultaun, the author of incomparable inventions and regulations to be recorded in this work; which is intended for the exclusive instruction of his own descendants: and if any other sovereign should adopt by stealth any of these inventions, "he must necessarily be classed among the said descendants;" that is to say, according to the gross and obscene dialect of this court, hereafter to be noticed, of which the Sultaun could not divest himself even in his literary pursuits, "Tippoo Sultaun must be considered to have embraced the mother of the supposed imitator."

The secretary seems to have been ashamed of this early specimen; for, in the very next sentence, which is more than usually involved and inflated, apparently to conceal his purpose, he takes an opportunity of informing the reader, that many passages of the work are of the express dictation of the Sultaun himself.

The work is proposed to be divided into two volumes; first, the genealogy and life of the Sultaun's grandfather and father; second, the life of *Tippoo Sultaun.*

The first volume proceeds no farther than the early youth of Hyder—a blank ensues, and the second commences abruptly with the accession of Tippoo Sultaun in 1783 and is continued to 1789; after some blank leaves, follows a second edition of the genealogy; both of them are equally remote from the truth; and in the narrative of transactions from 1783 to 1789, although some of his successful military operations are related with a respectable degree of clearness and precision, those in which his arms were unfortunate can scarcely be recognized, in the turgid and fabulous shape which the Sultaun has assigned to them.

On the first mention of the English, and sometimes where they are not opposed to him, he is pleased to call them *Nazarenes* (from Nazareth); but on other occasions they are "*rascally infidels*" and a *runaway* race. In narrating their attacks, they are compared to

wounded wild-boars, and in other passages they are a *race of demons*. Madras has the honorable name of the City of *Hermaphrodites*; and the Nabob Mohammed Ali Khan, the contemptuous designation of *the Christian*.

The French officers are treated by the writer without incivility, until their refusal to continue hostilities at Mangalore, in 1783, after the conclusion of a peace between their nation and the English: from that period Mons. Cossigni is called *Nau Sirdar* (viz., the privative *nau* prefixed to the word *officer*); and the nation *fundamentally faithless*.

The character of the Sultaun's literary taste is displayed throughout the work in a strange selection of terms, and a misspelling of the names of his opponents, for the purpose of giving them a contemptuous or obscene meaning: a few examples to explain this species of wit and illustrate the usual phraseology of the Sultaun, are thrown into shade at the bottom of the page.*

It was impossible to give any tolerable view of the nature of the performance, and it will be equally impracticable to convey even a faint idea of the manners of the court during the late dynasty, without some offence against delicacy; but the transgressions will, I trust, be found as few and as slight as the nature of the subject could possibly admit. I shall conclude this account of the *King of Histories* with a specimen of the performance.

When Brigadier-General Macleod appeared the second time before Mangalore, he is made to address a letter† to the Sultaun, challenging a combat between equal numbers, for the purpose of deciding the war: the following is the Sultaun's reply:—

* *Mukaad* is the place where any person sits down, it is also the part of the body on which a person sits. It suited the chosen dialect of the Sultaun to make use of this term to describe the place of encampment of the enemy. *Soherab Jung*, a *Soherab* in war; the title of the Nizam's late minister. *Soherab* was the son of *Rustum*, the Persian hero; it is written *Shoreab*, which causes it to signify *brackish water*. *Tohuvvur Jung*, *valiant in war*, is converted into *Teheber Jung*, *undermost in war*. *Oote Naick*, the name of a Coorg insurgent, is written *Coote Naick*, *Captain Dog*. *Appa Bulwunt*, one of the Mahratta chiefs, is written *Amma Bulwunt*, Mother Bulwunt: and finally, the word *Mahratta*, or rather Mharatta, which, when written in the Hindoo-Persic character, is properly spelled with the aspirate, and sharp Hindoostanee *Te* with four points, has always the aspirate omitted, and the Hindoostanee is converted into the thick Persian *Te* with *two* points; *Marata*; which new orthography produces a word signifying *Catamite*. A copy of the work was in the house of Zein-ul-ab-u-deen, bound in a splendid cover with a lock and key to secure it. A zealous adherent of the late dynasty, of whose veracity in this instance I cannot doubt, in a visit to Zein-ul-ab-u-deen observed the book, and asked, as matter of conversation, what it was. Zein-ul-ab-u-deen excused himself from giving a direct answer, and referred the enquirer to an endorsement on its cover in the Persian language, of which the following is a verbal translation. "Si quis, sine regis imperio, hunc librum aperiens, in eum intueatur, numinis execratione, et regis ira implicitus erit, ac quod si matris in vulvam inspexisset, idem se crimen commisisse censeat." It was generally known that *Zein-ul-ab-u-deen* and the Sultaun were engaged in such a work, and that no other person was permitted to see it.

† The state of the fact will be discussed in its proper place.

"It is admitted, by the concurring testimony of all religions, that no apostle, excepting the seal of the apostles, has been invested with the power of the sword: and that the text of 'Slay them wheresoever thou canst find them,' has descended from the almighty Avenger to no other. That holy personage did, in conformity to the command of the great Creator, let loose the *infidel destroying* sword, without distinction, on the Jews, the Nazarenes, the Sabians, and other idolaters. And the victorious lion of the Lord (Ali), who was the rightful Imaum,* and the absolute vicegerent of the seal of the prophets, removed the darkness of infidelity and association (that is the doctrine of assigning to God associates in power), and sent abundance of associators on the road to the abode of misery.

"But your apostle, the holy Messiah, according to universal admission, was not invested by the Almighty with the power of the sword, and never did undertake a holy war. It is evident, moreover, from authentic books, that you *falsely* arrogate to yourselves the religion of the Messiah; that you support the doctrine of the *trinity*, absolutely associating other persons with God, and thereby enrol yourselves with idolaters; and that you perpetrate forbidden things, such as drinking wine, eating swine's flesh, gaming, usury, and every other act which by the universal consent of mankind is held to be a vice. Therefore God, and the apostle of God, that is the Messiah, and all his elect, abominate and abhor you, and you have incurred the wrath of the throne of God.

"Wherefore, all sects being bound by the laws and precepts of their respective apostles, it follows, that killing and slaying,† and bravery and heroism, and holy war, and the destruction of infidels, and the arts which belong to the gallant and the brave, have descended as an hereditary right to us from our apostle.

"If thou hast any doubt of all this, descend, as thou hast written, from thy ships with thy forces, and taste the flavour of the blows inflicted by the hands of the holy warriors, and behold the terror of the religion of Mohammed; but on that same condition which thou hast written, that soldier opposed to soldier, and officer to officer, in single combat with such weapons as they shall choose, shall determine which is the better man.

'Like a man remove fear from thy imagination,
Make no more idle evasions *like* a woman.'‡

General Macleod is then stated to have fled on the same night; and the English are admitted as suppliants to liberal conditions of peace.

* The Sultaun must have been but a lukewarm Sunni to have conceded to his secretary this fundamental doctrine of the Sheea sect.

† These repetitions of synonyms are preserved for the purpose of rendering the translation as close and as verbal as the idioms of the two languages will admit.

‡ This also is stated to be a specimen of the taste of the Sultaun, which cannot be explained without the most gross indecency.

Since my arrival in England I have been indebted to the Court of Directors for access to the records and library at the India House, and I have to acknowledge the most obliging attention from every officer of that house with whom I have had occasion to communicate. These records are still more imperfect than those at Madras; but each contains materials that are wanting in the other. My chief intercourse has hitherto been with Mr. Jackson, the register and keeper of the ancient records, which, although extremely defective, afford some valuable matter for the general historian, and extensive materials for a life of Sevajee, which had escaped the researches of Mr. Orme. It is but common justice to Mr. Jackson to notice his clear and intelligent arrangement of these disjointed materials, and the very laborious process by which he has rendered the reference to every record, whether in the order of the subject or the date, perfectly simple and satisfactory.

In a pursuit which from its nature precludes a recourse to the ordinary means of preventing inaccuracy, I am far from presuming to expect that an ardent desire for truth has in every instance attained its object; and communications, accompanied by the requisite authorities which may enable me to correct errors, will be thankfully acknowledged, if the public should ever call for a second edition.

It was intended that the design of this work should be completed by the publication of the whole at this period; but precarious health has prevented the execution of this intention; and the same cause forbids me to speak with confidence of the very early appearance of a second and last volume. Its preparation, however, shall not be unnecessarily intermitted; but the delay will afford me the opportunity of being governed by public opinion, according to which I shall be prepared to prosecute the design with spirit, or to abandon it without severe reluctance.

PREFACE

OF

THE SECOND AND THIRD VOLUMES

(Of the Original London Edition.)

WHEN an interval of several years has elapsed, between the publication of a first and second volume, the readers of the work may think themselves entitled to some explanation of the causes of delay.

There was no affectation in the original announcement, that the appearance of a second volume, or the entire abandonment of the design, would depend on the reception of the first; and I waited the event with entire resignation. Those periodical publications, which influence public opinion, and may be deemed its organs, were not early in their notice of the first volume: but there is, if possible, less affectation in declaring, that their approbation, when it did appear, exceeded my expectations. The work was resumed, but no considerable progress had been made, when it was interrupted, by a call of public duty to a foreign station, from which I only returned in June 1816; and by subsequent causes, improper to be obtruded on public notice, which unhappily fixed my mind on other cares.

Inexperience or unskilfulness have caused this portion of the work to double the original calculation; and the second and third volumes are now presented to the world, with the disadvantage of unexpected circumstances, which have interfered with a sufficiently careful revision of a certain portion of their contents. This explanation applies not to the matter, but the manner. If I were aware of any errors of fact, the work should stop, at whatever stage; but I submit to the responsibility of minor faults.

I have received a liberal extension of aid in the researches connected with these volumes, and some, of which I am restrained from making a particular acknowledgment.

A continuation of access to the records at the India House, was greatly facilitated by the kind attention of the late Mr. Hudson, to whose department those records belonged.

I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Henry Cosby, for the perusal of his accurate journal of the war of 1767-69, and for personal explanations of great value.

To my long-known and cordial friend, Colonel Allan, I am obliged for his intelligent and interesting journal of the campaigns of 1790, 1791, 1792 and 1799, with the drawings and plans necessary for their complete illustration; and for a mass of regularly arranged historical materials, from 1767 to 1799, which would have exceedingly abridged my own labors at Madras and at the India House, if I had known of their existence in sufficient time.

From my friend, Sir John Kennaway, I have received the communication of numerous and valuable facts, connected with his own diplomatic services from 1788 till 1792: and a voluminous collection of documents in the Persian language, bequeathed to him by the late Colonel William Kirkpatrick, comprising, among others, a variety of original compositions, in the hand-writing of the late Tippoo Sultaun; and consultations authenticated by the original signatures of his ministers. Translations of some of these are published in Kirkpatrick's curious collection of Tippoo's letters, to which my obligations are acknowledged in the body of the work; and the unpublished portion has afforded many valuable facts and illustrations.

The delicacy involved in the later periods of this work requires no explanation: but in these periods, the circle is enlarged of those friends, who may be enabled, not only to detect inaccuracies, but to furnish me with the requisite authorities for their correction, in a future edition, if the Public should demand it.

LONDON,
25th June 1817.

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have followed each other, in a succession more strangely complex, rapid, and destructive, as the events more deeply recede into the gloom of antiquity.

The rude valour which had achieved a conquest, was seldom combined with the sagacity requisite for interior rule; and the fabric of the conquered state, shaken by the rupture of its ancient bonds, and the substitution of instruments clumsy, unapt, and misapplied, either fell to sudden ruin, or gradually dissolved. If the energies of a new dynasty sometimes preserved, for a few generations, the semblance of wisdom and vigour, still the imperceptible consequences of wealth, by relaxing its force, subverting the allegiance of its subjects and dependent chiefs, or inciting the cupidity of its neighbours, had already undermined the tottering state when it appeared to have attained its highest prosperity.

Whether these revolutions were produced by a sudden or a gradual dissolution of the former government, the consequences were nearly the same. Almost every village became a separate state, in constant warfare with its neighbours; the braver and more fortunate chiefs enlarging their boundaries, and augmenting their force; and thus proceeding by rapid strides to the erection of new dynasties.

From causes resembling those which have been thus slightly sketched, there is perhaps not one ruling family in the south of India that has the least pretension to any considerable antiquity; but the difficulty of tracing their origin is not diminished in proportion to its distance from those remote periods which bury all the tribes of the earth in a common darkness. The insignificance of the rulers contributes in this case equally with the lapse of time to that obscurity which hangs over the early history of every people.

In attempting to trace in an intelligible manner the rise and progress of one of these dynasties, whose later history, and that of its Mohammedan subverters, is inseparably connected with the transactions of the British nation in India; it will be necessary to present a sketch, however imperfect, of the state of the south of India, about the period when that dynasty began to emerge from obscurity.

The name of *Deckan*, *Detchin*, or South, was formerly applied by Hindoo geographers to the whole of those countries which are situated to the south of the river Nermudda or Nerbudda; but the fixed possessions of the Mohammedans having for many centuries after their invasion of the Deckan extended no farther south than the river Kistna, the term Deckan came to signify, in Hindostan, the countries situated between those two rivers only: and such is the popular acceptation of its southern limit at the present day. For the convenience of distinguishing this tract from the more southern regions, this is the sense in which it is proposed to apply

the term *Deckan* in the course of this work; and whenever "the south of India" shall be mentioned, it is intended (unless otherwise explained) to describe the regions situated to the south of the river Kistna.

With the exception of the low countries forming the northern extremity of the Deckan, which we shall have little occasion to discuss, the great geographical feature of these united regions of the south is a central eminence, elevated from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, separated by wild, abrupt, and mountainous declivities, from the low flat countries to the east and west, which form a belt of small but unequal breadth between the hills and the ocean. This central eminence is usually named the Bala-ghaut, and the lower belt the Payeen Ghaut: words which respectively signify the countries above and below the passes of the mountains.

Identity of language may safely be admitted to prove identity of origin; and in the absence of more direct evidence constitutes a criterion of political union, less liable to change from the influence of time than any other test that can be proposed.

The ancient divisions of the country may accordingly be traced with greater probability by the present limits of the spoken languages than by any other guide which is easily accessible; and the names of countries have undergone such extraordinary changes, that some confusion may be avoided by briefly adverting to their ancient designations.

The principality which in later times has been named from the obscure village of Mysoor, was the south-western portion of the ancient Carnatic, frequently named also the country of Canara, or the country in which the Canara language was spoken. According to this criterion, the northern limits of that extensive region commenced near the town of Beder in the latitude of 18° 45' N., about 60 miles N. W. from Hyderabad; following the course of this language to the S. E. it is found to be limited by a waving line which nearly touches Adwanee (Adoni), winds to the west of Gooti, skirts the town of Anantpoor, and passing exactly through Nundidroog, touches the range of Eastern Ghauts; thence pursuing their southern course to the mountainous pass of Gujjelhutty, it continues to follow the abrupt turn caused by the great chasm of the western hills, between the towns of Coimbetoor, Palatchi, and Palgaut, and sweeping to the N. W. skirts the edges of the precipitous western Ghauts, nearly as far north as the sources of the Kistna; whence following first an eastern and afterwards a north-eastern course, it terminates in rather an acute angle near Beder, already described as its northern limit.

From Beder the Mahratta language is spread over the whole country to the north-westward of the Canara, and of a line, which passing considerably to the eastward of Dowletabad, forms an irregular sweep until it touches the Tapti, and follows the course of

that river to the western sea, on which the district of Sedashegur, in North Canara, forms its southern limit.

In the geographical tables of the Hindoos, the name of Maharashtra, and, by contraction, Mahratta dasum (or country) seems to have been more particularly appropriated to the eastern portion of this great region, including Baglana, part of Berar and Candeish : the western was known by its present name of Concan.

The Telinga,* formerly called the Kalinga, language occupies the space to the eastward of the Mahratta, from near Cicacole, its northern, to within a few miles of Pulicat, its southern boundary, with the intervention, however, in a stripe of small dimension, of the savage Tongue of the Goands. This space was divided into the Andra and Kalinga dasums, or countries; the former to the south, the latter to the north of the river Godaveri; but at the period of the Mohammedan conquest, the greater part of these united provinces seems to have been known to that people by the name of Telingana, and Warankul as the capital of the whole.

The Tamul language is spoken in the tract extending to the south of the Telinga as far as Cape Comorin, and from the sea to the great range of hills, including the greater part of the Baramahal, and Salem, and the country now called Coimbetoor, and formerly Kangiam,† along which line it is bounded to the west by the Canara and Malabar. This whole tract had formerly the name of Drauveda, and is so distinguished at this day by its western and northern neighbours; although in the course of political events the greater part of it is known to Europeans exclusively by the name of Carnatic, of which country it never formed a part,‡ and was comparatively a recently conquered province: the cause of this misnomer will hereafter be traced; first, to the residence in that province of the fugitive king of Carnatic, after the Mohammedan conquest of the country properly so called; and, secondly, to the partition of the dominions of the Carnatic between the Kings of Golconda and Vijeyapoor; who, in the division of a country of which they were grossly ignorant, were satisfied with the sweeping designations of Carnatic above and below the ghauts. The subordinate divisions of Drauveda

* That which, apparently by a strange modification of the term Gentile, Europeans have thought proper to name *Gentoo*, a word unknown to the Indians.

† In the southern part of Mysoor the Tamul language is at this day named the *Kangee*, from being best known to them as the language of the people of Kangiam. In the central portion of Mysoor it is for a similar reason named the *Drauvedee*; farther north, by the Telingas, and universally by the Mohammedans, the *Arawee*, a term of doubtful origin. Here we have four Hindoo appellations for the same language, and Europeans have added a fifth, by miscalling it the *Malabar*.

‡ A Poona Mahratta at this day, when speaking of the Carnatic, means the countries south of the Kistna, which we have described as belonging to the ancient Carnatic, distinctly including Savanoor and Mysoor.

were named from the three rival dynasties of Cholan*, Cheran, and Pandian; the former, governing in Tanjore and Combaconum, possessed the northern tract; Pandian had Madura and the south; and Cheran united Kangiam and Salem to the dominions of Kerala or Malabar. The exact limits of these kingdoms cannot now be traced, and without doubt were in a state of incessant change: it is only known with certainty, that they met near to Caroor, about 40 miles W. of Trichinopoly; a town which alternately passed into the hands of each of the rival dynasties.

Rounding the southern promontory of Cape Comorin, we find on the western coast the Malabar language, which extends over Travancore and Malabar, formerly named Kerala, as far north as Neeleshwur†; from thence to Sedasheghur, south of Goa, we find the Toolava language and the country of Toolava. In some tables Toolava is considered as a subdivision of Kerala, which is said to have extended from Gokurn round Cape Comorin, to the river Tambrapurni in Tinnevelly. The tract distinguished in our records as the province of Canara, by a fatality unexampled in the history of nations, neither is nor ever was known by that name to the people of the province, or of any part of India. Voyagers finding that it was a dependency of the kingdom of Canara, and probably that the officers of Government spoke that language, fell into the error which I have thought it necessary to notice, and gave that name to the country of Toolava‡.

* [illegible] in the records of Fort St. George, [illegible] Cholo, or Choramundul. See the first [illegible] No. II. In Sanscrit, the primitive meaning of the [illegible] country. In Tamul, [illegible] letter in this word, usually [illegible] between the L, the R, and the [illegible] the tongue in the portion [illegible] easily be traced by [illegible] it would strike the ear of an [illegible] write the letter R [illegible] With regard to the [illegible] The place [illegible] to give the name [illegible] Ptolemy [illegible] was probably the country [illegible] been governed by [illegible] [illegible]

† [illegible] Nilesvar, or Nil Kantesh [illegible] one of his fabulous [illegible] of Ptolemy and the [illegible]

‡ [illegible] to trace the name Lamurika as this province is

Of the countries which have been thus briefly noticed, Travancore, Malabar, and South Canara alone escaped Mohammedan conquest, until the two latter were invaded by Hyder in 1763-6. Whenever Ferishta mentions expeditions to Malabar, it will be found, on examining the geographical positions of the places enumerated, that the operations of the troops were confined to the hilly belt along the summit of the ghauts from Soonda to Coorg*, and certainly never descended into the provinces at present designated as South Canara and Malabar; although their conquests from the side of Concan extended as far into North Canara as Mirjan and Ankola, and at one time even to Honaver (Onore). The ancient history of these regions may, I trust, be considered as a province already occupied, and the scope of the present work does not require that we should touch an earlier period than that of the Mohammedan invasion of the Decan.

The first† Mussulman force which ever crossed the mountains south of the Tapti was led by Alla u Deen, nephew and afterwards successor of Ferose the Patan king of Delhi in 1293. The booty obtained from Deogire, the Tagara of Ptolemy, and the modern Dowlutabad, in this wonderful predatory achievement, was an incentive to future invasion ; the place was finally taken, and the Rajah Ram Deo was carried a prisoner to Delhi, in 1306, by Kafoor, or Melick Naib, the General of Alla u Deen.

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called by the ancient geographers of the west. Captain Wilford, (9th Vol. As. Res.) conjectures this name to be derived from the kings of Muru, mentioned in the grant from Conjeveram, translated by Sir W. Jones in the third Vol. of that work, with the Arabic article *Al* changed into *Li* : but exclusively of this violent deviation from the genius of a language, Sir William Jones, in a note on this word, expressly warns us against concluding with certainty that Muru was the name of a country. I have not had the opportunity of obtaining a copy of the original grant, for the purpose of having it discussed by the Pundits of the south : but so far as my examination of geographical lists, and discussions of the subject with a great variety of learned natives, enables me to judge, I am disposed to think that no country in the south of India was ever known to the natives by the name of Muru, Lymura, or Lymurika. The latter syllable is considered by Dr. Vincent as the adjective termination, the name of the country being Lymura or Lymyra; and in referring to Strabo and Ptolemy for the description of a town of that name in Lycia, it so exactly corresponds with the geographical position of most of the towns on the western coast of India, (" then follow the mouths of the river Lymyra, and ascending it twenty stadia the town of Lymyra." Strabo, lib. 14.) that a plausible conjecture may be indulged of the name having been applied by a Lycian among the first Greek mariners, from its resemblance to his native place, in the same manner as we find the navigators of the west giving European names to transatlantic stations, and as we know to have been the practice of the Greeks in many remarkable instances recorded by Dr. Vincent ; from whose Voyage of Nearchus I transcribe the following example : " Hence it is that the names of " *Tyrus* and *Aradus* have been transplanted from Phœnicia on the Mediterra- " nean into the Gulph of Persia, as if mariners brought from thence had carried " the names of their country with them."

* The Mysoor stated to have been taken, is a place of that name near the Toombuddra, written Masoor in some of our maps.

† The dates of the accurate Ferishta are verified (with few exceptions) by inscriptions and manuscripts in the Mackenzie collection.

The earliest Mohammedan army that ever crossed the Kistna was led, in 1310-11, by the same Kafoor, against Dhoorsummoodder,* the capital of Bellal Deo, sovereign of Carnatic. The curious and interesting ruins† of this place have recently been discovered by Major Mackenzie, and identified by inscriptions near to the modern village of Hallabe, about 105 miles N. W. of Seringapatam. Bellal Deo was defeated in a great battle, and the army of Kafoor returned to Delhi, literally loaded with gold. An expedition, sent by Mohammed III. in 1326, finally destroyed the capital of Doorsummoodder‡, when the seat of the declining government was removed to Tonoor,§ 12 miles N. from Seringapatam.

There is ground for believing that the Bellal dynasty extended its possessions over the central and western portions of the south, including the northern part of Kèrala, or the modern province of Canara; but there is no reason to suppose that, like the dynasty of Cadumba, its conquests had ever extended to the eastern sea.

* Written as two words, Dhoor and Summund, by the translator of Ferishta, and apparently so intended by the author in the copy which I consulted. Of Maber (if originally intended by this author to describe a separate government) I possess no information. Campula, another capital, is also said to have been taken soon afterwards: it is placed by Ferishta on the Ganges (Gunga), the Godaveri, as I conclude, which is usually called the Gunga Godaveri, but the geography of this author is not very distinct. Among some recent additions to the Mackenzie collection is a Life of Campula Raja, which will probably throw further light on the history of this period: and a variety of manuscripts, not yet sufficiently examined, will unquestionably shew that many other cotemporary governments existed in the south. The Cheritra, or heroic poem of the Bellal dynasty, mentions an alliance by marriage with the Raja of *Gingee*, which, if authentic, places the origin of that government earlier than the date assigned to it by the annals of Vijeyanuggur.

† The sculpture of these ruins, although sufficiently defective, if compared with the Grecian standard, is yet highly interesting. In examining the Indian hero and his charioteer, mounted on their war chariot, we seem to be viewing the car of Achilles. The costume of the equestrian figures is remarkable; the hair twisted into a knot at the top of the head is its only defence or covering: long boots seem to have defended the legs, and a large net-work to have been the ornament or defence of the horse. The figure of the horseman (contrary to every thing that I have observed in any other sculpture or original in India) is an example of the most graceful seat of modern European horsemanship. Exact fac-similes of the most remarkable parts of this sculpture are in the Mackenzie collection.

‡ Written also Dwara Samoodrum. It was built in 1133, and had only subsisted 193 years. But the *Bellala Raya Cheritra*, a poetical account of this dynasty, expressly states that the town was built on the site of a city of the same name, which had been long in ruin.

§ Now generally better known by the name of Motee-Talab, or the Lake of Pearls.

The Cadumba dynasty had its capital at Banawassi, near the southern extremity of Soonda, where the ruins may still be traced. Its antiquity may be conjectured from the following circumstance: Canara is the language of conversation, of business, and of modern books, throughout the Carnatic, as above described. The Halla Canara, or ancient Canara, now nearly obsolete, is the language of ancient authors; and a still more ancient language and character, Porvada Halla Canara, may be considered on the verge of final extinction, being known at present to very few persons indeed, to none that I

The extravagant fame of the riches of the south, which was more than verified by the spoils of the expedition of 1310-11, seemed only farther to inflame the cupidity of the northern invaders for the plunder of other capitals. After an unsuccessful attempt to penetrate to Warankul, or Arenkil, the capital of Telingana, by an eastern route through Bengal, and the vigorous repulse of a second expedition, which reached it by the western direction of Maharashtra, the persevering efforts of the Patans terminated, in 1323, in the capture of that capital,* and of the raja and his whole family, and the subversion of a dynasty which had lasted 256 years. This disaster led to the establishment of a more southern Hindoo government, which was destined for upwards of two centuries more to oppose a farther barrier to the progress of the Mohammedan arms.

Two illustrious fugitives, Booka and Aka Hurryhur, officers of the treasury of the dethroned king of Warankul, warned by one of those sacred visions which precedes, or is feigned to precede, the establishment of every Hindoo empire, formed the project of a new government, to be fixed on the banks of the river Toombuddra, a southern branch of the Kistna, under the spiritual and temporal guidance of the sage Videyarannea. This capital, named Videyanuggur,† in compliment to their minister and preceptor, was com-

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could trace, excepting two persons now in the employment of Major Mackenzie : this was the language of Banawassi ; and the extent of country down to the eastern coast, including Mahabalipoor usually named the Seven Pagodas, in which inscriptions in that character are found, seems to evince the existence of a great and powerful government. It had apparently been subverted in the second century of the christian æra ; as Ptolemy, who inserts Banawassi nearly in its proper place, relatively to the coast of Canara, does not distinguish it as a capital. The dynasties already noticed of the lower country existed about the same period ; but the Alexandrian authors, who probably received their information from commercial travellers, although extensively acquainted with the names, had but an incorrect knowledge of the relative positions of places in the south of India. The *Modura regia Pandionis*, and *Caroora regia Cerobothri*, correspond with what is known of the Pandian and Cherun dynasties ; and the *Arcati regia Sora* (see note on Choramandel, p. 5), although misplaced, would seem to indicate the modern capital of that name ; but the identity of the place is not supported by local investigation, nor has any inscription or authority of any kind yet been discovered to confirm the existence of any capital at the present Arcot previously to the year 1716 ; the capital of the Sora, Shola or Chola dynasty, having unqestionably been fixed at least for a considerable period of time at Combaconum in Tanjore.

A dynasty named the *Chalokia* was still more ancient than the *Cadumba*, and of course its history is more obscure ; the Mackenzie collection, however, contains many inscriptions belonging to that remote æra.

* Warankul was founded in 1067. One of its monarchs, Pertaub Roodroo, is stated in the manuscript history in the Mackenzie collection to have conquered *Panda-desa*, which is, perhaps, an exaggeration. Some of the dynasties of Drauveda had, at an earlier period, made extensive conquests in what are now called the northern Sircars, where, Mr. Ellis informs me, he found the liturgy of some of the temples in the Tamil language and Telinga character.

† Afterwards Vijeyanuggur, as will be presently explained, (often written *Bisnagar*, Bejanuggur, &c.) The origin of this dynasty is erroneously narrated

menced in 1336, and finished in 1343. Aka Hurryhur reigned until 1350, and Booka until 1378.

This origin of the new government at once explains the ascendancy of the Telinga language and nation at this capital of Carnatic, and proves the state of anarchy and weakness which had succeeded the ruin of the former dynasty. The government founded by foreigners was also supported by foreigners; and, in the centre of Canara, a Telinga court was supported by a Telinga army, the descendants of whom, speaking the same language, are to be traced at this day nearly to Cape Comorin, in the remains of the numerous establishments, resembling the Roman colonies, which were sent forth from time to time for the purpose of confirming their distant conquests, and holding the natives in subjection. The centre and the west, probably the whole of the

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by Ferishta: the Mackenzie collection affords materials for its history in ample detail.

If a very precise coincidence of names and situations were admitted as evidence, we might conclude that Vijeyanuggur and its suburb of Anagoondy, on the opposite bank of the Toombuddra, or rather the vales and mountains in their immediate vicinity, were the ancient residence of Sogreeva, and Hanuman, his general, transformed by the poet into a monkey, and by the bramins into a god, as described in the wild but beautiful poem of the Ramayan, (which is assuming not a very captivating English dress,) but the misfortunes of the captive Sita, and the adventures of Rama and Letchman in their efforts for her recovery, find in every part of the south of India "a local habitation and a name," every fountain and stream has its legend, "and not a mountain rears its head unsung" but, unfortunately, different and distant situations are made the scene of the same adventure, and have evidently been sanctified by pious fraud at periods comparatively modern. The description in the Ramayan of Ravana's banquet may, without much aid from the imagination, be taken as the picture of a drunken European feast, at that period, if such there has been, when ladies indulged in the pleasures of the bottle: and is considered by some as a faint evidence of the existence of an European establishment in Ceylon and the south at this unknown poetical æra. However this may be, *Tapoo Ravana*, the Island of Ravana, may, without any forced interpretation, be considered as the name from which the Greeks derived their *Taprobane*. This island is the *Lanka* of the Indian poets, but not of its astronomers.

"Valmeek's description of the forests of Dunda Caroonium," (says my friend Major Mackenzie, in a note now before me,) "the abode of hermits, of moonees, and rooshees, appears to apply to the wild rude state of the Deckan in the time of Rama, extending at least as far as the Cavery: for thence the country of Janastan seems to commence; which, occupied by the armies of the powerful monarch of *Lanka*, and with the several interesting traces of a nation widely differing in language, arms, and even complexion, seems strongly to indicate a state of subjection to some foreign nation, which had then made such progress in the arts and sciences, that even their enemies acknowledge their superiority: for to the ingenuity of the *rackasas*, (by a perversion of terms not uncommon,) now signifying *demons*, the invention and improvement of some of the most useful arts of life are attributed."

The malignant and super-human *rackasas* may, I believe, be not improperly translated *giants*, being supposed by the Hindoos to have been produced by "the sons of God going in unto the daughters of men."

Obscure traces may be found, in many parts of the Mackenzie collection, of an early dynasty of the *Yadava* race at Vijeyanaggur, among the ruins of whose former grandeur the new capital was built.

dominions of the late dynasty, including the greater part of the modern state of Mysoor, were subdued at an early period; but a branch of the family of Bellal was permitted to exercise a nominal authority at Tonoor until 1387, in which year we begin to find direct grants from the house of Vijeyanuggur as far south as Turkanamby beyond the Caveri. The last of thirteen rajas, or rayeels of the house of Hurryhur who were followers of Siva, was succeeded in 1490 by Narsing Raja, of the religious sect of Vishnoo, the founder of a new dynasty, whose empire appears to have been called by Europeans *Narsinga*, a name which, being no longer in use, has perplexed geographers with regard to its proper position.

Narsing Raja seems to have been the first king of Vijeyanuggur who extended his conquests into *Drauveda*, and erected the strong forts of Chandragherry and Vellore; the latter for his occasional residence, and the former as a place of safe deposit for treasure; but it was not until about 1509 to 1515 that Kistna Rayeel finally reduced the whole of Drauveda to real or nominal subjection.

A variety of causes concurred in the establishment and rapid increase of the government of Videyanuggur "the city of science,"* which, by an easy change, assumed in its more prosperous days the name of Vijeyanuggur, "the city of victory."† The crude attempt of Mohammed III. in 1338 to transfer at once the seat of empire from Delhi to Deogire by a forced emigration of the mass of the inhabitants, and the rash and ill-concerted measures which compelled that prince to direct his subsequent attention to the north, incited the dissatisfaction of the nobles of the Deckan, and their rebellion terminated in 1347 in the establishment of an independent Mohammedan government, which fixed its capital first at Calburga, and afterwards at Beder. Some branches of the royal house of Teligana threw off the Mohammedan yoke about the same period, and renewing with some energy their efforts for independence at Golconda, and recovering the seat of their ancestors at Warankul, were the natural allies of the kings of Videyanuggur.

The early disunion of the Mohammedans of the Deckan gave farther facilities to the growth of the power of Vijeyanuggur; and the successive inroads of the Moguls from the north left to the Patan kings of Delhi little power to attend to their rebellious subjects in the south, and still less prospect of extending their conquests in that direction. These two causes contributed more than any other to the prosperity of the new government. The Mohammedan power between the Tapti and Kistna had, in 1526, separated into no fewer than five independent principalities;‡

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* † Ascertained by inscriptions in the Mackenzie collection.

‡ First, Adil Shah of Vijeyapoor. Second, Kuttub Shah of Golconda. Third, Ummad Shah of Berar. Fourth, Nizam Shah of Ahmednuggur. Fifth, Bereed Shah of Ahmedabad Beder.

and in the short period from 1295 to 1326 the empire of Delhi experienced four Mogul invasions; the latter of which, says Ferishta, was bought off by nearly the price of the empire. In the same year, Mohammed the third, as we have seen, sought to reimburse himself by the plunder of the capital of the Carnatic; and in 1338 to establish the seat of his empire nearer to the sources of his spoliated wealth. It is a curious fact, that the plunder of the south of India was thus transferred by a double process to be buried in the plains of Tartary, and to be presented after an interval of five centuries to the astonishment of the philosophers* of Europe. The Moguls were not less eager for the second part of this process, than the Patans were rapacious in performing the first; but although these golden reservoirs began now to be exhausted, and the political state of Deckan and the south interfered with the projects of each of the plunderers, the Moguls continued to direct their attention to Hindostan. In 1396, preparatory to the invasion of Timoor, they established themselves to the south of the Indus; and finally, in 1498, in the fixed government of Delhi, under the celebrated Baber, the founder of the dynasty usually designated as "The house of Timour;" just three years after Vasco De Gama arrived on the coast of Malabar: the Moguls thus appearing on the northern scene, at the precise period of time that the European intruders first arrived by sea in the south of India.

The success which resulted from the weakness of the enemies of Vijeyanuggur was, in the ordinary course of human arrogance, attributed to its own invincible strength; and the efforts which were made for the extension of its dominions to the north, forced the divided states of the Deckan into the confederacy which accelerated its fall. The dynasty of Narsinga continued to govern

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* Coxe's Travels, Vol. II, quarto edition, p. 124—8.

"The surprising quantity," says Mr. Coxe, "of golden ornaments found in the tombs of Siberia, were they not evident to sight, would exceed all belief." Demidoff's account of one of these tombs describes the body of the prince in a reclining posture, upon a sheet of pure gold extending from head to foot, and another sheet of the like dimensions spread over him: he was wrapped in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds. The princess had similar sheets of gold, and her neck chains and bracelets were still more sumptuous. The robes of both looked fair and complete; but upon touching crumbled into dust. Mr. Muller judiciously assigns to the 13th and 14th centuries the accumulation of these immense spoils, by Chengeez (Zingis) Khan and his successors, but neither he nor Mr. Coxe appear to suspect that any portion of them had been brought from *India*. The discovery of copper only in the arms, utensils, and ornaments, of the more ancient tombs of Siberia, confirms the date which has been assigned to the others. Mr. Coxe observes, that "Many of the ornaments are executed with such taste and elegance as is hardly to be accounted for from the state of the arts in the East." There can be no doubt that some European artists had penetrated to the court of the Tartar princes at this period: but those who have examined the golden ornaments of Asia know that some of them are not yet exceeded by the artists of Europe.

until 1542, when a short usurpation of eight months was subverted by a collateral branch, who established a second usurpation, keeping the lineal heir as a pageant and prisoner of state; but at length, in 1564, the confederacy to which we have adverted, of the four Mussulman kings of Dowlatabad, Vijeyapoor, Golconda, and Beder, defeated the Hindoo army on the plains of Tellicota, between the Kistna and Toombuddra, in a great battle in which Ram Raja the seventh prince of the house of Narsinga, and almost the whole of his principal offcers, fell. The victors marched in triumph to the capital; which they plundered with the most shocking circumstances of cruelty and excess. But the brother and representative of the late sovereign having opened a negociation, which terminated in his agreeing to give up the places which had lately been wrested from the Mohammedans, the victors were satisfied; and taking leave of each other at Rachore, returned to their respective dominions. The places which on this occasion were ceded to the conquerors may afford some explanation of the limits which were thenceforth assigned to Carnatic in the transactions of Mohammedan princes. The sovereign of Vijeyapoor received the *Doab*, generally, or "the country between the two rivers of Toombuddra and Kistna," Mudcul, Rachoor, Adoni, Aulungpoor,* and Bagreetal. The king of Golconda received Kowilleunda, Bankul (Ongole), and Kunpoor (this may be either Gunpoor or Guntoor). From this enumeration we may conclude, generally, that the northern boundary of Carnatic was thenceforth considered to be the Toombuddra; to the south of which the Mohammedans kept no possession excepting Adoni, and perhaps Nundial; a conjecture which is chiefly grounded on finding this place in a subsequent territorial arrangement excluded from the Carnatic: to the north of that river it was probably also considered to include Sanoor Bancapoor, which we find invaded by the troops of Vijeyapoor some years afterwards.

The apparent moderation which we have noticed was the result of jealousies and fears among the confederates themselves, and by no means arose from lenity towards the unfortunate Hindoos. The capital was depopulated by the consequences of the victory: and the successor of Ram Raja deserting the seat of his ancestors, established at Penconda the ruins of a once powerful dynasty, which continued to cast a lingering look at its former greatness, until retiring from thence to the eastern position of Chandragerri; the last branch whose sovereign title was acknowledged, was expelled from this his last fortress in 1646.

The battle of Tellicota brings us down rather beyond the period from which it is proposed to trace the origin of the dynasty of Mysoor; but it appeared to be most convenient to continue the sketch to that remarkable period, as a point to which we shall again be obliged to revert for the explanation of

* I do not know this place unless it be *Alund.*

subsequent events. The whole of the south of India had for a considerable period of time before the battle of Tellicota been comprised in the nominal empire of Vijeyanuggur; but the interior system of revenue and government, which had been established and enforced, while a limited extent of dominion admitted of vigilant control, was now exceedingly relaxed. A provincial viceroy at Seringapatam rather compromised for periodical presents, than exacted a fixed revenue from the Wadeyars, or governors of 33 townships, who now seem to have begun to assume the name of Poligars; a title which properly belonged to the chiefs of Telinga colonies, planted in the neighbouring provinces, for the purpose of overawing the aborigines, to which official designation they added, when they dared, the title of Raja. The external appearance of the general government was brilliant and imposing; its internal organization feeble and irregular: foreign conquest was a more fashionable theme than domestic finance at the court of Vijeyanuggur, and while the final expulsion of the Mussulmans from the Deckan was chaunted by the bards* as

* Bart,—Baut,—Batt, as it is differently pronounced, is a curious approximation to the name of the western *bard*, and their offices are nearly similar. No Hindoo Raja is without his *bards*. Hyder, although not a Hindoo, delighted to be constantly preceded by them, and they are an appendage to the state of many other Mussulman chiefs. They have a wonderful facility in speaking improvisatore, on any subject proposed to them, a declamation in measures, which may be considered as a sort of medium between blank verse and modulated prose; but their proper profession is that of chaunting the exploits of former days in the front of the troops while marshalling for battle, and inciting them to emulate the glory of their ancestors. Many instances are known of bards who have given the example, as well as the precept, of devoting themselves for their king, by leading into the thickest of the battle.

At the nuptials, says the legend, of *Siva*, the destructive member of the Indian triad, with *Parvati*, the deity discovered that the pleasures of the festival were incomplete, and instantly created poets for the purpose of singing his exploits to the assembly of the gods: they continued afterwards to reside at his court or paradise of Kylasum, and being one day desired by *Parvati* to sing *her* praises, submissively excused themselves, by reminding her of the exclusive object of their creation, namely, "to chaunt the praise of heroes." Parvati, enraged at their uncourteous refusal, pronounced on them the curse of "perpetual poverty;" and the bards remonstrating with *Siva* against this unmerited fate, were informed that nothing human could evade the wrath of Parvati; that although he could not cancel, he would alleviate the curse; that they should accordingly be permitted to visit the terrestrial world, where, although sometimes riches and plenty, and always approbation, would be showered over them by the sovereigns of the earth, the former of these gifts should never remain with them; and that "Poets, according to the decree of Parvati, should be ever poor." The alleged prediction contributes to its own fulfilment, and is the apology of the Indian bards for not being much addicted to abstinence of any kind.

The legend adverts to a *[illegible]*, who in the beginning of the Caly yoog introduced certain ordinances, among which was the prohibition of animal food; a reform which the bramins consented, but the *bards* refused to adopt. Major Mackenzie conjectures that the name *[illegible]* may possibly designate the country of the reformer (*Misr*, Egypt), and that this w[illegible]

an exploit already achieved; the disorganized state of the distant provinces would have announced to a judicious observer the approaching dissolution of the empire.

In adverting to the incessant revolutions of these countries, the mind which has been accustomed to consider the different frames of polity which have existed in the world as one of the most interesting objects of intellectual enquiry, will be forcibly struck with the observation, that no change in the form or principles of government was the consequence either of foreign conquest, or successful rebellion; and that in the whole scheme of polity, whether of the victors or the vanquished, the very idea of *civil liberty* had absolutely never entered into their contemplation, and is to this day without a name in the languages of Asia.

The immemorial* despotism of the East is a fact so familiar to every reader, that it seems to be received, as we receive the knowledge of a law of nature, without any troublesome investigation of the causes which produce an effect so wonderful and invariable.

The philosophy which refers exclusively to the physical influence of climate, this most remarkable phænomenon of the moral world, is altogether insufficient to satisfy the rational enquirer: the holy spirit of liberty was cherished in Greece, and its Syrian colonies, by the same sun which warms the gross and ferocious superstition of the Mohammedan zealot: the conquerors of half the world issued from the scorching deserts of Arabia, and obtained some of their earliest triumphs over one of the most gallant nations of Europe.†

A remnant of the disciples of Zoroaster flying from Mohammedan persecution, carried with them to the western coast of India the religion, the hardy habits, and athletic forms of the north of Persia; and their posterity may at this time be contemplated in the Parsees of the English settlement of Bombay, with mental and bodily powers absolutely unimpared, after the residence of a thousand years in that burning climate. Even the passive but ill understood character of the Hindoo, exhibiting few and unimportant shades of distinction, whether placed under the snows of Imaus, or the vertical sun of the torrid zone, has, in every part of these diversified climates, been occasionally roused to achievements of valour, and deeds of desperation, not surpassed

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known reform may have been introduced into India by the Egyptian priesthood. *Shenker Acharee* is mentioned in the legend as reviving, at a period long subsequent, some of the doctrines of Misroodoo; and Shenker Acharee probably lived about the commencement of the Christian æra.

* The exceptions stated by Dr. Vincent in his voyage of Nearchus, p. 69 and 123 can scarcely be received without suspicion, and the doctor observes that one of these places described as republics by Q. Curtius and Diodorus, is by Arrian expressly declared to be a monarchy. See also the description of an Indian township in the 5th chapter of this work.

† Spain, the *Andalus* of Mohammedan historians.

in the heroic ages of the western world.* The reflections naturally arising from these facts are obviously sufficient to extinguish a flimsy and superficial hypothesis, which would measure the human mind by the scale of a Fahrenheit's thermometer.

But if thus compelled to reject the exclusive influence of climate, shall we arrive at more satisfactory conclusions by referring to moral causes? In considering the two great classes of mankind with whose transactions we shall be chiefly conversant, namely, the Mohammedans and the Hindoos, the fixed existence of despotism among them may be accounted for on principles which would seem to be entirely conclusive; but principles to be just should be of universal application; and doubts have been suggested whether those to which we advert are capable of standing this necessary test. The argument shall be stated with candor, and the objections to which it seems to be liable shall be proposed without disguise: the subject is of great interest, and some indulgence will be allowed to an attempt, however feeble, to furnish one additional fact or reflection capable of throwing light on a question so much involved in obscurity.

The writings esteemed to be sacred by the Hindoos have produced as many sectaries as the codes of other religions; and polemical controversies, as usual, of greater acrimony in proportion to the minuteness of the difference in opinion; but these disputes have generally been of a speculative nature; the different parties have charged each other with falsifying the texts, but the authority of the code itself has seldom been a matter of discussion.

The political, civil, and criminal code of the Hindoos is interwoven with their theology, and is equally considered to be derived from divine authority. The affairs of government, of judicature and of police, down to the most minute forms of social and domestic intercourse, are all identified with religious observances; the whole is sacred and unchangeable; and, in this case, the ideas attached to improvement and profanation can scarcely be distinguished from each other. Monarchical government is that which is prescribed, and the only one which appears to have entered into the contemplation of the authors of their sacred law:

* Sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur, ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

The injurious eye of the European traveller passes without observation thousands of monuments, every where erected to the memory of Indian heroes who have fallen in battle. Some few of these monuments have epitaphs. In general they consist of a single sculptured slab placed perpendicularly in the ground: the sculpture is usually divided into three compartments: the lowest describes the battle in which the hero was slain; the centre compartment represents him in the act of being conveyed to heaven between two celestial nymphs: in the uppermost he has arrived at the regions of bliss, and is delineated as seated before the peculiar emblem of his religion—generally the lingum—for the practice of erecting monuments seems chiefly to belong to the sect of Siva.

the notion which adulation is so prone to inculcate, that the royal authority is an emanation of the divine power, is a doctrine strictly, emphatically, and perhaps originally, Hindoo:* the Platonic philosophy adopted it without alteration; the opposite sects of the Mohammedan faith acknowledge their Imaum and their Caliph to be the vicegerents of God upon earth: and even the mild and unflattering doctrines of the Christian church have modified and softened the same dogma into the admission of reigning "by the grace of God:" but the broad and prominent distinction between the characters of eastern and western polity, between despotism and regular government, seems to consist in the union, or the separation, of the divine and the human code; in connecting in one case by inseparable ties the ideas of change and profanation, or admitting in the other the legal possibility of improvement; the permission to practice, as well as to learn, the lessons which are taught by the experience of ages. The sacred code of the Hindoos, like the Koran of the Mohammedans, is held to be all-sufficient for temporal as well as religious purposes; they have adopted the regal government, because such is the will of God; they have been passively obedient to this emanation of the divine power so long as no competition has appeared; and they have embraced with facility the cause of rebellion and civil war, because, like the Mohammedans, they believe that kingdoms† are the immediate gift of the Almighty, and that victory is a manifestation‡ of the divine will.

* Menu, 7th chapter, and particularly the 8th verse of that chapter.

† For the injunctions to incessant conquest, see Digest of Hindoo Law, vol. 2d, p. 92 (I quote the London edition of 1801), the general tenor of the 7th chapter of Menu, and particularly the following passages: v. 101. "What he (the king) has not gained, let him strive to gain by military strength: what he has acquired let him preserve by careful inspection: what he has preserved let him augment by legal means of increase, and what he augments let him dispense with just liberality. v. 102. Let his troops be constantly exercised, his prowess constantly displayed, what he ought to secure constantly secured, and the weakness of his foe constantly investigated. v. 103. By a king whose forces are constantly ready for action, the whole world may be kept in awe; let him then by a force always ready, make all creatures living his own."

‡ The doctrine of fatality is not so unqualified among the Hindoos as the Mohammedans, but may nevertheless be distinctly traced in all their opinions and modes of action. Victory depends on seizing a fortunate moment offered by heaven, Menu, chapter 9, verse 197; and the conduct of affairs depends on acts ascribed to the Deity, as well as on acts ascribed to Men: ibid, v. 205. It is well known that nothing will induce the Hindoo to commence any matter of importance excepting at the preordained moment determined by judicial astrology, which will be found on examination to be a modified fatalism: this imaginary science may instruct us to avoid entering on an undertaking at an unpropitious time, but having once begun, nothing can prevent the termination which has been preordained. "Bhoo Letchmee (the goddess of territorial dominion) has thrown her arms about your neck, you cannot refuse her embraces;" is a figure of familiar conversation among the Hindoos, which well describes their modes of thinking on the whole subject.

To the general injunctions of the sacred codes may be ascribed the undeviating continuance of regal government, and to a subordinate branch of the same doctrine the incessant revolutions of the East. The much calumniated law of primogeniture has perhaps contributed more than any other cause to the growth of civilization in European monarchies—A rule, of whatever kind, which defines the right of succession, and has been matured by time and popular opinion, palsies the arm of faction, leaves to the monarch no motive of cruelty, and with the hope of permanence, gives to the subject the leisure and the incitement to improve his condition. In contradiction to the fascinating doctrine of natural equality, and in defiance of the ridicule which is invited by the system of leaving to chance whether we shall be well or ill governed, it may safely be assumed, that whatever portion of tranquillity has been enjoyed by the European world, may chiefly be ascribed to the practical operation of this law, however stigmatized as absurd and unjust by all those specious theorists who would govern the world by the dreams of metaphysical speculation.

Among Mohammedans the estates of individuals are divided according to fixed rules, but the Koran recognizes no rule of inheritance to kingdoms; and although the succession of the first-born seems among them, as among most other sects, to have been considered as the order of nature, the sword is nevertheless the only legal arbiter universally acknowledged.* The Hindoo system of policy, jurisprudence and religion, affects still more strongly than any European code the rights of hereditary succession; but the sons are all coheirs, and the faint distinction in favour of the eldest son is limited by the express condition, that he shall be worthy of the charge.† but unhappily there is nothing so difficult to determine as the relative worth of opposing claimants, and in the pretensions to royalty, the double question of divine favour and superior merit must, in spite of reason, be decided by the sword. If in the western world we have not escaped the evils of this terrible arbiter, and if with the prospect of permanence which, during the greater part of the last century, at least, might reasonably have been indulged by most European nations, so little progress has been made in the establishment of rational limitations on the abuse of power, and in the prevention of civil and revolutionary wars, we shall not require the aid of climate to explain why despotism has continued, and must for ever continue, to accompany the Hindoo and Mohammedan frames of polity

* The sword is his who can use it, and dominion for him who conquers.—Koran.

† In private life the distribution of estates among coheirs depends in some cases on this vague condition. Menu, chapter 9, verse 115, 214; and Jagannatha, after a long and subtle disquisition, determines that kingdoms may, or may not, be divided, and that merit and not primogeniture ought to determine the succession. Digest of Hindoo Law, vol. 2, p. 121 to 123.

and religion, of which, if it be not a vital member, it is at least an inevitable consequence.

An examination of the Jewish history and legislation would add considerable force to these opinions; which may be farther illustrated by observing that the Seiks, when they rejected the Hindoo religion for the doctrines of Nanuck, exhibited the first and only instance in the history of the East of an approach, however imperfect, to republican principles: while every previous revolution, whether leading to the establishment of a great government, or its subdivision into a multitude of smaller states, uniformly terminated where it began, in principles of pure despotism.

Such a knowledge of China as can be considered to penetrate beneath the surface of things, appears to be still a desideratum in literature: and what little is known would seem to afford no illustration of the hypothesis which has been proposed.

But it has been objected to the argument which would ascribe such powerful effects to the union of the divine and human codes, that if we turn from the probable causes of eastern despotism to those which unfolded the spirit of freedom in the west, we shall seek in vain for any confirmation of the principles which have been proposed. The substance of this objection may be stated in the following form.

"The earliest examples of a people rejecting despotism, and substituting in its room a free or a qualified government, are presented in the histories of Greece and Italy. In Greece the human mind had at a very early period attained a high state of refinement, and applied metaphysical reasonings to determine just principles of government. At the period when an insurrection would produce a new form of government, or an amended constitution, philosophy had already begun to legislate; and the freest people were also the most enlightened upon earth. But if from these examples we should be disposed to infer that liberty is the offspring of civilization and knowledge, we must reject a dream so flattering to mental improvement, on remembering that the Romans, however cultivated in after times, were, at the period of the expulsion of their kings,* rude, barbarous, unlettered, and in all respects the reverse of an enlightened and philosophising people. In these great examples of antiquity no illustration is presented of the principles which have been proposed; but on the contrary, we perceive the establishment of civil liberty arising out of moral circumstances altogether dissimilar and opposite."

It may appear on a hasty examination of these objections that we must surrender our explanation of the probable causes of despotism in the East, because we have failed in tracing to an

* The expulsion of the Tarquins from Rome occurred in the very year succeeding that of the Pisistratidæ from Athens, but I do not know that any author has traced a connexion between these two events either by example or otherwise.

opposite source the uniform growth of civil liberty in the West. But it must be remembered that the removal of a cause simply extinguishes the effect which it had produced, but does not necessarily produce an opposite effect. The shackles imposed on the human mind by the union of the divine and human code have been stated as the efficient causes of despotism: but it is a fallacy to conclude that their removal must produce freedom. The removal of these shackles clears away the impediments to civil liberty, but does not necessarily produce it. The separation of the divine and human code is not in itself the efficient cause of freedom; it merely gives scope for other causes to operate: it renders liberty possible, but not inevitable. Despotism is simple in its nature and operations; while any scheme of practical liberty is necessarily compounded of various and conflicting particles: and if we have satisfactorily shewn a single cause uniformly (not exclusively) producing despotism, our argument is not weakened by the admission that in the complex operation of moral causes many may concur to the production of civil liberty.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE HINDOO HOUSE OF MYSOOR TO 1672.

Romantic origin of the Hindoo house of Mysoor, and change of religion—Foundation of the capital of that name—Vijeya—Arbiral—Betad Cham Raj—Bole Cham Raj—Heere Cham Raj—Betad Wadeyar—Deposition of this chief, and election of his younger brother Raj Wadeyar—Reflections on this fact, and on the interesting characters of the brothers—Incidents characteristic of the times—and of the brothers—Acquisition of Seringapatam—its ancient history—Another change of religion—List of conquests, and reason for adopting this arrangement—Cham Raj—Immadee Raj, uncle of the late Raja, and posthumous son of his predecessor—poisoned by his minister—succeeded by Canty Reva Narsa Raj--anecdote of his chivalrous spirit—Evidence of usurpation in the two preceding reigns—Emancipation of the present Raja by the assassination of the usurping minister—Siege of Seringapatam by a Mussulman army—repulse of the enemy—Arrangements—financial—military—the mint—court—religious establishments—conquests—Dud Deo Raj—Repulse of the Raja of Bednore—and of Madura—Conquests of this reign.

THE tribe of Yedava, which boasts among its eminent characters Kristna, the celebrated Indian Apollo, had its early seats near to Dwaraka in Guzerat, and its probable origin in a more northern region. Innumerable traces exist of vast and successive emigrations of this race of herdsmen and warriors, who carried devastation among the agricultural tribes of the south, and, in process of time, were incorporated with their opponents, or assumed more settled habits of life.*

During the period that the dominion of the Rajahs of Vijeyanuggur extended really, or nominally, over the greater portion of the south of India, two young men of the tribe of Yedava, named Vijeya, and Kristna, departed from that court in search of a better establishment to the south. Their travels carried them to the little fort of Hadana, a few miles from the present situation of the town of Mysoor ; and having alighted, as is usual, near the border of a tank, they overheard some women of the Jungum sect, who had come for water, bewailing the fate of a young maiden of their tribe who was about to be married to a

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* Among the Mackenzie MSS. is a poem which relates the wars and negotiations of the herdsmen and the farmers. The rude and uncivilized character of the former is strongly depicted in the narrative. The farmers had agreed to give them the free range of their woods and pastures, on the condition that they should keep aloof from the cultivated land. Soon after the adjustment of this treaty, a young crop of corn of vast extent is overwhelmed by the main herd. The farmers remonstrate on the breach of compact ; and the herdsmen apologize by affirming, with the utmost simplicity and truth, " that they really thought it had been grass."

person of inferior quality. The brothers enquired into the circumstances of the case; desired the women to be comforted; and offered their services in defence of the damsel. She was the only daughter of the Wadeyar (or lord of 33 villages*), who was afflicted with mental derangement; and in this desolate and unprotected state, the chief of Carroogully, a person of mean caste, had proposed to the family the alternative of immediate war, or the peaceable possession of Hadana by his marriage with the damsel: and to the latter proposition they had given a forced and reluctant consent. The offer of the strangers was made known, and they were admitted to examine the means which the family possessed of averting the impending disgrace. In conformity to their advice no change was made in the preparations for the marriage feast: and while the chiefs of Carroogully were seated at the banquet in one apartment, and their followers in another, the men of Hadana, who had been previously secreted for the purpose, headed by the two brothers, sprung forth upon their guests, and slew them, marched instantly to Carroogully, which they surprised, and returned in triumph to Hadana. The damsel, full of gratitude, became the willing bride of Vijeya, who changed his religion, † and became the lord of Hadana and Carroogully.

Such is the account detailed in various manuscripts, and acknowledged, by general tradition, of the origin of the rajahs of Mysoor. It is proposed to pass rapidly over this obscure period, and to rest lightly on such circumstances only as have a tendency to mark the manners of the times, or the progress of the family to future importance.

Manuscripts are not agreed in regard to the date of this event, nor with respect to the number of generations which intervened between the founder of the family and Cham Raj, surnamed "Arbiral," or the six-fingered, from that peculiarity in his person. His succession is fixed in 1507.

A subsequent rajah, named Betad Cham Raj, made, during his life-time a partition of his little dominions between his three sons. To Appan Tim Raj he gave Hemunhully; to Kishen Raj he gave Kemlala, and to Cham Raj, surnamed Bole or Bald,

* From a disciple of Vishnoo he became a Jungum or Lingawunt. He assumed, on this occasion, the title of *wadeyar*, which is uniformly annexed in the manuscripts to the name of every rajah, and still retained by the family after another change of religion, which took place about the year 1687. Wadeyar, or lord, in the Kalla Canara, seems, at this period, to have indicated the office of governor of a small district, generally of 33 villages. The term is found, also, in many ancient inscriptions in Drauveda, in the Tamul language, (see the first document in Appendix No 2.) *Poligar* is clearly a modern term introduced by the Telinga government of Vijeyanuggur, and, so late as the year 1750, the person, since named the *Poligar* of Wodearpollam, S. W. of Cuddalore, is designated as the *Wadeyar* in the records of Madras. It is the title of respect by which the priests of the Jungum are addressed at this day.

† For the religion of the Jungum, see Appendix, No. 4.

(an accident said to have been produced by a stroke of lightning,) he gave Mysoor. The precise æra of this partition is not well ascertained; but it was probably at, or about, this period, that the permanent residence of this branch of the family was removed to Mysoor, then called Pooragurry. A fort was either constructed or repaired in the year 1524, to which the new name was assigned of Mahesh Asoor,* usually pronounced Maheshoor, and now contracted to Mysoor; and the partition above noticed has continued to mark the three principal branches of the family, which have furnished wives for the reigning rajahs, and successors to the government, when the direct line has been extinct.

A grant is extant, dated in 1548, from Tim Raj, probably the same to whom Hemanhully was assigned, and the state of the times is well illustrated by an incident in his life. He was desirous of paying his devotions at the temple of Nunjendgode, distant about nine miles; and two wadeyars existed in that short distance, whose permission to pass through their territories was regularly asked and obtained. The splendor of his equipage, and the number of his retinue, not less than three hundred persons, attracted the envy of the wadeyars, who were assembled at the feast; a quarrel ensued, in which many lives were lost; Tim Raj was victorious; and he shortly afterwards levied a military contribution on the wadeyar of Ommatoor, his principal opponent at the feast.

Nothing worthy of notice occurs until 1571, when Heere Cham Raj succeeded to the government of Mysoor.

The government of Vijeyanuggur, which had held an authority over the south, fluctuating in efficiency with the personal character of its head, had recently been too much occupied in resisting its northern enemies, to exercise any vigorous rule over its southern dependants: the subversion of that government, in 1564, by the four Mussulman princes of Dowlutabad, Vijeyapoor, Golconda, and Beder; and the relaxed authority of a fugitive government, which made successive attempts to re-establish its power at Penconda, Vellore, Chandergherry, and Chingleput; opened an ample field to ambition, and enabled a succession of enterprising petty chieftains of Mysoor gradually to assume a more respectable rank among the powers of the south.

We accordingly find Heere Cham Raj evading the payment of the revenue or tribute due to the viceroy of Vijeyanuggur, residing at Seringapatam, and obtaining permission to erect some

* *Mahesh Asoor*, "the buffalo-headed monster," whose overthrow is the most noted exploit of Cali, the consort of Siva. This goddess, delighting in blood, was then, and is now, worshipped under the name of *Chamoondee*, (discomfiting enemies,) on the hill of Mysoor, in a temple famed at no very distant period for human sacrifices. The images of this goddess frequently represent her with a necklace of human skulls; and the Mysooreans never failed to decorate their Chamoondee with a wreath composed of the noses and ears of their captives.

works, probably barriers, on the pretext that the wild hogs destroyed the crops and disabled him from paying the tribute. The works were no sooner erected, than the collectors of the royal duties were expelled; and such was the imbecility of this local government, that after a fruitless attempt to seize the person of Cham Raj, while performing his devotions at the great temple at Seringapatam, he continued to evade all the demands of the viceroy with impunity.

Heere Cham Raj died in 157[illegible], and was succeeded by Betad Wadeyar, his cousin, of the [illegible] branch of Hemanhully.

From the few features which have been preserved of this person's character, he appears to have been a mild and brave, but [illegible] and [illegible] violent [illegible] the short period of two years had thrown the [illegible] that the elders* of the [illegible] to propose to his younger brother Raj W[illegible] in the government. The [illegible] from the chief [illegible] Raj Wadeyar [illegible] a [illegible] of five thousand* [illegible] to the viceroy. This difficulty was removed by a contribution of three thousand from the privy purse of the females of the family, and two thousand from the elders of the [illegible] and Raj Wadeyar was installed.

This deposition of the elder and election of the younger brother by the [illegible] of the country is a curious feature of ancient [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] of succession [illegible] We find the power exercised [illegible] [illegible] of deviating from the direct [illegible] for the dangerous and generally [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in the [illegible] to prove that [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] that

[illegible]

the measure had become necessary from the state of the finances; but that he might still be usefully and honourably employed, in representing the family at the court of the viceroy at Seringapatam; or, if he should prefer independent retirement, that also had been provided for him at Mysoor. "I will reside at neither," said he, and departed in anger; but, shortly afterwards, we find him living peaceably at Mysoor.

The chief of Caroogully, whom the manuscripts now describe as a relation of the family, had formed the design of seizing Mysoor by surprise, and appeared suddenly before it. Betad Wadeyar was walking carelessly about, with the air of leaving to the new raja the care of his own defence: "What," said a woman who met him, "is this a time for the blood of the Wadeyar to be inactive?" He instinctively seized a battle-axe, called to the troops to follow, cut through, at a blow, the simple bolt of the gate, sallied forth on the enemy, and completely defeated him; and thenceforth we find this generous and gallant soldier leading the forces of his younger brother, and achieving a variety of petty conquests.

A short time before this incident, a dispute occurred at the court of the viceroy, which may furnish a ground of amusing comparison between the customs of those days and the modern etiquette of the eastern or the western world. Raj Wadeyar, in passing to the court at Seringapatam, accompanied by his usual retinue and rude music, met the wadeyar of Kembala going to court, attended also by music. Raj Wadeyar, on ascertaining whose retinue it was, ordered his own music to cease. On his arrival at court, the viceroy asked him why he had not come into the presence with his usual state? "Music is no distinction," said he, "if my inferiors are also allowed it." The chief of Kembala took fire at this insinuation: "Let us meet," said Raj Wadeyar, "and determine the superiority; and with it the right to the music." The viceroy attempted to appease them, but the next day Raj Wadeyar marched to Kembala,* defeated the wadeyar, and took the place.

The weakness of the provincial government begins at this period to display itself, not only in the farther encroachments of Raj Wadeyar upon his neighbours, but in his being alternately in arms against the viceroy, and received with favour at the court. The town of Kèsara, dependent on Mysoor, was besieged by the troops of the viceroy: Betad Wadeyar attacked and defeated them: among the plunder was an elephant; but Raj Wadeyar sagely reflecting, as the manuscript states, that he could maintain thirty soldiers at the same expense as one elephant, sent the animal as a peace-offering to the viceroy. The next year we find him received with particular favour at the court; and, imme-

* Kembala, formerly the portion of an elder branch of the family, is now united to Mysoor.

diately afterwards, not only refusing to pay his tribute, on pretence of some damage done to his plantations by the people of the viceroy, but receiving a farther grant of land to compensate for the injury.

The power and influence of Raj Wadeyar at the court of the viceroy, and the apprehensions which he had excited in the minds of the ministers at Seringapatam, are evinced by a strange and complicated tissue of conspiracies and intrigues, and even a direct attempt to assassinate him in his own dwelling at Mysoor, which was averted by the caution of a faithful adherent. The opportunity was expected to be obtained by the mission of an officer of the court, attended as usual by a large but select retinue for security after the perpetration of the murder, and ostensibly charged with a secret and confidential message from the viceroy. The Raja, unsuspicious of treachery, without hesitation ordered all attendants to withdraw, but a more vigilant observer took the precaution of [illegible] behind one of the pillars of the [illegible] of audience, [illegible] the officer [illegible] to grasp his dagger, instantly inflicted [illegible] the fate intended for the Raja. Among the intrigues which [illegible] Raj Wadeyar was one which [illegible] Raja, who [illegible] with the [illegible] to Seringapatam, attempted to direct the [illegible] disorganized force of the viceroy [illegible] every [illegible] patrimony. In returning carelessly from [illegible] his [illegible] he fell into [illegible] and was only preserved by [illegible] of [illegible] to whom he was conducted as a prisoner. Raj Wadeyar, at the sight of his brother, actuated by the sudden impulse [illegible]

[illegible]

so dangerous a scene. He afterwards lived as a private person at the village of Rung Summooder, in perfect amity with his brother.

Many incidents in the history of this period, exclusively of those which have been related, clearly evince, that the mild and humane conduct of these brothers is referable altogether to personal character, and by no means to the manners of the times.

The acquisition of Seringapatam,* in 1610, which is the most important event, not only in this reign but in the history of the family, is related in different manuscripts, with a diversity of

* Some brief notice of the ancient history of a place, so celebrated in later times, may perhaps be expected.

Popular tradition, and manuscripts now proved to be of modern fabrication, relate that Shevensummooder, an island 50 miles east of Seringapatam, remarkable for the much admired falls of the Caveri, and still exhibiting the ruins of a town and fortress, with two bridges over the branches of the river, was conquered and utterly destroyed by one of the Bellal or Hoisala kings; that the heir of the vanquished dynasty, named *Sree Rung Rayel*, after various adventures, recovered his patrimony; and being struck in passing Seringapatam with its resemblance to the seat of his ancestors, determined to erect a fort on the spot; which he called after his own name. On the approach of his dissolution he retired to Talcaud, and bequeathed his government to one of his ministers named Raj Wadeyar, from whom, after many revolutions, the Rajas of Mysoor were afterwards descended.

Shevensummooder is the only place of any importance connected with Mysoor, the history of which has hitherto not been illustrated by ancient inscriptions, although the ruins have been frequently and minutely explored for that express purpose; but it is evident from those which relate to Seringapatam, that the above popular and generally credited tale has been confounded with the revolution of 1610.

In 1133 a celebrated apostle of the Vishnevite sect, named Ramanachooloo or Ramanjacharee, fled from Drauveda to avoid a confession of faith prescribed by the Chola Raja, to be made by all his subjects, the object of which was to establish the superority of Siva over Vishnoo. This apostle made numerous converts in the upper countries, and among them the Raja, thenceforth named Vishnoo Verdana, of the Bellal or Hoisala dynasty, who had before this period professed the Jain religion. This royal convert conferred on his apostle and his followers the tract of country on each side of the river at Seringapatam, still known by the name of Astagram, or eight townships, over which he appointed his own officers, under the ancient designations of Prabhoos and Hebbères.

In 1454, a person named Timmana, a Hebbère or descendant of the Vishnouvite bramins, who accompanied Ramanjacharee from the East, obtained, by a visit to Vijeyanuggur, and by the aid of a hidden treasure which he had just discovered, the government of the district, and permission to erect a fort; which he called *Sree-Runga-puttun*, or the city of the holy Runga, in honour of that god, to whom also he erected a temple; which was afterwards enlarged by the barbarous demolition of 101 Jain temples at Calaswadi, a town half-way between that place and Mysoor, the materials of which were removed for the improvement of the new temple. Grants are extant from this Timmana, now named Dhanaick, or Lieutenant, in the same year (1454) that he laid the foundation of the fort. The names are mentioned in subsequent grants of several of his lineal successors; but I cannot ascertain the exact period when they were displaced by the appointment of a viceroy, with higher powers, and a more extensive government, of whom the last was Tremul Raj, a relation of the family of Vijeyanuggur.

For an explanation of the doctrines of the *Jain* above-mentioned, consult Appendix, No. 5.

statement, which seems only to prove a mysterious intricacy of intrigue beyond the reach of cotemporaries to unravel. The prevailing tale states that the viceroy Tremul Raj, or Sree Rung Rayeel, as he is sometimes called, being afflicted with the rajpòra, or royal boil, the disorder most fatal to opulent and luxurious Indians, retired to the holy temple of Talcaud, with the view of being cured by the interposition of the idol, or breathing his last before the sacred shrine; and that previously to his departure he had selected Raj Wadeyar of Mysore for the confidential trust of administering the government in his absence, and in the event of his death of transferring it to his kinsman and heir the Wadeyar of Oummatoor.

But on adverting to the animosities and jealousies which had prevailed for many years between these two persons, and the recent attempt of the viceroy only three years before to remove Raj Wadeyar [illegible], we must reject as contrary to all probability, [illegible] confidence and friendship.

[illegible]

and after this important acquisition, present little to arrest the attention. The date of these successive events is preserved in the records of the respective villages or districts, and in the MSS. of Poornia, and Pootia: and as an illustration not altogether uninteresting to those who may wish to verify the general progress of Indian revolutions which has been noticed, or to examine the actual growth of the government of Mysoor, lists of these conquests will be subjoined at the conclusion of this and the successive reigns, adding the names of the former possessors, where they have been ascertained.

The rule of Raj Wadeyar was remarkable for the rigour and severity which he exercised towards the subordinate Wadeyars, and his indulgence towards the Ryots. The Wadeyars were generally dispossessed, and kept in confinement on a scanty allowance at the seat of government; and it was the policy of Raj Wadeyar to reconcile the Ryots to the change, by exacting from them no larger sums than they had formerly paid.

A. D. *The following is a List of his conquests.*

1584.—Conquered Auka Hebbal from Narsing Naick of Narsipoor.

1585.—Rung Summooder from Tim Raj: (it is doubtful whether it may not be Tremul Raj); twelve villages were annexed to this acquisition.

1590.—Kembala by assault; this is the Wadeyar with whom he fought on the ludicrous contest regarding the more ludicrous music.

1595.—Nurnullee.

Ditto—Karoogullee from his relation, imprisoned him, and enriched Mysoor with the plunder of the place.

1600.—Arrakerra, stated to have been the *Jaghire* of Jugdeo Row.

1606.—Sosilla and Bunnoor from Nunderaj of Talcaud.

Ditto—Canniambaddy from Dudeia *Prabhoo.*

1610.—Acquired Seringapatam and its dependencies, then probably much reduced in extent.

Ditto—Took Seroor, a dependency of Periapatam, which was possessed by a relation of the Wadeyar of Coorg.

1612.—Sergoor from Sree Kunt Wadeyar.

1613.—Turcanambady, a dependency of Seringapatam, which had been dissevered from it under Tremul Raj, by Nunderaj Wadeyar.

Ditto—Oomatoor from the same person.

1614.—Ram Summooder and Hadanaud from Chunder Naick, brother of Nunjeraj.

Ditto—Haroohully from Nunjeraj and Sree Kunt Wadeyar.

Ditto—Hardunhully from Nunjeraj Wadeyar.

1615.—Moogoor from Busswan Raj Wadeyar.

Ditto—Kikary from Jugdeo Raj.—N. B.—This person was the descendant of the celebrated *Jug Deo.*

Ditto—Hooshullul from the same.

1617.—Manuttoon depending on Periapatam.

CHAM RAJ.

Six sons of the late Raja, who would seem to have arrived at years of maturity, all died before their father, and only one of them, viz. *Narsa Raj*, left male issue, *Cham Raj*, a youth of fifteen, who immediately succeeded to his grandfather. The second wife of Raj Wadeyar was, however, four months advanced in her pregnancy at the time of her husband's decease, and her posthumous son succeeded to Cham Raj.

During a rule of twenty years, in which the dominions of Mysoor were gradually and very considerably enlarged, no event of importance occurred which falls within the plan of this narrative; and the dates and names of the conquests must conclude the meagre chronicle of the reign, which will however be illustrated by subsequent events. An incident connected with the capture of Hegara Devan Cotta in 1624 seems strongly to illustrate the character of the times. The Mysoorean army attacked the place during the absence of its chief *Channa Raj* Wadeyar on a distant expedition, and obtained a great booty. The simplicity of a [illegible] is preserved by tradition, who on the approach of the enemy [illegible] "My master," said he, "is absent with the troops [illegible] the Ranee [illegible] in labour, and excessively alarmed at your [illegible]; we have only fifty soldiers in the place, and the late rains have made two [illegible] in the rampart, one on the southern and the other on the eastern face. To come at such a time is very improper and ungenerous."

It appears that this Raja followed the example of his predecessor in assuming the direct management of the conquered districts, in keeping the captive Wadeyars at the seat of government under a greater or less degree of restraint according to circumstances, and in refraining from any additional assessment on the Ryots. He died in 1637, and during his reign the following conquests were made:

1621 Sheregood from Jugdeo Row
Mulloor from [illegible]
Tahal from Soma Raj Wadeyar
1623 Arcotar from [illegible] Naik
1624 [illegible] the capital of Jugdeo Row
Bekunkerra belonging to the same
Sattigal then the capital of [illegible] Nunjeraj of Alembady
1626 Hongamee from the Prabhoo of [illegible]
Cuttanahwaddy from Chenn Raj Wadeyar
Tullkar from Dewar Prabhoo
1630 Channapatam after a long siege from [illegible], a descendant of the celebrated Jug Deo, and immediately afterwards Caunkan Hully and Nagamungalum from the same person
B[illegible] from *[illegible] R[illegible]*
1633.—Took Chenroypatam after a very long siege

IMMADEE RAJ.

The posthumous son of Raj Wadeyar ascended the Musnud in his 20th year, on the death of his nephew Cham Raj, and was poisoned at the expiration of a year and a half by his Dulwoy (general and minister) Veecrama Raj. It is probable that the meagre annals of the preceding reign would furnish more of incident, if we had access to the *genuine* history of the Dulwoys during that period; but not only the fact which has just been stated, and the assassination of Veecrama under the succeeding Raja, are altogether omitted in the family history of the Dulwoys, but even the name of this personage has been obliterated from their annals.

The preceding Raja had succeeded to the government at the early age of fifteen. We may conjecture from subsequent events that his minister had found him of an easy temper; and in the mode so familiar to Indian courts of modern and ancient date, had, by inciting and corrupting his natural propensities, plunged him into habits of low and licentious indolence; and thus kept him through life in a state of perpetual tutelage. *Immadee Raj* was probably found to possess too much of the energy of his grandfather, and was therefore speedily removed.

CANTY REVA NARSA RAJ.

This person was son of the gallant and generous Betad Cham Raj Wadeyar. The government returned in his person to the elder branch, from which it had been wrested by the deposition of his father, whose martial spirit he inherited, without his careless extravagance and incapacity for finance.

An instance is preserved of his chivalrous spirit, which seems to be well authenticated. While living in obscurity in a remote village, during the former reigns, a travelling bramin from Trichinopoly mentioned in conversation a celebrated champion at that court, who had defeated all antagonists from every part of India, and had now proclaimed a general challenge. Canty Reva being desirous of seeing this celebrated personage, requested the bramin to be his guide and companion to Trichinopoly, where, concealing his rank, he presented himself as the antagonist of the challenger; and the broad sword having been determined as the weapon, he defeated and slew the champion, in presence of the whole court, assembled to witness the contest. The Raja of Trichinopoly was desirous of distinguishing and retaining in his service this remarkable stranger; but he absconded in the night, and returned to his humble habitation, where the incident was soon made public.

Such was the character of the man whom an usurping minister had the audacity to *select* for his nominal master.

On his arrival at Mysoor, where it was still the practice to instal the Rajas, the minister ordered that he should be lodged in

an exterior apartment, and assigning to him a few personal attendants, announced in a manner sufficiently intelligible, the condition to which he was destined, by departing on a tour of the neighbouring districts, without going through the form of installing him, or even the decent observance of paying his personal respects. During the tour it was reported to the minister that the Raja appeared to be dissatisfied, and would probably attempt to recover his independence. "Let him take care," said the minister, negligently, "and remember that I have not yet in[illegible]."

The murder of Immadee Raja and the facts which have just been stated constitute the grounds of the conjecture which has been hazarded regarding the condition of the two preceding Ra[illegible]; and the open and contemptuous arrogance of the minister's demeanour on the present occasion seems to furnish abundant proof of an absolute usurpation.

During the absence of the minister, two of the attendants [illegible] on the Raja [illegible] secretly intimated to him the history of the murder of his predecessor, and offered their services to [illegible] the usurper: this was accordingly effected on the very [illegible] subsequent to his arrival at Mysoor, after he had [illegible] the form of paying a visit of ceremony to the Raja.

The [illegible] of this transaction has been preserved in several [illegible]. The two attendants, Peons, or foot soldiers, scaled the [illegible] of the minister's court yard after dark, and lay in wait for an opportunity to effect their purpose. Shortly afterwards the minister appeared, preceded by a torch-bearer, passing towards a detached apartment. The assassins first killed the torch-bearer, and the light happened to be entirely extinguished. "Who are you?" said the minister. "Your enemy," replied one of the Peons, and made a blow. The minister, however, closed with him, and being the more powerful man threw him to the ground and [illegible] him by the throat, in which situation he [illegible]. The night was so very dark that his companion [illegible] strike [illegible]. "Are you uppermost or undermost?" "Undermost," [illegible] the half-strangled Peon; and the [illegible] enabled the associate to strike the fatal blow.

[illegible] was installed on the following day, and [illegible] afterwards proceeded to the seat of government at Seringapatam. In the first year of his accession he had to defend the capital of his dominions against a formidable invasion of the [illegible] of the Mohammedan King of Beejapoor, under a general of reputation named *R[illegible] D[illegible] Khan*,* who besieged Seringapatam, and having effected a practicable breach, made a general assault, in which he was repulsed with great slaughter, and [illegible] compelled to raise the siege, but harassed in his

* [illegible] of the [illegible] battle. This is the only Mohammedan dynasty that gave Hindoo titles: in general they are exclusively Arabic.

retreat* by successive attacks, in which the Raja obtained considerable booty.

After a number of conquests, which will be stated in the usual manner, Canterava Narsa Raj returned in 1654 to Seringapatam, where he instituted a deliberate inquiry into the condition of all his dependants, and subjects of every description. It was his first object to reduce to entire subjection the remnant of refractory Poligars and Wadeyars which still existed: and it may be inferred that he assumed the direct government of the whole of his dominions, from the farther measures which he is recorded to have pursued. He made a detailed and particular scrutiny into the condition of the *gouds*, or heads of villages, and principal farmers throughout his dominions, whom he had found to be the most turbulent of all his subjects: and ingeniously attributing their refractory disposition to a purse-proud arrogance, arising from the excessive accumulation of wealth, he determined to apply a very summary and direct remedy, by seizing at once on the supposed source of the evil.

He accordingly levied on the whole of this description of persons such contributions as, according to the manuscripts, left them only a sufficient capital for the uses of agriculture, and nothing for the purposes of commotion: it does not, however, appear that he ventured to augment the fixed assessment of the Ryots.

He improved and enlarged the fortifications of Seringapatam; and being enriched by his various foreign conquests and domestic plunder, supplied it with provisions and military stores, in a style of complete equipment which had hitherto been unknown.

He was the first Raja of Mysoor who established a mint. The cantyrai hoons† and fanams, called after his name, continued to be the sole national coin until the Mohammedan usurpation; and at this time form a considerable portion of the currency of the country.

He is also noted as the author of a new and more respectful etiquette at his court, and for having first celebrated with suitable splendour the feast of the Maha-Noumi,‡ or Dessara; for hav-

* In the same year we find Rend Dhoola Khan uniting with a multitude of rebellious Wadeyars depending on Bednore, and besieging the Raja of that country in Cowlidroog. The Raja bought off the Mohammedan general, who left the Wadeyars to the consequences of the Raja's indignation.

† The coin which Europeans call a *Pagoda*.

‡ Maha-Noumi, the Great Ninth, the feast being celebrated on the 9th day of the increasing moon; it is the supposed anniversary of a great event in the history of the celebrated Pandoos. The feast is kept with a creditable degree of splendour by the present Raja of Mysoor, and athletic contests and various sports are exhibited before him during nine successive days. Mysoor, I believe, is the only country in the south of India in which the institution of the athletæ (Jetti) has been preserved on its ancient footing. These persons constitute a distinct caste, trained from their infancy in daily exercises for the express purpose of these exhibitions; and perhaps the whole world does not produce more perfect forms than those which are exhibited at these interesting but cruel sports. The combatants, clad in a single garment of light orange-coloured

ing presented to the idol Sree Runga a crown of valuable jewels, and for having established munificent endowments for the support of all the principal temples. He is of course the idol of his Bramin historians, whose system of ethics is not disturbed by any troublesome reflections on the simple transfer of property, by which the fruits of industry are transformed into pious plunder.

It remains to detail the conquests of this reign.

1641.—He descended the Caveripoorum pass, and took Jambelly, and several other places depending on Goottee Moodelaree, of Caveripoorum.

1644.—Took Humpapoor from Nersing Naick.

Betadpoor from Nunjend Raj, Wadeyar of Coorg.

Periapatam from Nunjend Raj, whose son, Veer Raj, fell in the defence of the place; established there his own garrison, and carried off the plunder to Seringapatam.

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drawers, extending half-way down the thigh, have their right hand furnished with a weapon, which, for want of a more appropriate term, we shall name a cæstus, although different from the Roman instrument of that name. It is composed of buffalo horn, fitted to the hand, and pointed with four knobs, resembling very sharp knuckles, and corresponding to their situation, with a fifth of greater prominence, at the end nearest the little finger, and at right angles with the other four. This instrument, properly placed, would enable a man of ordinary strength to cleave open the head of his adversary at a blow: but the fingers being introduced through the weapon, it is fastened across them at an equal distance between the first and second lower joints, in a situation, it will be observed, which does not admit of attempting a severe blow, without the risk of dislocating the first joints of all the fingers.

Thus armed, and adorned with garlands of flowers, the successive pairs of combatants, previously matched by the masters of the feast, are led into the arena; their names and abodes are proclaimed; and after making their prostrations, first to the Raja seated on his ivory throne, in a balcony which overlooks the arena, and then to the lattices behind which the ladies of the court are seated, they proceed to the combat, first divesting themselves of the garlands, and strewing the flowers gracefully over the arena.

The combat is a mixture of wrestling and boxing, if the latter may be so named: the head is the exclusive object permitted to be struck. The guards for defence, though skilful, are not numerous: the blows are mere cuts inflicted by the cæstus; and before the end of the contest, both of the combatants may frequently be observed streaming with blood from the crown of the head down to the sand of the arena.

The wrestling is truly admirable; and the exertions of the combatants to disengage themselves from unfavourable positions, in which the head would be exposed to the cæstus, are, as mere specimens of activity, not exceeded by any corresponding exhibition on an European stage.

When victory seems to have declared itself, or the contest is too severely maintained, the moderators in attendance on the Raja in the balcony make a signal for its cessation, by throwing down turbans and robes, to be presented to the combatants, who before retiring repeat their prostrations to the Raja and the lattices.

A wistful look towards the balcony is the usual symptom of acknowledged inferiority, or of being, in the phrase of English pugilists, *not game*: and the victor frequently goes off the arena in four or five *somersets*, to denote that he retires fresh from the contest. A pair of fresh combatants is introduced with the same forms, and of such pairs about two hundred are exhibited during the nine days of the great festival.

1646.—Curb-Culloor, and Miasummooder, from Bheirapa Naick.
1647.—Arkulgoor, depending on Bullum.
Ditto—Coondgull from Kimpe Gour of Maagry.
1652.—Rettingherry from Eitebal Row.

Veerabuddra Droog, Kingeri Cotta, Penagra, and Darampoory, depending on Vijeyapoor, and established his own authority in these four talooks. Fourteen years before this period the capital is besieged by the army of Vijeyapoor, the series of conquests begins now to be reversed, and that once powerful monarchy, threatened from the north and undermined within, now verges towards its close.

Took Dankanicotta from Eitebal Row, and carried a large booty from thence to Seringapatam.

1653.—Descended the Gujjelhutty pass, took *Denaikancotta*, Sattimungul, and other places from Vencatadry Naick, brother of the Raja of Madura,* and brought home an immense booty; he also took many talooks from *Veerapa, Naick of Madura.*

The Jetti of Mysoor are divided into five classes, and the ordinary prize of victory is promotion to a higher class. There are distinct rewards for those of the first class, and in their old age they are promoted to be masters of the feast. During three years that I attended the Raja at this feast there was one champion who remained unmatched; on the fourth a stripling offered to engage, and was merely permitted to spar with him, and on the fifth year this youth was victorious.

* Nagana Naid, described to be head of the bullock department to Acheta Deva Rayeel of Vijeyanuggur, founded the dynasty of the Naicks of Madura about the year 1532, with the aid of a *colony* of Telingas, which seems to have been planted in that country some time before by the government of Vijeyanuggur. The persons known by the general designation of southern Poligars, who have so often resisted the authority of the English government, are the descendants of these foreigners, and preserve the language of their ancestors distinct from that of the aborigines; although the Tamul is so generally spoken by them all as to render the existence of a separate language (now verging to extinction) not very obvious to common observation. The fact is known to me not only from personal communication, but from several domestic memoirs preserved in the Mackenzie collection. I believe that the only genuine Tamul of any consequence concerned in the rebellion of 1800-2 was *Chenna Murdoo*, who, from the mean situation of dog-boy, had supplanted the Poligar, properly the Wadeyar, his master, and usurped the government. The most daring of these Poligars are of the *Totier* caste, among whom may be observed the singular and economical custom which is general throughout Coorg, and may be traced in several other countries from Tibet to Cape Comorin, of having but one wife for a family of several brothers. The elder brother is first married, and the lady is regularly asked whether she consents to be also the spouse of the younger brothers. When the means of the family enable them to afford another wife, the second and successively the other brothers marry, and their spouses are equally accommodating. This custom is traced by tradition to the five sons of Pandoo, the heroes of the Mahabarut. During their explusion from the government their sister Draupeda went to seek and comfort them in the forests where they secreted themselves. The brother who first met her wrote to his mother in these words. "I have found a treasure, what shall I do with it?" "Share it with your brethren, and enjoy it equally," was the

1654.—Took Oossoor from *Chender Senker*, and obtained a valuable booty.

In the same year he engaged the army of Kempe-Goud* of Maagry at Yelavanca, gained a complete victory, with a large booty, pursued the fugitives to Maagry, and levied a contribution on this powerful Goud, now risen to the rank of Raja.

DUD† DEO RAJ.

The late Raja died without issue. It seems to have been a principle on such occasions to revert to some descendant of an elder branch; but beyond this single consideration we shall seldom find an adherence to any fixed rule of succession. The queen dowager and the general of the forces are stated to have decided on this occasion; but it seems difficult to reconcile their decision to any imaginable rule of descent.

Mooppin Deo Raj, the eldest son of *Bole Cham Raj*, left four sons, of whom it is known with certainty that the eldest and youngest, and probably the second and third also, were at this time alive. The eldest son Dud Devaia was an old man, and had a son *Chick Deo Raj* aged 32. The younger or fourth brother of Dud Devaia was also no more than 32, the same age as his

answer: she accordingly became their common wife; and in Hindoo poetry is frequently distinguished by an epithet signifying, "adorned with five husbands."

* The ancestor of Kempe Goud was a common farmer, or Ryot, in the village of Avor near Conjeveram in Drauveda, and emigrated with his family to avoid the oppression of the Wadeyar of that place, who wished to seize the daughter of the farmer, celebrated for her beauty. He settled on a waste spot about thirteen miles north of Bangalore, and founded the village of Yelavanca, of which he became the Goud or Potail.

The first exploit of the farmer (for in his days all farmers were soldiers) was a victory over the Wadeyar of Bangalore. The foundation of the present fortress, and of that on the tremendous rock of Savendroog, is the work of this adventurous family, which extended its dominions over the woody country stretching south towards the Cavery, and to a considerable distance on the plain in every direction, forming upon the whole a large, valuable, and formidable possession. During the government of the 5th in lineal succession from *Kempe Goud* the founder of the family, Rend Dhoola Khan, the general of the king of Vijeyanuggur, wrested from him Bangalore and most of his possessions on the plain. This must have been between the years 1644 and 1655, which would place the emigration of the family from Drauveda about the middle of the preceding century. The family was extinguished in 1728 by *Dud Kishen Raj* of Mysoor.

Similar to this was the origin of a far more formidable and rapid progress in the north of India. It will be observed that the northern news-letters inserted in the Appendix to the reports of the committee of the house of commons generally speak of Madajee Sindia as the *Putteel* or *Potail*, the same as Goud; and he had a pride in being so addressed by his ancient associates in his proud Durbar at Delhi, after having overthrown the house of Timour.

† Dud (*great*), Chick (*little*) or senior and junior. It was on the accession of Chick Deo Raj that the distinction was made to mark the first and second in the order of succession. The name of Dud Deo Raj previously to his accession, was *Kemp Devaia*, or Devai, the fair or red.

nephew. This is the person who was selected, to the exclusion of the three elder brothers, and their male issue; although after his decease they again reverted to the same son of the elder brother at 45, whom they had passed over at 32.* Dud Deo Raj sustained, during the first year of his reign, a formidable invasion by the troops of Seopha Naick† the Rajah of Bednore, sanctioned by the name and personal influence of the last of the race of Vijeyanuggur.

In consequence of a succession of revolutions and misfortunes in Drauveda, *Sreé Rung Rayeel*, the representative of the house of Vijeyanuggur, fled from that country in the year 1646, and took refuge with the Raja of Bednore, formerly a servant of his family, who availed himself of this useful pageant to extend his own dominions under the semblance of re-establishing the royal house of his liege lord: and now appeared before Seringapatam with an army sufficiently powerful to invest the place.

Dud Deo Raj is accused by the historians of Bednore of having employed bribery as well as military prowess for the purpose of inducing this army to raise the siege, and retreat in confusion and dismay to Bednore. The Mysooreans extended their conquests to the west, and appeared to have received from the royal pageant forced grants of conquered districts during this and the four subsequent years, after which we hear no more of *Sree Rung Rayeel*, or the house of Vijeyanuggur.

This reign is also distinguished by a serious although less formidable attack from another power, which had arisen on the ruins of the house of Vijeyanuggur. Chuckapa, Naick of Madura, had meditated the entire conquest of Mysoor; but the events of the war reversed his expectations, and left the districts of Erroor and Darapoor as fixed conquests in the possession of Deo Raj, after he had urged his success to the extent of levying large contributions on Trichinopoly, and other places of importance.

This Raja does not appear to have conducted in person the military operations of his reign; and although he attended with diligence and ability to the administration of affairs, he is less

* These details, clearly deduced from the genealogical manuscript, are involved in great obscurity in all the historical pieces, from the confused and loose practice of frequently making no distinction between son and fraternal nephew; brother, and cousin-german; and other equally puzzling inaccuracies, resulting from the domestic practices and habits of thinking of the Hindoos: those details also explain with sufficient clearness the reason of a fact incidentally noticed, that Chick Deo Raj with his father were kept as prisoners at Turkanamby during this reign.

† About the middle of the 16th century the ancestor of this Raja from the the situation of an opulent farmer was raised to the rank of governor of Bednore. In process of time he threw off his allegiance, and by farther conquests had now become a powerful and independent prince. The practice of a Naib, Nabob or deputy, setting up for himself, is far from being a Mohammedan invention.

celebrated by his bramin historians for his civil or military talents, and political skill, than for his excessive devotion and religious munificence. A colossal figure of the Buswa, Nundi,* or holy bull, on the hill of Mysoor, is the most remarkable monument of his religious zeal, being probably the largest and most skilfully executed figure of this kind in the south of India: but he is most extolled for having remitted to the bramins a certain assessment on the possessions of the church; and having been profuse in his grants of land and distribution of money to that holy order.

In a progress through his country for civil purposes, he was taken ill and died at Chickanaickenhully, which is stated to have been conquered during his reign from the Mussulman state of Golconda, although considerably removed from the supposed boundaries of that power.

The conquests of this reign were as follow:

1662.—Cheyloor and Biddery from the Poligar of Toomcoor.
1663.—Sumpaga from the Raja of Bednore.
1666.—Chickanaickenhully from the state of Golconda.
1667.—Hassan, including Sacrapattun and other districts, from Sree Rung Raveel, the royal pageant abovementioned.
Saruckvelly, depending on Honavully.
Hooli Narsapoor from the Wadeyar of that place.
Erroor or Errood, from the Naick of Madura.
Darapoor from the same.
Hooliordroog and Koonigull from Kempé Goud of Mangree.
Waumeloor from Gaute Moodelair.

* The animal on which Seeva is mounted in the mythological histories and sculptures of the Hindoos.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL RETROSPECT FROM 1564 TO 1677.

Critical period in the affairs of Mysoor—Necessity of a retrospect to the general state of Deckan and the south since the battle of Tellicota--Compact of the victors for separate conquest—their progress in the central and western provinces—in the eastern—Numerous smaller states rise from the ruins of the late empire—An Abyssinian king in Deckan—The prince Aurungzebe appointed viceroy of Deckan—Folly of the Mussulman chiefs of the south—Base treachery of the Hindoos themselves—Conquests of Vijeyapoor—and Golconda—crushed by Aurungzebe, now emperor—Beautiful Hindoo prophecy—applied to Sevagi, the founder of the present Mahratta empire—Origin of this family—Baubajee Bhonsla—Maulajee—Shahjee—Whimsical affiance of marriage—enforced—Shahjee elevated to the office of minister—Mogul invasion—Flight of Shahjee to Vijeyapoor—Adventures and capture of his wife—Birth of Sevajee—Second marriage of Shahjee—anecdote of his ingenuity—appointed governor of the conquests in Carnatic and Drauveda—innovations in his administration—separate provision for his first wife and son at Poona—Vicious habits of Sevajee—The robber becomes a sovereign—Evidence of Shahjee's intention to establish an independent government for himself at Bangalore—is seized, and ordered to be executed--reprieve—restoration to confidence and power—Sevajee takes revenge on his father's enemies—is visited by his father—Discussion of dates—Conquest of Tanjore—Sevajee's wonderful irruption into Drauveda—incidents of that campaign—meeting with his brother Eccojee for the first time—undisturbed return to Concan.

THE period at which we are now arrived presented a combination of circumstances peculiarly favourable to the growth of the rising state of Mysoor, and its councils were now to be directed by the degree of ambition, enterprise, and prudence, which was suited to its actual situation. But some retrospect will be necessary for the purpose of enabling us to understand the scene by which it was surrounded, and to follow more distinctly the thread of our future narrative.

After the fatal blow sustained by the empire of Vijeyanuggur in 1564 at the dreadful field of Tellicota, we have seen the confederate Mussulman kings diverted by their own dissentions from following up that decisive action by the conquest of the rest of its dominions; and the representative of the house of Vijeyanuggur establishing himself at Penconda or Bilconda, about 140 miles S. E. of the former capital. The design of farther conquest was not, however, entirely relinquished;* for, taking advantage of a favourable juncture of affairs, the two Mussulman kings of Vijeyapoor and Ahmednuggur held a personal conference, in which it was agreed that they should pursue lines of conquest so distinct, as to preclude interference or

* These transactions are stated from a comparison of the authorities in Scott's two volumes of the Deckan, and in the Historical Memoirs of the Adil Shahee, and Kootub Shahee dynasties, and the various local memoirs in the Mackenzie collection, but chiefly those of Condavir, Adoni and Bellary, as digested by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie himself.

jealousy; the latter to the N. E. in the direction of Berar, and the king of Vijeyapoor to the S. W. over the dependencies of Vijeyanuggur. After the capture of Adoni, an achievement which gave reputation to his arms, his conquests were extended to the S. W. down to the sea-coast from near Goa to Barcalore, including the modern provinces of Savanore, Soonda, and North Canara. These successes led to farther efforts towards the S. E., and an attempt was made on Penconda, whence Timma Raja had, however, transferred the chief residence of his government some years before to Chandergherry. The attack on Penconda was successfully repelled by the heroic efforts of Jug Deo Rayeel, a relation of the Raja, whose services were rewarded by the government of an extensive domain, stretching across a large portion of the peninsula, from Baramahal inclusive, nearly to the borders of the western mountains;* this domain, with some fluctuations, remained in the same family, until finally absorbed in the growing fortunes of the Wadeyars of Mysoor. The check thus sustained by Vijeyapoor was aggravated by the defection of some of its officers, and by a subsequent minority: at intervals, however, we find the generals of that state levying tribute in two expeditions along the woody and mountainous tract of Soonda, Bednore, Bullum and Coorg.

During this state of the Carnatic Proper, the eastern and southern provinces of the late government did not present a much more settled aspect. About the year 1597, the last descendant of the ancient Rayeels (as the Rajas of that house are always called) who manifested any symptoms of power, ruled with some degree of magnificence at Chandergherry and Vellore; where he still held a nominal sway over the principal governors or Naicks; the most considerable of whom appear to have been, at this time,

Naick of Gingee	Kistnapa.
of Tanjore	
of Madura	
of Chennapatam	Jug Deo Rayeel
of Seringapatam	Tremul Raj
of Penconda	

Of the feebleness of his government, and the general contempt of his authority, we have the evidence of European missionaries, who expressly state that the Naick of Madura was at open war with him. Induced *by the solicitation of the merchants of his country*, he seemed disposed to grant a settlement to the agents of the English East-India Company, but was dissuaded through the influence of the Dutch, who had already established themselves at Pulicat. In their correspondence they observe that his death† "without male issue was expected to be followed by great troubles," as, in fact, it was in the succeeding year.

While in this interval of forty-three years the progress of the

* Ascertained by inscriptions and local memoirs.

† MSS. translation of Havert's Coromandel in the Mackenzie collection.

Mohammedan arms had been retarded by the causes which have been noticed, and by other events in the Deckan, which cannot conveniently be embraced by a retrospective sketch; a few aspiring individuals laid the foundation of an intermediate order of things, which in the central districts occupied the place of the late government, composing a series of smaller states, which increased or diminished in power and territory as they succeeded or failed in their alternate usurpations. To the northward of Jug Deo's domain already noticed, the most remarkable of these new states were the Poligars of Chittledroog,* Raidroog, Harponnelly, Tarikera, with many others of inferior note, whose united efforts might have opposed a respectable barrier to Mohammedan encroachment, if united efforts could be expected from restless savages, perpetually occupied by intestine quarrels; for most of them were of the lower and hardier cast of the Beder, a race of herdsmen and hunters, who, in their earliest accession to power, exhibited all the ferocious symptoms of their savage origin. The family of Bednore, also, in this interval of confusion extended their possessions, from their first small establishment at Caladee in 1499, down to the sea-coast of Honaver (Onore,) and south, to the limits of Malabar, over the dominions of the former queens of Garsopa;† while on the north they successfully opposed the farther advance of the forces of Vijeyapoor along the sea-coast. To this period of nearly fifty years of general confusion, through which we are now making a hasty progress, may be assigned the origin or the improvement of most of the droogs or fortified rocks of the Carnatic Proper, and of Baramahal.

Of the causes which, in the complicated events of the Deckan, impeded the general progress of the Mohammedan arms, one is too remarkable to be altogether unnoticed; namely, the temporary government established by an Abyssinian (Mallick Amber,) who not only resisted the progress of the Mogul arms, but rendered tributary the kings of Vijeyapoor and Golconda, choosing as the capital of his new state the town of Ghurka, afterwards better known by the name of Aurungabad. The death of his successor in 1626 extinguished the hope of a happier order of things, which might reasonably have been indulged from the high character for moderation and policy which is universally allowed to this warrior and statesman.

In 1634 the strong fortress of Dowlatabad fell into the possession of the Moguls, and a regular government was established in the Deckan, of which, under the prince Aurungzebe, the neighbouring town of Ghurka, now named Aurungabad, became the provincial capital. Every measure of this prince indicated his determination to subdue the Patan kingdoms of Vijeyapoor

* Family annals, and local memoirs of these several places in the Mackenzie collection.

† *The pepper queen* of the Portuguese authors.

and Golconda as a necessary preparative to the general subjugation of the south. These princes had arrived at that stage of civilization in which gorgeous and awkward splendor covered the most gross political darkness. Instead of directing their united force against this paramount and obvious danger, they were engaged in idle pomp and pageantry, and in an arrogant and short-sighted project for the partition of the dominions of the south, which by its success only tended to accelerate the ruin of its authors. It was agreed that each should extend his conquests over the countries of the *zemindars* of the Carnatic, as they affected to call them, who were nearest to their respective territories. The general imbecility of the Hindoo government opposed but little resistance to their arms; and it is even stated in Hindoo manuscripts* that they were invited by several of the usurpers, who, under the title of Naicks, Rajas, Wadeyars, Poligars, and even Gouds of single villages, had erected separate principalities, and foolishly hoped to preserve or extend them by the aid of a foreign force.

Rend Dhoola Khan, general of the forces of Vijeyapoor, overran, in 1636, the whole open country of Bankapoor, Hurryhur, Buswapatan and Tarrikera, up to the woods of Bednore; and in 1638 we have seen him repelled from Seringapatam. The line of conquest in which he was more permanently successful passed to the north of the hills of Milgota and Savendroog, towards Bangalore, which he conquered in this year, and rendered his chief residence, the Goud escaping to the rock of Savendroog, then deemed impregnable. Sera was conquered in 1644, and became afterwards the capital of a large provincial government. From Sera, Bangalore and Colar, the conquests of Vijeyapoor embraced towards to the south-east the important fortresses of Vellore and Ginjee,† and those of Golconda the possessions situated to the N. E. of that line, including Chundergherry and

* The Poligar of Tarikera and Anicul in Carnatic Proper, and in Dravida, the Naicks of Tripassoor, Tanjour, and Madura, are chiefly accused of this act of *national treachery*. This offence, says my friend Major Mackenzie, like parricide among the early Romans, was considered as unknown, *a crime without a name*, they having no particular term to describe it, like treason against a Gooroo (spiritual preceptor) or (Swamey) temporal master, chief or king. But when we recollect that monarchy was the universal form of government, it was scarcely necessary to distinguish between treason against the nation, and treason against the representative of the nation.

† Some of the Mackenzie manuscripts afford room to doubt whether Ginjee did not fall to the share of Golconda, but I imagine it is an error of the transcriber, Ginjee for Gunjee-cota on the northern Pennar, the latter word signifying fortress. It is evident from M. Orme's Fragments, p. 231, that it belonged to Vijeyapoor, and Sevajee certainly found it, in 1677, in the possession of a garrison belonging to that power.

The Kinjee described in Scot's History of the Deckan (vol. 2, p. 84-85) is evidently Kanchee, the Conjeveram of our maps, and the description of the route in p. [illegible] is remarkably accurate at this day.

Chingleput, the occasional places of residence and nominal capitals of the last nominal Rayeel; who, after long secreting himself in Drauveda, escaped in 1646 across the peninsula to claim the protection of the chief of Bednore. These conquests occupied the arms of the Patan kings for a lengthened period of time: the march of Aurungzebe with his best officers and troops into Hindostan for the purpose of asserting his pretensions to the throne relieved them for a time from the serious pressure of the Mogul arms, and nearly 48 years were allowed to elapse after the first plan of partition, before their ancient and modern possessions were crushed in one common ruin by the arms of the emperor Aurungzebe.*

Such was the state of the times when a Hindoo author, concluding a succinct chronological account of ancient kings, conveyed under the disguise of a prophecy,† thus denounces the evils which were to ensue: "Omens and Prodigies shall appear. The goddess Calee shall descend on earth, in all her wrathful forms; the proprietors, occupiers, nobles, and all the children of the south shall perish: mankind shall be engaged in incessant war; the demons everywhere exciting to strife, and arms, in every town and every street: the nobles shall be compelled to obey the command of the Toorks,‡ and be led like sheep to the slaughter." The prophecy concludes with the animating prediction of a deliverer and conqueror, who should relieve the Hindoos from these horrible oppressions: "Then the divine Veera Vasunta shall appear; virgins shall announce his approach with songs of joy: the skies shall shower down flowers, &c." Such a deliverer in the person of the celebrated Sevajee was shortly afterwards supposed to have appeared; and there is abundant evidence that both he and his adherents directly countenanced the idea of his being under the immediate protection of a deity, by whose inspiration he professed himself to be directed. We shall not permit ourselves to be seduced by the adventures of this extraordinary man far beyond the limits which connect them with the direct object of our work.

We have already had occasion to describe the limits of the

* To prevent embarrassment to the English reader this name (the ornament of the throne) will be continued instead of *Aulumgeer* (the conqueror of the world) assumed on his accession, and universally employed by Indian authors.

† From the Gutpurtie manuscript in the Mackenzie collection, supposed to have been written about 1646, such prophecies have frequently appeared in subsequent times, and one of them had a wide circulation in the south in the year 1805.

‡ *Mussulmans-Toork* is the name by which they are distinguished in all the languages of the south, written or vernacular, at this day. The earliest *Mussulman* invasion was of *Afghans* or *Patans*, from the Indian Caucasus, and the name seems to point to invasions from Toorkomania at more remote periods. The "kine-slaying" is the epithet usually prefixed to the name of Toork in most of the manuscripts.

Mahratta country and people. For upwards of three hundred years it had been subjected to the domination of strangers: the most obvious maxims of policy, and even of necessity, at first compelled these foreigners to give employment to the military classes of the conquered people; and they continued in after-times to fill in different proportions the ranks of the Mohammedan kings of Deckan. The existence, the name, and almost the remembrance, of a Mahratta government had fallen into oblivion: but a bond of union continued to exist, which time and conquest had not been able to dissolve: the religion of the vanquished was still different from that of the conquerors; but above all, the Mahratta language continued to be spoken over the whole extent of the ancient bounds of Maharashtra, and described, by an infallible criterion, who were to be followers of a *heaven-inspired* Mahratta prince.

"The first* remarkable person of this house was *Baboojee Bhonsla*, Pateel of the villages of Davulgaw, Heganee and Baradee, &c., belonging to the ancient Talook of Poona." He had issue two sons, Maulojee and Veenaujee, who quarrelling with the cultivators about the lands, removed from thence to the village of Varoola, near Dowlatabad, where they first settled as farmers, and subsequently entered as foot soldiers into the personal guard of Jadoo Row, a chief who held a considerable command under the dynasty of Nizam Sha. In this situation Maulojee was gradually promoted to an office of confidence about the person of his patron. Maulojee had one son, *Shahjee*,† and his master Jadoo Row a daughter, *Jeejee*. One day when these children, being respectively of the ages of five and three years, were introduced on the occasion of a great festival, at which all the relations of the family and principal officers were assembled, Jadoo remarked that he had never seen children so beautiful, or so well suited to each other. The observation was seized by Maulojee and faintly assented to by Jadoo Row, as an affiance of marriage; but the wife of the latter was enraged at the prospect of so unequal an alliance, and Maulojee insisting on the performance of a pledge thus publicly given, was ultimately discharged from the service. The brothers returned to their former residence at Varoola, where the accidental discovery of a hidden treasure enabled them to enlarge their views.

* Such is the exact commencement of a history of the house of Bhonsla in the Mahratta language, communicated by my excellent friend Colonel Close, without any allusion to the reputed descent of this family from the Rajpoot princes of Oodeypoor. The facts, as stated in the text, are chiefly taken from this performance.

† The wife of Maulojee having been long childless, made her vows to *Shah Sefer*, a holy recluse at Ahmednuggur, who was celebrated for granting the prayers of such votaries; a Hindoo at a Mohammedan shrine, and to that extent it is not unexampled: and her first child is stated in the manuscript to have been named Shahjee in gratitude to the saint.

and to retaliate the insult sustained by their dismissal. For this purpose they raised banditti, with which they secretly plundered the districts committed to the charge of Jadoo Row; and afterwards proceeded to a more direct and successful system of predatory war. These disturbances attracted the attention of Nizam Sha,* who, on hearing the representation of both parties, declared the daughter of Jadoo Row to be duly betrothed to Shahjee, and the former was reluctantly compelled to permit the solemnization of the marriage, of which, Sumbajee, afterwards killed on service in the south, was the first offspring.

Shahjee had attained the age of twenty-five years when his father died: and having acquired rank and influence by the reputation of superior talents, on the occasion of a minority in the house of Nizam Sha was chosen by the family to be the guardian and minister of the minor. A Mogul invasion immediately succeeded this event; and Jadoo Row, never reconciled to Shahjee, joined the invaders; whom he is accused of having invited for the express purpose of supplanting his son-in-law. Shahjee found it prudent to retire with his charge to the Concan, where he was shortly afterwards besieged, in the fort of Mahooly, by a superior force; chiefly composed of the troops of his father-in-law. Finding it impossible to defend the place, he made overtures of service to Ibrahim Adil Sha of Vijeyapoor, which were accepted; and embracing a favourable opportunity, he left the minor behind in the fort of Mahooly, and, accompanied by his wife and son Sumbajee, cut through the troops of the besiegers, and proceeded by forced marches to gain the territory of Vijeyapoor. He was closely and rancorously pursued by the troops of his father-in-law for several successive days: and his wife being advanced seven months in a second pregnancy, was unable any longer to endure the fatigue. Shahjee in this extremity left her, with a few trusty attendants, to fall into the hands of her father; escaping himself with the infant Sumbajee. She was kindly received, and placed in security in the hill fort of Seevanaree, where she was delivered of the famous Sevajee on the 17th of May 1626;† and Shahjee, now finally separated from his first wife, arrived in safety at Vijeyapoor, where he was honourably received; and having

* The manuscript states the mode adopted of compelling him to do justice. Two hogs were slaughtered, and in the dead of night silently deposited in the great mosque, with labels tied to their necks explaining the demand, and threatening the same pollution to all the other mosques if justice should be withheld.

† The birth of Sevajee is placed by several authorities, and in the "Notes on Mahratta affairs," in 1628: there is an apparent mistake in my copy of the manuscript, as the year of the cycle places it in 1626, and the year of Salivahan in 1627, but I adhere to the former as least likely to be erroneous; the object is not of importance, but I quote the words of the manuscript, in order that if I have committed an error, it may be detected. "In Shakum (year of Salivahun,) 1549, in the year of the cycle *C'shaya* in the month Vysaukum on the 5th day of the bright moon."

ineffectually endeavoured to obtain the restitution of his wife and son, married another wife, named Tokabaye, by whom he had issue Eecojee, afterwards Raja of Tanjore.

An instance of the ingenuity of Shahjee is related in the manuscript, from which some conjecture may be formed of the general state of the arts and sciences in the Deckan. The minister Jagadeva Row had made a vow to distribute in charity the weight of his elephant in silver, and all the learned men of the court had studied in vain the means of constructing a machine of sufficient power to weigh the elephant. Shahjee's expedient was certainly simple and ingenious in an eminent degree. He had the animal [illegible] a boat prepared for the purpose, to a flat-bottomed boat, and marking the water line, removed the elephant and caused stones to be placed in the boat sufficient to sink it to the same line. The stones being brought separately to the scale, ascertained the true weight of the elephant, to the astonishment of the court [illegible] the wonderful talents of Shahjee.

In the expedition for the [illegible] in 1638 to which we have already adverted, Shahjee was second in command to [illegible] the general of the [illegible] return [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

Mohammedan tribes, and reflect on the numberless revolutions of that terrible period, we shall not be prepared to expect a system of government distinguished for mildness and forbearance. Shahjee was, without doubt, a man of considerable talents; and having formed, as we shall presently see, the design of establishing an independent government, would be desirous of conciliating his Hindoo subjects; and certainly observed in his new system as much moderation as was consistent with the indispensable object of collecting a large and regular surplus revenue; one part of which must necessarily be remitted to court, and the remainder form an accumulating fund to support the charges of future rebellion. Among the more brilliant objects of Shahjee's ambition, he remembered the patrimony from which his grandfather had been expelled, and had obtained in jageer a considerable district, including Poona, where he erected a respectable residence; and when detached to the south, left these possessions in the charge of a confidential dependant, named Dadajee Punt; with directions to procure, if possible, the release of his first wife and her son Sevajee, and establish them, with a suitable provision, in the dwelling which he had prepared; which object was soon afterwards accomplished. The conduct of Dadajee Punt in this delicate charge appears to have been most exemplary: he remitted to Vijeyapoor the stipulated amount of revenue; and although it is stated, as a compliment to his moderation, that he revived the system of Maleek Amber the Abyssinian, he realized a considerable annual surplus, which was faithfully reserved for his master. For Sevajee he procured all the advantages of civil and military education which the state of the times could afford; but at the age of seventeen the young man began to disregard the admonitions of his guardian, collected a banditti, with which he ravaged all the neighbouring districts, and applied the plunder to the daily augmentation of his band. Dadajee Punt was so deeply affected at this disgraceful conduct, that he put an end to his own existence. Sevajee instantly seized the treasures of his father, which had accumulated by the prudent management of his deceased guardian, and increasing his followers to an extraordinary number, began that career of plunder on a larger scale which induced the European settlers of the time to distinguish him by the appellation of the *robber* Sevajee; and the Mohammedans, by the corresponding term *Ghunneem*, a title to which his descendants and followers have not lost their pretension. It is not our intention to follow this extraordinary conqueror through a series of adventures, which are scarcely to be paralleled in the history of the buccaneers; but some of his most remarkable exploits have a direct relation to the object of our narrative.

When the predatory incursions of Sevajee became of so serious a nature as to foil the arms of Vijeyapoor, and even to bid defiance to the power of the Mogul, Shahjee was called upon by his court, to restrain the licentious conduct of his son; and direct suspicions were avowed, by some of the courtiers, of a secret

communication between the son and the father. Shahjee not only disclaimed this supposed connection, but affirmed that he had divorced his first wife and her issue in due form, previously to his second marriage; and that he continued to renounce all relationship with either. Sufficient evidence however appears to exist, not only of the imputed intercourse, but of the deliberate intention of Shahjee to establish an independent government. This evidence is chiefly to be found in two remarkable and notorious facts. First, the existence of grants* and other public documents issued by Shahjee, which bear none of the *usual* formalities of acknowledging a superior government; and second, the following incident, which is related at length in the manuscript history. The court of Vijeyapoor was so entirely satisfied of the intentions and formidable means of Shahjee, that a plan was secretly formed for securing his person; and was executed by Baajee Gorepora of *Moodul*,† a chief of five thousand under his command, who treacherously seized him at an entertainment to which he was invited. The court was not agreed with regard to the disposal of this dangerous prisoner. It was at first imagined that by sparing his life Sevajee might either be reclaimed, or enticed to court; but the discussion ended by despatching an order for the execution of Shahjee; which Gorepora was on the point of obeying, with circumstances of wanton barbarity, when the intercession of Shahjee's friend and patron, the general Rend Dhoola Khan, procured a reprieve. He was accordingly conveyed to court, and soon found means to regain the

* These curious grants are exclusively in the Mahratta character, and in a strange mixture of the Persian and Mahratta languages, which shews how intimately the forms and technical terms of the conquerors had been received into the language of business. Even the Mohammedan æra of the Hijera under the name of *Soora Sun*, a term of which I cannot ascertain the origin, unless it has a relation to Soorasena in the geographical lists, is inserted, as well as the year of Salivahan, and recited, not in figures, but in the Arabic names of the numerals, written at length in the manner which is usual in historical works in the Persian language. The introductory part of the grant is nearly pure Persian, with the proportion of Arabic usually incorporated into that language, but with the errors which might be expected from Mahratta transcribers unacquainted with the Persian language. The following is the form of commencement: "Az, rekht-khana, Raujestree. Shah jee Rajah, dám. é Dowlet *Ahoo*." One of the grants was sent to my friend Colonel Close at Poona, for the purpose of obtaining a technical explanation of the second and third words, but the form was altogether unknown to official men at Poona; and according to their statement could not be traced in any part of the Mahratta dominions. *Rekht* signifies the apparatus, or equipments, of an individual, a house, or an army, and may thus be translated, dress, furniture, or military equipments. In the latter sense the term *rekht khana* may be translated, arsenal, park of military stores, or army, and was probably intended to mean the seat of power, the court, as all the Mahrattas of Poona conceive. The translation of the introductory words cited will then stand thus: "From *the court* of the illustrious king Shahjee, may his empire be perpetuated." The grant from which I take this note is dated in 1642.

† Probably Mudkul, between the Toombuddra and Kistna.

confidence of the ministers, and an order to return with renewed splendour to his former government; from whence his subsequent message to Sevajee and its consequences shall be exactly stated from the manuscript. "If you are my son you must punish Baajee Gorepora of Moodul. Sevajee Raja accordingly assembled an army, attacked Moodul, and put to death Baajee Gorepora, with his followers of the family of Gorepora, to the number of three thousand; one person only, named Accojee, making his escape to Annola: with this single exception, Sevajee Raja destroyed the whole of them, even the infants in the womb: in this manner did the Raja retaliate." Shahjee on hearing of this exploit was much delighted, and exclaimed, "This is in truth a Vijeya-pootra, the offspring of victory, I must visit him;" and the circumstances of the subsequent interview are related with great minuteness. Sevajee went out to receive his father with all the external marks of allegiance from a subject to his sovereign, insisting on attending him on foot for nearly twelve miles till their arrival at Poona; and the state and splendour of Shahjee is said to have approached royal magnificence. When he entered the hall of public audience, after visiting his family, Sevajee took his father's slippers from his servant, and stood submissively behind him until compelled by Shahjee to be seated by his side with suitable demonstrations of affection and respect.

I have omitted to ascertain the date of the death of Shahjee,* and of his son Sambajee,† the elder brother of Sevajee by the same mother. A charitable grant from Sambajee in the district of Bangalore is dated in 1650; and it is understood that Shahjee, on the occasion of his visit to court, with the double object of strengthening his interests, and visiting his jageer at Poona for the express purpose of meeting his son, made a provisional distribution of his southern possessions among his other sons and chief minister. This event, in a note in the Mackenzie collection, extracted from a manuscript of the late Colonel Read, is stated to have occurred in 1674: and if that date be correct, it unfolds the fact of his having adopted at this period the singular policy of affecting submission in his own person, while his sons were assuming on opposite sides of the peninsula the rank of sovereigns. The latest grant which I have seen from Shahjee himself is dated 1642: according to the above date, his death could not have occurred before late in 1674; and in the intermediate period we find Sambajee in 1650, and Eccojee from 1662 to 1670, at Bangalore, assuming in their grants forms and demonstrations of royalty, still more direct and pompous than those adopted by their father. There are also two small religious grants from *Soorut Sing*, the

* It can easily be ascertained in India by reference to the records of any one of the districts which he possessed. I did not notice this blank in my materials until it was too late to repair the omission.

† He was killed in the attack of a place called Kanalagherry.

son of Sambajee, in 1665 and 1666;* but I can trace no farther this eldest branch of the family.

I hesitate to follow the manuscript which assigns to Shahjee the conquest of Tanjore, which he left under the charge of Eccojee; but from a comparison of authorities I am disposed to suspect that the author confounds this event with some former invasion for the purpose of levying contributions, one of which we know to have occurred in 1656. The terms of the submission of Tanjore on that occasion may have been considered as equivalent to an actual conquest; but the final occupation of that country was probably achieved by Eccojee after the death of his father. This event is placed by a manuscript history of Tanjore in the Tamil language, belonging to the Mackenzie collection, and by several concurring testimonies, in 1675; and the following is an abstract of the narrative of this conquest as stated in the manuscript to which we have adverted.

The Naicks of Tanjore, and Madura (or Trichinopoly, as he is sometimes called, for they were both subject to the same Naick) were at war, and the former being pressed by superior force, sent Vakeels to the king of Vijeyapoor to solicit protection and aid as his vassal. The government of Vijeyapoor was too much occupied by the invasion of the Moguls, and by the rebellion of other officers, to attend in a direct manner to this complaint; but to preserve the appearance of authority, dismissed the messenger, attended by two Mohammedan Vakeels or agents, with an order addressed to Eccojee at Bangalore, directing him to march for the relief of Tanjore. In the actual state of the times this order might be considered rather as a letter of recommendation: but on due reflection, Eccojee undertook the expedition, probably with a view to conquest on his own account, but under the ostensible authority of the government of Vijeyapoor. On his arrival at the scene of action the Naick of Madura was attacked and completely defeated, and Eccojee made the customary demand of the expenses of the expedition; the account of which, as usual, doubled the actual amount, and the Tanjorean was unable or unwilling to defray it. Mutual accusations arose, which the Vakeels of Vijeyapoor in vain endeavoured to adjust: Eccojee complained of an attempt to circumvent him, which, in his own defence, compelled him to guard against the treachery of the Naick, and in the end to take possession of the government "for the good of the state, to protect the good, and to punish the wicked," according to the usual phraseology of conquerors, and to establish his own independent authority in that fertile country.

An officer of five hundred horse, named Ragonad Narrain, dissatisfied with the service of Eccojee, marched across the peninsula,

* I must not, however, leave the English reader to make wrong conclusions on this subject; sons are frequently allowed to make *religious* grants during the life of their fathers.

negotiating, according to the custom of those days, for other employment, and was received into the service of Sevajee. This person gave the first hint of the practicability of the celebrated irruption of Sevajee into Drauveda, and furnished the information requisite for carrying it into execution.

Sevajee, who in 1672 had exacted a contribution of nine lacs of pagodas from the king of Golconda, had shortly afterwards, by means of an understanding with Madena Pundit, his Hindoo minister, formed an offensive alliance with that prince against the Mogul, and the natural ally of Golconda, the king of Vijeyapoor. The ultimate and secret object of this treaty is said to have been the final expulsion of all the Mussulman powers from the Deckan, including the prince who was party to the alliance: but we are not told what situation Madena Pundit was to occupy as the price of his treachery. Sevajee having made all his arrangements to guard against the inconvenience of a long absence, directed his march towards Golconda early in 1677, at the head (as stated in the MS.) of forty thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, with a train of artillery. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Bhagnagur, now called Hyderabad, early in 1677, a month was there consumed in interviews of state with the king, in consultations with the minister Madena Pundit, and in receiving, with a heavy equipment of ordnance and stores, a small auxiliary force, and a pecuniary aid for the present support of the army, of about ten lacs of pagodas in cash and valuables. It is difficult, without the explanations which will ensue, to give a proper designation to the treacherous combination of open and secret compact which, for want of a better term, I have named an offensive alliance. Such was the credulity of the unfortunate prince of Golconda, that he was induced seriously to believe that Sevajee, who five years before had given abundant proof of superiority at the gates of his capital, was now to undertake an offensive war, not merely as a subsidiary ally, but in the direct and avowed capacity of an obedient officer of the state of Golconda; and this deception he continued to practise for several months, until it could be no longer concealed by Madena Pundit and his associates, that instead of the host of Mohammedan dependants who were sent with the army to be provided for, Sevajee uniformly placed his own confidential Mahrattas in the charge of all the conquered places. From Hyderabad he directed his march to Kurnool on the Toombuddra, where he levied a contribution of five lacs on Anund Row, who is named in the manuscript the Deshmook of that place. From Kurnool he ordered the body of his army to move by easy marches in a southern direction to Hundi Anantpoor, while he himself, attended by a select corps, proceeded to the eastward for the purpose of performing his devotions at the celebrated temple of Purwattum, situated in the wild mountains through which the river Kistna forces its passage from the upper countries to the sea. At this temple he is stated by the author of the manuscript to have perform-

ed the most austere penances; and to have been seized with a temporary fit of remorse, in which he adopted the habit of a penitent, and professed his determination to renounce the world. Naked and covered with ashes, he assumed the freaks of one of those Indian devotees, who, by the appearance or reality of mental derangement, attract the veneration of the multitude through the strange belief that the soul has been absorbed in the Deity as a peculiar mark of divine favour; and in this new character Sevajee exhibited various acts of folly and apparent insanity, which compelled his attendants to station guards in different directions to watch his proceedings. After acting this farce for about nine days, he suffered himself to be prevailed on to join his army at Anantpoor, and proceeded through the great pass of Damalcherri, by the route of the holy temple of Tripety, into the Payeen ghaut.

The whole country, full of consternation at the unexpected visit of a marauder, whose fame alone had hitherto indistinctly reached it from a distant and opposite coast of the peninsula, waited for events to explain the objects of this extraordinary irruption. Rapidly traversing the country within three leagues of Madras in the first week of May 1677, he approached Ginjee with all the demonstrations of passing through a friendly territory; and, assuring the officer sent to communicate with him by the Killedar Amber Khan, that he had reconciled his differences with their common master, the king of Vijeyapoor, whose servant he professed himself to be, he prevailed on the old man, accompanied by his sons and relations, to pay a visit of friendship at his tents, where they were all treacherously seized, and the fort of Ginjee fell into his hands without a blow.

This important event explained in the most unequivocal manner his intentions with regard to the king of Vijeyapoor; and the other fortresses possessed in Drauveda by the troops of that power were thus warned to prepare for a vigorous defence. The weaker places fell rapidly into his hands; and the king of Golconda, awakening from his stupor, discovered the gross imposture of which he had hitherto been the dupe. In the records of Madras Sevajee is represented, so late as the 6th of June, as "serving the king of Golconda against Vijeyapoor;" "very honestly hitherto contenting himself with his pay;" but on the 3rd of July he is stated to be "baffling Golconda, and putting his own people everywhere in possession. Golconda stops payment, and Sevajee begins to cast about for plunder over the whole country, which, on the 23d of October, is described, in the quaint language of those times, as "peeled to the bones." Sevajee's system of cold-blooded plunder was regulated with a degree of skill and vigilance which suffered not the most minute article of theft or robbery to escape his observation and control. His extensive experience in the discovery of hidden treasure, aided, without doubt, in important cases by secret intelligence, enabled him to

direct his detached officers to the most probable places of concealment. The general correctness of his conjectures (readily ascribed by the Hindoos to the supernatural aid which they seriously believed him to possess), was transformed into the belief of his being able to give in all cases an unerring direction to every treasure of every private family; and this tale of wonder has been presented, with little variation, to the credulity of Europe.

After the capture of Ginjee, the object of next importance was the siege of Vellore, which made a respectable defence from the middle of May until the end of September;* and in the details of the siege, which are preserved in the manuscript history, it is observable that the fortified posts on the adjacent hills are distinguished by the Mahratta names which they at present bear, and had probably received from his father Shahjee.

In the intermediate period, however, the conquests of Sevajee did not respect the territories of his brother Eccojee, who, aware of the danger at a very early period, had prepared for defence, by alliances with the Naick of Mudura and the Raja of Mysoor; and with their aid opposed an active resistance to the progress of his brother's arms. But Ragonaut Narrain, the guide and counsellor of Sevajee in this expedition, having been sent as an ambassador to the Naick of Madura, succeeded in detaching him from the alliance, and obtaining the payment of a considerable military contribution. It was immediately after this defection, viz., in July 1677, that an interview was proposed and effected between the half-brothers Sevajee and Eccojee for the first and only time in their lives. The conference related chiefly to their respective claims in the division of their father's conquests; and the discussions, although obscurely stated both in the historical manuscript, and in the correspondence of the native agent of the government of Madras, seem to favour the supposition that the conquest of Tanjore was considered to have been effected during the life of Shahjee. However this may be, it is certain that Eccojee was so little satisfied with the apparent intentions of his brother, that he escaped during the succeeding night to Tanjore, and recommenced hostilities. But after the lapse of a few months, and the conquest of every thing north of the river Coleroon, the presence of Sevajee was demanded in another quarter. He appointed a strong force for the protection of his new conquests, and prepared to depart at the head of a select corps of no more than four thousand horse; leaving directions with his generals to embrace the earliest opportunity of surprising the Dutch and English settlements of Paliacate, Sadras, and Madras:† but confirming to the French their possession of Pondicherry, as stated by Anquetil du Perron,‡ who however dates the letter of Seva-

* I can only ascertain that it fell sometime between the 24th of August and 8th of October, and apparently nearer to the latter than the former date.

† Madras Records. ‡ L'Inde en rapport avec Europe, Vol. I, p. 130.

jee in July 1630, a time when Sevajee was only four years old. I do not regard this error with any suspicion of intentional misrepresentation in that author, whom I have generally found to be scrupulously accurate in his facts, however I may dissent from his opinions.

During the absence of Sevajee in Drauveda, the Mogul army had invaded Vijeyapoor, and the king of Golconda, awaking from his dream of conquest, and roused at length to the conviction of their common interest, sent an aid which enabled the state of Vijeyapoor to make a formidable resistance in the field. These operations, which Sevajee had probably foreseen, prevented that state from succouring its distant possessions in Drauveda, and enabled him, by making a circuit round the greater part of its frontier, to fall unexpectedly on its most remote dominions; and after deceiving equally his friends and his enemies, and involving both in serious hostility, to return undisturbed and lightly attended to the Concan; visiting in his way the possessions held by the different branches of his family in the direct road from Vellore, by Colar, Ouscota, Bangalore, and Great Balapoor, to Sera, and thence proceeding by the accustomed route of Hurryhur, through the province of Savanoor, to his fastnesses in the western range.

The departure of Sevajee was the signal for renewed exertion on the part of his brother at Tanjore, who in the month of December obtained a complete victory over Santajee,* the commander in chief of Sevajee's forces in Drauveda. But this general, stung with the disgrace, assembled his officers on the same night, and proposed a plan for retrieving the fortune of the day, which was unanimously approved; the troops were accordingly ordered under arms after a short refreshment, and returning to the field, where Eccojee reposed in the security of victory, completely surprised his army, and made a dreadful carnage. A small remnant escaped with Eccojee across the river; and early in 1678 a peace was concluded, which restored to him a small portion of the territory he had lost, on the payment of a considerable pecuniary aid, which was ever a prominent condition in all the treaties of Sevajee.

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* In the records of Madras he is described as the brother of Sevajee, which must be an error. The name of Santajee Gorepuddah, or Gorepora, appears in the records of the same and subsequent year, as the leader of *the Sevajees*, as the Mahrattas are frequently named at that period. If this be the same Santajee, the additional name shews him to have been the ancestor of the celebrated Morari Row of Gooti.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM 1672 TO 1704.

Former exclusion and present accession of Chick Deo Raj —Judicial astrology —means of accomplishing its predictions—New minister—Post-office—Spies—Vigorous but unpopular administration—Religion of the Raja—The minister assassinated by the Jungum—His successor—Policy observed in the exterior encroachments of this reign—Remarkable purchase of Bangalore—Farther conquests— to the north and west—and east—Expedition to Trichinopoly—False policy of Aurungzebe in the apparent conquest and real increase of his enemies—Abuses—and financial difficulties—A Mahratta army invades Mysoor—Recall of the troops from Trichinopoly—Singular victory—Embassy to Aurungzebe—its motives and result—The Raja assumes the dignity of being seated on a throne—New arrangement of the departments of government—Public œconomy and order—Wealth—Extent of territory—Necessity of allotting a separate chapter to the question of landed property.

CHICK DEO RAJ.

THE remarkable irruption of Sevajee into the countries of Drauveda, which closed our last chapter, carries us to a period six years later than the commencement of the reign of Chick Deo Raj; but no material event occurred within that short period to require an interruption in our retrospective narrative.

We have already noticed that this Raja and his father were passed over in the order of lineal descent in 1659; and he now succeeded to the throne at the mature age of forty-five. His early youth had been passed at the remote town of Yellandoor, where he had formed an intimacy with *Visha Lacksha Pundit*, of the sect of Jain, who was afterwards more generally known by the appellation of the *Jain Pundit*, or Yellandoor Pundit. When, in the preceding reign, Chick Deo Raj and his father had been placed under restraint at the more obscure fort of Hengul, in the district of Goondul, the Pundit continued his attachment, and followed his friend to the place of his confinement. Among the various branches of literature in which the Pundit was eminently accomplished, he had the reputation of profound knowledge in astrology; an imaginary science, which continues to the present day to be an object of serious study and universal delusion in every part of India; and by the aspect of the stars he had discovered that Chick Deo Raj would certainly succeed to the throne. This prediction had, in their hours of confidence, been frequently repeated; and Chick Deo Raj had been induced to declare, that in such event Visha Lacksha should become his prime minister. Fortified with this assurance, the Pundit set about the accomplishment of his prediction by going to the capital, and secretly

announcing to the persons possessed of the chief influence in the government, the future succession of Chick Deo Raj, as an event which was written in the decrees of fate, and could not possibly be averted. The reputed learning of the Pundit gained an easy and general credence to the decision of Heaven; and when Dud Deo Raj died, every one was prepared to receive his inevitable successor. The Pundit had carefully abstained from unfolding that page of the book of fate in which his own elevation was preordained, an event which at first produced considerable surprise and murmurs; but the steady and determined character of the Raja, aided by the vigorous talents of his new minister, quickly suppressed every open symptom of discontent.

Among the earliest measures of the new reign was the establishment for the first time of a regular post throughout his dominions. The post-office was not only, as in England, the passive instrument for conveying intelligence, but the active agent for obtaining it. The postmasters at the several stations were, in addition to their passive duties, what in the modern vocabulary of Europe would be named confidential agents of police; and all the inferior servants of the department were professed spies, who made regular reports of the secret transactions of the district, which were as regularly transmitted to court: whatever therefore might have been the views of the former ministers, they were effectually deterred from carrying them into execution by the activity, purposely exaggerated, of this new and terrible instrument of despotism, which we shall hereafter find improved, and actually organized, under the celebrated Hyder, to a degree which scarcely admitted of farther rigour.

The chief financial measures of this reign will be reserved for a separate chapter, in order to avoid an unnecessary interruption to the narrative of political events; and the conquests, which present little interest, or demand no particular explanation, will be recited as usual at the end of the reign.

The first fourteen years of this reign were occupied in these financial measures, interior reforms, and minor conquests; but these reforms had rendered so unpopular the administration of the Jain Pundit, to whom they were chiefly attributed, that a plan was secretly concerted for his assassination. Chick Deo Raj had, without doubt, in the early part of his life, been educated in the doctrines of the Jungum,* which was the religion of his ancestors: he had hitherto, since his accession to the throne, shewn no very marked attachment to any form of worship, but was supposed, from particular habits which he had adopted, and from the great influence of the Jain Pundit,† to have conceived the intention of reviving the doctrines of that ancient sect. The Pundit was attacked and mortally wounded,

* For an account of this sect see Appendix, No. 4.

† See Appendix, No. 5.

while returning at night, in the usual manner, from court to his own dwelling; and as, in addition to religious motives, the Jungum had a deep account of revenge to retaliate, for the murder of their priests; an event which will be related in the financial narration to which it belongs; the suspicion of this assassination fell chiefly upon that people, and tended to confirm the alienation of the Raja's mind from the doctrines of their sect. He was much affected at the intelligence of this event, and immediately proceeded to the house of the minister to console him in his last moments, and to receive his advice regarding the choice of a successor. The advice was entirely unprejudiced, and he recommended, as the most able and honourable man of the court, a person of adverse religion, namely, Tremalayangar, a bramin of the sect of Vishnoo. To him the Raja gave his whole confidence; and, in conformity to his advice, soon afterwards made an open profession of the doctrines of that prevailing religion. In other respects, the new administration was conducted on the same principles as the preceding, and with an equal degree of prudence and vigour.

In the first years of this reign, the enterprizes of Sevajee and the pressure of the Mogul arms occupied the kings of Golconda and Vijeyapoor. The conquests of Sevajee in Drauveda in the year 1677 had established him in front and rear of his former sovereign of Vijeyapoor; and the communication between those distant possessions was kept up by means of the branches of his family possessing Bangalore and the other south-eastern provinces of Carnatic Proper, and by a good understanding with the petty states which formed a chain across the peninsula immediately to the northward of the territory then possessed by Mysoor. This state was thus placed, as it were, in an angle removed from the line of general military operations; and while the transactions in Deckan and Drauveda became more complicated, the greater powers, namely the Mogul lieutenants, the two Mohammedan kings of Deckan, and Sevajee, found in each other opponents too powerful to admit of their attending, in the manner that their importance required, to the gradual and skilful encroachments of Chick Deo Raj.

Sevajee died in 1680; and in 1684 Aurungzebe returned to the Deckan with an immense army, determined to crush the formidable power of the Mahrattas, and to subjugate the Mohammedan states of Vijeyapoor and Golconda, which two latter states he finally reduced from 1686 to 1688. Eccojee in Tanjore finding his distant dominion of Bangalore to be an expensive and precarious possession, insulated in a great degree by the contending armies which constantly ranged over the intermediate country, wisely determined to sell it to the highest bidder. Chick Deo Raj finally agreed to be the purchaser; at a price (*three lacs of rupees*) which sufficiently marks the public opinion

of the instability of all possessions in those days of general convulsion: a detachment was accordingly sent to occupy the new purchase, and to pay the consideration. But the negotiation having been long protracted had become a matter of notoriety, and attracted the attention of Harjee Raja the Mahratta commander in chief at Ginjee, and of Aurungzebe, who had just raised the siege of Golconda on the condition of receiving a military contribution of two millions sterling. These powers entertaining a high opinion of the importance of Bangalore, sent each a detachment from those distant and opposite stations to anticipate the Raja of Mysoor, and endeavour to seize Bangalore for themselves. Kasim Khan, the officer of Aurungzebe, making forced marches to the westward of the range of ghauts, arrived first, and the place being in the dismantled state which may be imagined when about to be sold, was incapable of making a proper defence, and yielded to Kasim Khan without material opposition. The detachment of Harjee Raja finding itself anticipated, returned without much effort to the lower country. The imperial colours, however, were only hoisted for four days on the ramparts of Bangalore; for Kasim Khan, who had more important objects in view, found that by accepting the price which the Raja was still willing to pay, he should, exclusively of a pecuniary aid, be relieved from the necessity of making a large detachment for the occupation of the place, while its use as a point of communication would still be preserved; it was accordingly delivered in July 1687 to the troops of Chick Deo Raj. It was obviously prudent in the state of Mysoor to abstain from any encroachments which should attract the particular attention of the greater powers: and although Chick Deo Raj observed the general policy of enlarging his dominions in the more unobserved directions, yet as he acquired more confidence in his strength and political address, we find him venturing across the line of general operation which has been described. So early as 1676 and 1677 he engaged in the conquest of the territories of the Hindoo chief of Mudgerry; and previously to the arrival of Kasim Khan in 1687, he had seized most of the principal places necessary for connecting his former frontier with this more northern acquisition. The amicable arrangement by which he obtained possession of Bangalore would render it incumbent on Kasim Khan to represent Mysoor to Aurungzebe as a state which ought to be encouraged as a counterpoise in the south to the dangerous power of the Mahrattas; and although it is known that the conquest of Mysoor was in the direct contemplation of that emperor, it was obviously his interest to postpone it so long as the Raja could be of use by being placed on the flank and rear of his actual enemies. We may on the whole infer, with great probability, the establishment and continuance of a friendly intercourse between Kasim Khan and the

Raja, who skilfully availed himself of the confusion of the times, and continued to propitiate, in whatever manner, the court of Aurungzebe. In the succeeding year we accordingly find him wresting Ooscota and some places of minor importance from the connections of the Mahrattas,* and pushing his conquests to the eastward, below the ghauts, in that and the following year over a considerable portion of the Baramahal, and of Salem, as far south as Permetti on the Caveri. In 1690 he turned his arms to the opposite direction; and in the four following years had extended his dominion to the verge of the western hills of Bednore, with which power he seems to have concluded in the year 1694 an advantageous peace, which left him in possession of most of his conquests. Thus relieved from hostility on the west, his increasing power and resources encouraged him, after a few years of repose, to turn again his attention to the S. E., and to plan the conquest of the dominions of the Naick of Madura, commencing his operations with the siege of the important town of Trichinopoly. In the intermediate period, since the acquisition of Bangalore in 1687, Aurungzebe had found sufficient occupation in the conquest of the Deckan. Neither the destruction of the monarchies of Vijeyapoor and Golconda, the death of Sevajee, nor the capture and cruel murder of Sambajee his son, in 1691, seemed to improve the prospects of that emperor for the general subjugation of the south. From the first appearance of Sevajee as an independent leader, his armies had been recruited with the troops of all castes, which the gorgeous improvidence of the Mohammedan kings of Deckan had compelled them to discharge; or by the direct defection of those in actual employ who were chiefly Mahrattas. The destruction of the two last of these Mohammedan states left two considerable† armies disbanded, unemployed, and seeking for employment. The policy of Aurungzebe, however sagacious in many instances, could not descend to the contemplation of peril from the dregs of a vanquished people: the abuses, now grown too dangerous to be at once reformed, which had crept into the payment and mustering of his armies, added to the overwhelming expenses of his splendour and state, deprived him of the means of preventing these armies from being again marshalled against him. The necessity of attending to this pregnant source of danger was accordingly merged in the greater necessities of disordered finance; and the whole or the greater part of the armies which had recently been opposed to him were, in a short period of time, united to different bands of Mahratta

* Ooscota had been assigned by Shahjee, when summoned to court, to his minister Ishwunt Row. I cannot trace with certainty in whose possession it was at this time. Pootia's manuscript says the house of Eccojee.

† "In the countries dependent on Hyderabad and Vijeyapoor, which before their conquest maintained above two hundred thousand horse, there were not now stationed above thirty-four thousand," says the Bondela officer, when narrating the events of a few years afterwards. Scott, vol. ii, p. 107.

marauders, who at this period began to swarm in greater numbers than had ever before appeared in almost every part of India; thus presenting to the power of Aurungzebe opposition more abundant, diversified and perplexing, at the very time that he had flattered himself with the destruction of the last of his enemies in the person of Sambajee. On the capture of this chief, Rama, the second son of Sevajee, escaped after many perils across the peninsula, and assumed the direction of the Mahratta powers at Ginjee. Zulfecar Khan, with a large portion of the imperial army, had been employed since 1693 in feeble and ineffectual attempts to reduce that strong fortress; although he had extended his conquests over the open country with some degree of vigour, and with fluctuating success; and had exacted contributions from the Zemindars* (as they are uniformly named) of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. It was probably one of the auxiliary Mahratta armies, or reinforcemnets, under the command of Jugdeo Ghautkee, and Nimbajee Ghautkee, which, passing from the western country for the support of Ginjee and Drauveda, and provoked by the aggressions of Chick Deo Raj, or incited by the hope of plunder, suddenly appeared before Seringapatam, while the strength of the army was employed in the siege of Trichinopoly. An express was instantly sent to the Dulwoy Comareia, directing him to return for the protection of the capital.† He is stated in the family manuscript

* See Scott, vol. ii. p. 81.

† This is one of the few dates which I have failed in arranging to my satisfaction. Neither the records of districts, nor the otherwise very correct MS. of Pootia, are careful in recording the date of an event, excepting when it has been followed by a change of possession. The memoirs of the Dulwoys have few dates: they place this Mahratta invasion next in the order of events to the occupation of Bangalore. Poornia's compilation, formed on a discussion of authorities, places it after the western conquests from Bednoor; but all are agreed that the Mysoorean army was at the time before Trichinopoly. If we should adopt the former, and conjecture the Mahratta force in question to be that which is discussed by Mr Orme in 155 to 158 of his Historical Fragments, namely, that which marched for the occupation of Bangalore in 1687, we must conclude that this Mahratta force watched the passage of the Mysoorean army through the pass of Tapoor towards Trichinopoly, and moved rapidly across its rear by Changana, Wodiardroog, and Kaunkanhully, to Seringapatam. The objections to the adoption of this date seem to be nearly insuperable. According to Pootia's manuscript, the flag of Mysoor was hoisted at Bangalore on the 29th of July 1687; the Mahratta troops did not leave Ginjee till August; on the 10th of November they are stated by Mr. Orme to be again at Trinomalee, and they had probably been there for some time before the intelligence reached Madras: a conjecture which is founded on the usual severity of the season, and the ordinary habit of the Mahrattas to be hutted by the 15th of October, when within the influence of the N. E. monsoons. Calculating the longest period that can be embraced between these probable extremes, and adverting to the nature of the country to be passed by these two armies respectively encumbered with the equipments of a siege, it can scarcely be considered possible that the Mysooreans could make their arrangements for the occupation of their new possessions, receive equipments for the siege of Trichinopoly, march to that place, be engaged in the siege, and return to Seringapatam; and that the Mahratta army could have invested Seringapatam and have marched after their defeat to Trinomalee within the supposed period. But

"to have made a vow not to appear before his Raja until he had taken Trichinopoly: in consequence of which he permitted his son Dudcia to take the command, and reserving with himself a small force, went afterwards to Ginjee;" a determination which seems to afford strong evidence of treachery, and of some secret intrigues which prevent our having received a more distinct account of this material transaction. Authorities are, however, agreed in stating that his son did proceed by rapid marches for the relief of the capital, and defeated the enemy by means of a most unmilitary practice, which we find to have been peculiar to the army of Mysoor so long afterwards as 1751; namely, that of always performing their night marches by the light of numerous torches.* It was impracticable to conceal altogether from the Mahratta army the approach of this relief, and this peculiar practice was made the foundation of a stratagem, which was effected in the following manner. In the evening the Dulwoy sent a small detachment in the direction opposite to that on which he had planned his attack; and in the probable line by which he would move to throw his force into the capital. This detachment was furnished with the requisite number of torches and an equal number of oxen, which were arranged at

independently of the shortness of time, and the disagreement in the names of the leaders, it places the expedition at a time of the year when the river Caveri is full, and when it would be scarcely practicable to undertake the siege of Trichinopoly from the north.

The grounds (which I offer without any positive confidence) for adopting the order of time stated in Poornia's MS. are the following. I find in a general letter from Madras in 1695-6 that Zulfecar Khan is outnumbered by the Mahrattas, of whom more were expelled from Concan, and, if not supported, must (in their opinion) either join with the Mahrattas or submit; but that an army was reported to be coming to his assistance. This army under Dunnajee Jadoo Row we know to have arrived in 1696. On the 19th of January 1696-7 in a mutilated paragraph, of which the worms had become the chief possessors, I find the following.

"11th. Nabob Zulphecar Cawn is gone into the Mizore *country after the* Mahratta army (whether to *join them or fight them* uncertain) and hath left a *very small part of his* army in these parts."

The blanks are filled in Italics, and may be varied according to the imagination of the reader: but my inference is, that finding on his arrival in or near Mysoor that the Mahratta army was already defeated and dispersed, he returned immediately into the lower country, from which it is certain that he was not long absent: according to the journal of the Bondela officer, translated by Captain Scott, Zoolfecar Khan received a large reinforcement in 1696, but was compelled to raise the siege of Ginjee in the same year. This expedition to Mysoor is not specified in the narrative of the Bondela officer among the operations of the year 1697; probably from being relinquished almost as soon as undertaken; but the conjecture here submitted is farther strengthened by a paragraph from Madras dated the 7th of August 1697, which states that "there is now no army of Mahrattas in these parts," and I should rather infer an omission in the narrative of the Bondela officer than a misstatement in the letter from Madras, where at this time the transactions around them are generally stated with a degree of accuracy which doubles our regret at the destruction of so large a portion of the records.—N. B. I have been enabled to correct the above blanks in the Madras copy from the records at the India-house.

* See Mr. Orme's account, vol. i, p. 211.

proper distances, with a flambeau tied to the horns of each, in a situation where they could not be observed by the enemy. At an appointed signal the torches were lighted and the oxen driven in the concerted direction, so as to indicate the march of the army, attempting to force its way through the besiegers by an attack on the flank of their position. So soon as it was perceived that the enemy were making a disposition to receive the army of torches, Dudeia silently approached their rear, and obtained an easy but most sanguinary victory. The two Ghautkees and most of their officers were killed, and the action terminated in the capture of the whole of their ordnance, baggage, and military stores of every description; and the disorder and flight of the remnant of their army. The Raja on the following day ordered his general and principal officers to be presented to him in public durbar, in the same military habits in which they had fought, "covered with the blood of his enemies;" and in this state rewarded them with dresses and ornaments of honour, and munificent presents proportioned to their respective rank and exploits.

Kasim Khan, the friend and protector of the Raja at the court of Aurungzebe, who had for many years held some of the highest offices of the state, died in the following year; and this event had probably a considerable influence in determining Chick Deo Raj to send a splendid embassy with valuable presents to the imperial court. His various conquests had excited combinations against him among his powerful neighbours, and a certain degree of jealousy in the mind of the emperor himself. It was necessary that he should establish a fresh interest at court, and, if possible, obtained the recognition of his authority in its present enlarged extent. Some motives of vanity were probably also mixed with those of policy, and his late signal victory over the Mahratta enemies of the emprie afforded solid ground for expecting a favourable reception. The splendour of the embassy does not, however, appear to have made much impression at the imperial court; and if we may judge from the trifling sum* recorded to have been expended in the entertainment of the ambassadors, the Zemindar of Mysoor (as he is called) was not held to be a person of very high consideration. Whether Aurungzebe actually conferred the high honours which were pretended to be received, would perhaps be a balanced question if it were of sufficient importance to merit a separate discussion. It is sufficient to our present purpose to state that they were publicly assumed, and as far as is known were never questioned; although a similar assumption on the part of the Raja or Zemindar of Bednore (namely, that of sitting on a throne), attracted the vengeance of Aurungzebe some years afterwards. The embassy which departed in the year 1699 found the imperial court at

* Two hundred rupees. Notes on the Asophia Dufter, communicated by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick to Major Mackenzie.

Ahmednuggur, and returned in the year 1700. The Dulwoy and other great officers of state were sent out in due form to receive the supposed letter, presents, and insignia of honour despatched by the emperor, which were carried in solemn procession through the town; and after being exhibited in the great temple at the feet of the idol *Sree Runga*, were brought in similar state to the palace. Among the presents was a new signet prepared by the emperor's direction, bearing the title of Jug Deo Raj, which was thenceforth employed; and part of the ceremonial was the new dignity alleged to have been conferred by the emperor of being seated on an ivory throne. This was aferwards used by his successors, and is the same which, in the year 1799, was found in a lumber-room of Tippoo Sultaun's palace; was employed in the installation of the present Raja; and is always used by him on occasions of public ceremony.

It was soon after the return of this embassy that he is also stated, in some manuscripts, to have distributed the business of the government into eighteen cutcheries or departments, in consequence of learning from the ambassadors that such was the practice of the imperial government, and consequently fit to be adopted by so great a prince as Jug Deo Raj (the sovereign of the world); but this arrangement is referred by others to an earlier period. I incline to the former supposition, from being unable to trace any good reasons for the establishment of so many departments for the transaction of business, which might with greater simplicity and convenience be allotted to less than half that number: the reader who has sufficient curiosity to form his own judgment on a subject of so little importance, will find these departments detailed in the subjoined note.*

* 1. Neroop Chaouree cutchery or department, or the secretary's department, to which he appointed one *Daroga* or superintendent, and three Dufters, registers or books of record (N. B. every thing was recorded in each of the three in exactly the same manner); all letters or orders despatched to be previously read to the Raja. 2. Eikut Chaouree, whose business it was to keep the general accounts of revenue, treasury, and disbursements civil and military; this seems to approach our office of accountant general. 3 and 4. Obeik Vichar, or *two-fold enquiry*. He divided his whole possessions into two portions; that north of the Cavery he called the *Puttun Hobly*; that south of the Cavery was named the *Mysoor Hobly*: to each of these cutcheries he appointed one Dewan and three Dufters. 5. Seemé Cundachar: it was the duty of this cutchery to keep the accounts of provisions and military stores, and all expenses of the provincial troops, including those connected with the maintenance of the garrisons: one Buckshee and three Dufters. 6. Bakul Cundachar (bakul, a gate or portal): it was the duty of this department to keep the accounts of the troops attending at the *porte*, that is to say, the army, or disposable force. 7. Soonka Dó Chaouree, or *duties and customs*: it was their duty to keep the general accounts of customs levied within his dominions. 8. Pom Chaouree: in every talook where the *soonka* was taken there was another or second station, where a farther sum equal to half the former amount was levied; for this duty he established a separate cutchery. 9. Tundaia Chaouree; tundaia, half, *i. e.*, half of the pom: this was a farther *fourth* of the first duty, levied in Seringapatam only. 10 and 11. In the

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while returning at night, in the usual manner, from court to his own dwelling; and as, in addition to religious motives, the Jungum had a deep account of revenge to retaliate, for the murder of their priests; an event which will be related in the financial narration to which it belongs; the suspicion of this assassination fell chiefly upon that people, and tended to confirm the alienation of the Raja's mind from the doctrines of their sect. He was much affected at the intelligence of this event, and immediately proceeded to the house of the minister to console him in his last moments, and to receive his advice regarding the choice of a successor. The advice was entirely unprejudiced, and he recommended, as the most able and honourable man of the court, a person of adverse religion, namely, Tremalayangar, a bramin of the sect of Vishnoo. To him the Raja gave his whole confidence; and, in conformity to his advice, soon afterwards made an open profession of the doctrines of that prevailing religion. In other respects, the new administration was conducted on the same principles as the preceding, and with an equal degree of prudence and vigour.

In the first years of this reign, the enterprizes of Sevajee and the pressure of the Mogul arms occupied the kings of Golconda and Vijeyapoor. The conquests of Sevajee in Drauveda in the year 1677 had established him in front and rear of his former sovereign of Vijeyapoor; and the communication between those distant possessions was kept up by means of the branches of his family possessing Bangalore and the other south-eastern provinces of Carnatic Proper, and by a good understanding with the petty states which formed a chain across the peninsula immediately to the northward of the territory then possessed by Mysoor. This state was thus placed, as it were, in an angle removed from the line of general military operations; and while the transactions in Deckan and Drauveda became more complicated, the greater powers, namely the Mogul lieutenants, the two Mohammedan kings of Deckan, and Sevajee, found in each other opponents too powerful to admit of their attending, in the manner that their importance required, to the gradual and skilful encroachments of Chick Deo Raj.

Sevajee died in 1680; and in 1684 Aurungzebe returned to the Deckan with an immense army, determined to crush the formidable power of the Mahrattas, and to subjugate the Mohammedan states of Vijeyapoor and Golconda, which two latter states he finally reduced from 1686 to 1688. Eccojee in Tanjore finding his distant dominion of Bangalore to be an expensive and precarious possession, insulated in a great degree by the contending armies which constantly ranged over the intermediate country, wisely determined to sell it to the highest bidder. Chick Deo Raj finally agreed to be the purchaser; at a price (*three lacs of rupees*) which sufficiently marks the public opinion

of the instability of all possessions in those days of general convulsion: a detachment was accordingly sent to occupy the new purchase, and to pay the consideration. But the negotiation having been long protracted had become a matter of notoriety, and attracted the attention of Harjee Raja the Mahratta commander in chief at Ginjee, and of Aurungzebe, who had just raised the siege of Golconda on the condition of receiving a military contribution of two millions sterling. These powers entertaining a high opinion of the importance of Bangalore, sent each a detachment from those distant and opposite stations to anticipate the Raja of Mysoor, and endeavour to secure it for themselves. Kasim Khan the officer of Aurungzebe [illegible] forced marches to the westward of the range of [illegible] first, and the place being in the dismantled state [illegible] imagined when about to be [illegible] was in no [illegible] proper defence and yielded to Kasim Khan [illegible] opposition. The detachment of Harjee Raja [illegible] anticipated, returned without [illegible] The imperial colours however were only [illegible] the ramparts of Bangalore [illegible] Kasim Khan [illegible] portant objects in view [illegible] the Raja was still willing to pay [illegible] many [illegible] tachment for the [illegible] place [illegible] of [illegible] would [illegible] delivered in July 1687 [illegible] Chick Deo Raj. It [illegible] prudent in [illegible] Mysoor [illegible] encroachments which [illegible] attract the particular attention of the greater powers [illegible] Chick Deo Raj [illegible] the general policy of [illegible] directions yet as he [illegible] strength and political address [illegible] [illegible] 1675 and 1677 [illegible] Hindoo chief of [illegible] Kasim Khan in 1687 [illegible] necessary [illegible] [illegible] possession of [illegible] Kasim Khan [illegible] Mysoor [illegible] which ought to be [illegible] the dangerous power [illegible] known that the conquest of Mysoor [illegible] plation of that emperor [illegible] pone it so long as the [illegible] on the [illegible] with great [illegible] friendly [illegible] Kasim Khan [illegible]

Raja, who skilfully availed himself of the confusion of the times, and continued to propitiate, in whatever manner, the court of Aurungzebe. In the succeeding year we accordingly find him wresting Ooscota and some places of minor importance from the connections of the Mahrattas,* and pushing his conquests to the eastward, below the ghauts, in that and the following year over a considerable portion of the Baramahal, and of Salem, as far south as Pernetti on the Caveri. In 1690 he turned his arms to the opposite direction; and in the four following years had extended his dominion to the verge of the western hills of Bednore, with which power he seems to have concluded in the year 1694 an advantageous peace, which left him in possession of most of his conquests. Thus relieved from hostility on the west, his increasing power and resources encouraged him, after a few years of repose, to turn again his attention to the S. E., and to plan the conquest of the dominions of the Naick of Madura, commencing his operations with the siege of the important town of Trichinopoly. In the intermediate period, since the acquisition of Bangalore in 1687, Aurungzebe had found sufficient occupation in the conquest of the Deckan. Neither the destruction of the monarchies of Vijeyapoor and Golconda, the death of Sevajee, nor the capture and cruel murder of Sambajee his son, in 1691, seemed to improve the prospects of that emperor for the general subjugation of the south. From the first appearance of Sevajee as an independent leader, his armies had been recruited with the troops of all castes, which the gorgeous improvidence of the Mohammedan kings of Deckan had compelled them to discharge; or by the direct defection of those in actual employ who were chiefly Mahrattas. The destruction of the two last of these Mohammedan states left two considerable† armies disbanded, unemployed, and seeking for employment. The policy of Aurungzebe, however sagacious in many instances, could not descend to the contemplation of peril from the dregs of a vanquished people: the abuses, now grown too dangerous to be at once reformed, which had crept into the payment and mustering of his armies, added to the overwhelming expenses of his splendour and state, deprived him of the means of preventing these armies from being again marshalled against him. The necessity of attending to this pregnant source of danger was accordingly merged in the greater necessities of disordered finance; and the whole or the greater part of the armies which had recently been opposed to him were, in a short period of time, united to different bands of Mahratta

* Ooscota had been assigned by Shahjee, when summoned to court, to his minister Ishwunt Row. I cannot trace with certainty in whose possession it was at this time. Pootia's manuscript says the house of Eccojee.

† "In the countries dependent on Hyderabad and Vijeyapoor, which before their conquest maintained above two hundred thousand horse, there were not now stationed above thirty-four thousand," says the Bondela officer, when narrating the events of a few years afterwards. Scott, vol. ii, p. 107.

marauders, who at this period began to swarm in greater numbers than had ever before appeared in almost every part of India; thus presenting to the power of Aurungzebe opposition more abundant, diversified and perplexing, at the very time that he had flattered himself with the destruction of the last of his enemies in the person of Sambajee. On the capture of this chief, Rama, the second son of Sevajee, escaped after many perils across the peninsula, and assumed the direction of the Mahratta powers at Ginjee. Zulfeear Khan, with a large portion of the imperial army, had been employed since 1693 in feeble and ineffectual attempts to reduce that strong fortress; although he had extended his conquests over the open country with some degree of vigour, and with fluctuating success; and had exacted contributions from the Zemindars* (as they are uniformly named) of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. It was probably one of the auxiliary Mahratta armies, or reinforcemnets, under the command of Jugdeo Ghautkee, and Nimbajee Ghautkee, which, passing from the western country for the support of Ginjee and Drauveda, and provoked by the aggressions of Chick Deo Raj, or incited by the hope of plunder, suddenly appeared before Seringapatam, while the strength of the army was employed in the siege of Trichinopoly. An express was instantly sent to the Dulwoy Comarcia, directing him to return for the protection of the capital.† He is stated in the family manuscript

* See Scott, vol. ii. p. 81.

† This is one of the few dates which I have failed in arranging to my satisfaction. Neither the records of districts, nor the otherwise very correct MS. of Poornia, are careful in recording the date of an event, excepting when it has been followed by a change of possession. The memoirs of the Dulwoys have few dates: they place this Mahratta invasion next in the order of events to the occupation of Bangalore. Poornia's compilation, formed on a discussion of authorities, places it after the western conquests from Bednoor; but all are agreed that the Mysorean army was at the time before Trichinopoly. If we should adopt the former, and conjecture the Mahratta force in question to be that which is discussed by Mr. Orme in pp. 135 to 138 of his Historical Fragments, namely, that which marched for the occupation of Bangalore in 1687, we must conclude that this Mahratta force watched the passage of the Mysorean army through the pass of Tapoor towards Trichinopoly, and moved rapidly across its rear by Changama, Wealurdroog, and Kaunkanhully, to Seringapatam. The objections to the adoption of this date seem to be nearly insuperable. According to Poornia's manuscript, the flag of Mysoor was hoisted at Bangalore on the 28th of July 1687; the Mahratta troops did not leave Ginjee till August; on the 10th of November they are stated by Mr. Orme to be again at Trinomalee, and they had probably been there for some time before the intelligence reached Madras: a conjecture which is founded on the usual severity of the season, and the ordinary habit of the Mahrattas to be hutted by the 15th of October, when within the influence of the N. E. monsoon. Calculating the longest period that can be embraced between these probable extremes, and adverting to the nature of the country to be passed by these two armies respectively encumbered with the equipments of a siege, it can scarcely be considered possible that the Mysoreans could make their arrangements for the occupation of their new possessions, receive equipments for the siege of Trichinopoly, march to that place, be engaged in the siege, and return to Seringapatam; and that the Mahratta army could have invested Seringapatam and have marched after their defeat to Trinomalee within the supposed period. But

"to have made a vow not to appear before his Raja until he had taken Trichinopoly: in consequence of which he permitted his son Dudeia to take the command, and reserving with himself a small force, went afterwards to Ginjee;" a determination which seems to afford strong evidence of treachery, and of some secret intrigues which prevent our having received a more distinct account of this material transaction. Authorities are, however, agreed in stating that his son did proceed by rapid marches for the relief of the capital, and defeated the enemy by means of a most unmilitary practice, which we find to have been peculiar to the army of Mysoor so long afterwards as 1751; namely, that of always performing their night marches by the light of numerous torches.* It was impracticable to conceal altogether from the Mahratta army the approach of this relief, and this peculiar practice was made the foundation of a stratagem, which was effected in the following manner. In the evening the Dulwoy sent a small detachment in the direction opposite to that on which he had planned his attack; and in the probable line by which he would move to throw his force into the capital. This detachment was furnished with the requisite number of torches and an equal number of oxen, which were arranged at

independently of the shortness of time, and the disagreement in the names of the leaders, it places the expedition at a time of the year when the river Caveri is full, and when it would be scarcely practicable to undertake the siege of Trichinopoly from the north.

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The blanks are filled in Italics, and may be varied according to the imagination of the reader: but my inference is, that finding on his arrival in or near Mysoor that the Mahratta army was already defeated and dispersed, he returned immediately into the lower country, from which it is certain that he was not long absent: according to the journal of the Bondela officer, translated by Captain Scott, Zoolfecar Khan received a large reinforcement in 1696, but was compelled to raise the siege of Ginjee in the same year. This expedition to Mysoor is not specified in the narrative of the Bondela officer among the operations of the year 1697; probably from being relinquished almost as soon as undertaken; but the conjecture here submitted is farther strengthened by a paragraph from Madras dated the 7th of August 1697, which states that "there is now no army of Mahrattas in these parts," and I should rather infer an omission in the narrative of the Bondela officer than a misstatement in the letter from Madras, where at this time the transactions around them are generally stated with a degree of accuracy which doubles our regret at the destruction of so large a portion of the records.—N. B. I have been enabled to correct the above blanks in the Madras copy from the records at the India-house.

* See Mr. Orme's account, vol. i, p. 211.

proper distances, with a flambeau tied to the horns of each, in a situation where they could not be observed by the enemy. At an appointed signal the torches were lighted and the oxen driven in the concerted direction, so as to indicate the march of the army, attempting to force its way through the besiegers by an attack on the flank of their position. So soon as it was perceived that the enemy were making a disposition to receive the army of torches, Dudeia silently approached their rear, and obtained an easy but most sanguinary victory. The two Ghautkees and most of their officers were killed, and the action terminated in the capture of the whole of their ordnance, baggage, and military stores of every description; and the disorder and flight of the remnant of their army. The Raja on the following day ordered his general and principal officers to be presented to him in public durbar, in the same military habits in which they had fought, "covered with the blood of his enemies;" and in this state rewarded them with dresses and ornaments of honour, and munificent presents proportioned to their respective rank and exploits.

Kasim Khan, the friend and protector of the Raja at the court of Aurungzebe, who had for many years held some of the highest offices of the state, died in the following year; and this event had probably a considerable influence in determining Chick Deo Raj to send a splendid embassy with valuable presents to the imperial court. His various conquests had excited combinations against him among his powerful neighbours, and a certain degree of jealousy in the mind of the emperor himself. It was necessary that he should establish a fresh interest at court, and, if possible, obtained the recognition of his authority in its present enlarged extent. Some motives of vanity were probably also mixed with those of policy, and his late signal victory over the Mahratta enemies of the empric afforded solid ground for expecting a favourable reception. The splendour of the embassy does not, however, appear to have made much impression at the imperial court; and if we may judge from the trifling sum* recorded to have been expended in the entertainment of the ambassadors, the Zemindar of Mysoor (as he is called) was not held to be a person of very high consideration. Whether Aurungzebe actually conferred the high honours which were pretended to be received, would perhaps be a balanced question if it were of sufficient importance to merit a separate discussion. It is sufficient to our present purpose to state that they were publicly assumed, and as far as is known were never questioned; although a similar assumption on the part of the Raja or Zemindar of Bednore (namely, that of sitting on a throne), attracted the vengeance of Aurungzebe some years afterwards. The embassy which departed in the year 1699 found the imperial court at

* Two hundred rupees. Notes on the Asophia Dufter, communicated by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick to Major Mackenzie.

Ahmednuggur, and returned in the year 1700. The Dulwoy and other great officers of state were sent out in due form to receive the supposed letter, presents, and insignia of honour despatched by the emperor, which were carried in solemn procession through the town; and after being exhibited in the great temple at the feet of the idol *Sree Runga*, were brought in similar state to the palace. Among the presents was a new signet prepared by the emperor's direction, bearing the title of Jug Deo Raj, which was thenceforth employed; and part of the ceremonial was the new dignity alleged to have been conferred by the emperor of being seated on an ivory throne. This was aferwards used by his successors, and is the same which, in the year 1799, was found in a lumber-room of Tippoo Sultaun's palace; was employed in the installation of the present Raja; and is always used by him on occasions of public ceremony.

It was soon after the return of this embassy that he is also stated, in some manuscripts, to have distributed the business of the government into eighteen cutcheries or departments, in consequence of learning from the ambassadors that such was the practice of the imperial government, and consequently fit to be adopted by so great a prince as Jug Deo Raj (the sovereign of the world); but this arrangement is referred by others to an earlier period. I incline to the former supposition, from being unable to trace any good reasons for the establishment of so many departments for the transaction of business, which might with greater simplicity and convenience be allotted to less than half that number: the reader who has sufficient curiosity to form his own judgment on a subject of so little importance, will find these departments detailed in the subjoined note.*

* 1. Neroop Chaouree cutchery or department, or the secretary's department, to which he appointed one *Daroga* or superintendent, and three Dufters, registers or books of record (N. B. every thing was recorded in each of the three in exactly the same manner); all letters or orders despatched to be previously read to the Raja. 2. Eikut Chaouree, whose business it was to keep the general accounts of revenue, treasury, and disbursements civil and military; this seems to approach our office of accountant general. 3 and 4. Obeik Vichar, or *two-fold enquiry*. He divided his whole possessions into two portions; that north of the Cavery he called the *Puttun Hobly*; that south of the Cavery was named the *Mysoor Hobly*: to each of these cutcheries he appointed one Dewan and three Dufters. 5. Seemé Cundachar: it was the duty of this cutchery to keep the accounts of provisions and military stores, and all expenses of the provincial troops, including those connected with the maintenance of the garrisons: one Buckshee and three Dufters. 6. Bakul Cundachar (bakul, a gate or portal): it was the duty of this department to keep the accounts of the troops attending at the *porte*, that is to say, the army, or disposable force. 7. Soonka Dó Chaouree, or *duties and customs*: it was their duty to keep the general accounts of customs levied within his dominions. 8. Pom Chaouree: in every talook where the *soonka* was taken there was another or second station, where a farther sum equal to half the former amount was levied; for this duty he established a separate cutchery. 9. Tundaia Chaouree; tundaia, half, *i. e.*, half of the pom: this was a farther *fourth* of the first duty, levied in Seringapatam only. 10 and 11. In the

It is certain that the revenues were realized with great regularity and precision, and this Raja is stated to have established a separate treasury to provide for extraordinary and unexpected disbursements, of which he himself assumed the direct custody. It was his fixed practice, after the performance of his morning ablutions, and marking his forehead with the upright insignia of Vishnoo, to deposit two bags (thousands) of pagodas in this treasury from the cash despatched from the districts before he proceeded to break his fast. If there were any delay in bringing the money, he also delayed his breakfast; and it was well known that this previous operation was indispensable. By a course of rigid economy and order, and by a widely extended and well organized system of securing for himself the great mass of plunder obtained by his conquests, he had accumulated a treasure from which he obtained the designation of Nou-koty-Narain, or the lord of nine crores of pagodas; and a territory producing a revenue calculated on the estimate of the schedules annexed to the treaties of 1792 and 1799 of Canteray pagodas 1,323,571; a sum which is no further remarkable than in its near coincidence with the value of territory assigned to the revived state of Mysoor after the lapse of another century in 1799, when the minister of one of the contracting parties objected to its amount as being [illegible] conceived to be much greater than the Hindoo state of Mysoor had ever possessed. The curiosity of many of my readers may be gratified by referring to the annexed map descriptive of the actual extent of Mysoor at this period, and noting the powers by which it was surrounded. Such of them as may desire to investigate the valuation to which I have adverted, will find it detailed in a convenient form in Appendix No. 6.

Before proceeding to relate the remarkable change in the actual condition of the landholders of Mysoor which was intro-

[illegible]

duced by Chick Deo Raj, and forms the chief feature of his interior administration, it seems necessary to take an extended view of the question of proprietary right, in order that these changes may be more clearly understood. The local regulation alone might be comprised, or rather dismissed, in a short superficial narrative; but the subject involves considerations which I am unwilling to pass over in that manner: I shall, therefore, in a separate chapter, discuss the nature, and, as far as is practicable, trace the history of landed property in India; and as in the investigation of this subject I have arrived at conclusions materially differing from those which have hitherto been received as authentic, it is necessary that I should submit to my readers the grounds from which those conclusions are derived.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE LANDED PROPERTY OF INDIA.

Preliminary observations—The term "landed property" not sufficiently distinguished from the mode of possessing it under the feudal law—Objection to the employment of feudal terms—Origin of "landed property" according to Menu—The Mohammedans—the Roman lawyers—meaning attached to the term in this work—Earliest opinions regarding the state of landed property in India derived from the companions of Alexander—and embassy of Megasthenes—collected by Strabo—and Diodorus—their imperfect information—later voyagers and travellers—servants of the East-India Company—authors of "The Husbandry of Bengal"—of "Plans for British India"—of digest of Hindoo law—all deny the existence of private landed property—Reasons for dissenting from these authorities—Description of an Indian village or township—Kingdoms composed of these elements—their interior constitution and relation to the government liable to no change—examination of ancient authorities—Menu digest—contradictions in the commentary—examination of the text—person designated as proprietor—limitations regarding hereditary descent—and public contributions—Proof of hereditary and entailed landed property as an universal principle of Hindoo law—neither king nor zemindar the proprietor—Amount of land tax—objections—viz. fines for neglecting to cultivate—and the land itself granted by the king—answered by reference to the text of the law and the terms of the grants—Reference to the ancient state of landed property in other countries—Judea—Egypt—Spartan fables—Athens—Information doubtful regarding Greece—more ample and perfect in Italy—inference from this examination—Attempt to trace the state of landed property in India, from the earliest periods till the present day—conquests—of Hindoos—Huns—Toorks—Affghans or Patans—Moguls—interrupted by natural impediments—central regions first over-run—Eastern and western tracts separated by precipices and a burning climate—examination of the latter from the eastern coast at 13½ north latitude, round Cape Comorin to 15 N. on the west coast—Canara—one-sixth of the crop the ancient land-tax—increase of 10 per cent on its conquest by a Pandian in 1252—conquest by the house of Vijeyanuggur in 1336—law tract composed by the minister of that state still extant—taxes conformable to Menu, and the ancient authorities on Hindoo law—that law dexterously applied to the calculations of the conqueror—raises the revenues 20 per cent—farther assessment by the rebel governors in 1618—Rate at which lands were then sold—hereditary rights in land indefeasible in Canara—subsequent exactions up to and after the conquest by Hyder in 1763—under Tippoo Sultaun proprietors begin to disclaim their property—inference from this fact—Malabar—fabulous—and real history—landed property of this coast perfect to a degree unexampled in any other country ancient or modern—Travancore—eastern coast, or Drawerla—beginning with the northern limit—conquered by the house of Vijeyanuggur in 1490 to 1515—by the Mussulman states of Vijeyapoor and Golconda in 1646—frequent inroads under Shahjee—Sewajee first fixed Mohammedan government about 1690—its detestable character—these barbarians acknowledge in the very technical terms they employ the existence of private hereditary property in land at that time—discussions on this subject on the records of Madras—their result—sale of the lands—and creation of Zemindars, in the Jageer, Salem, &c.—suspicion of the propriety of that measure—its further operation suspended—State of property in Tanjore—Madura—Tinnevelly, &c. &c.—inferences—The territorial policy of Madras derived from Bengal—Errors in the permanent settlement of that country—Inferences from the whole.

The three persons whose relations to each other, and to the property of the soil in India have been discussed in former pub-

lications, are, the Sovereign, the Zemindar (a proprietor according to some, and an officer of revenue according to others,) and the Ryot, or cultivator of the ground : and it has been objected to the whole discussion, that as the relative claims of each of these persons on the produce of the soil, and the extent of certain prescriptive rights which cannot be infringed without the imputation of injustice, are admitted without much variation by all parties ; the argument for determining who is the actual proprietor of the soil is rather a dispute about words than a discussion concerning things. This objection would indeed be fatal to any farther agitation of the question, if the premises from which it is derived were fully admitted : it is therefore indispensable to the hope of obtaining a patient perusal of the following observations, that I should protest *in limine* against the definition, in substance as well as in form, of the whole of these claims and rights, regarding which the contending parties are supposed to be agreed.

" Landed property" is a form of speech so familiar to the English ear, that the ideas annexed to it would seem to require but little explanation : and yet the very word *tenure*, by which we express the manner of possessing the right to such property, not only intimates a diversity in the meanings attached to the term " landed property," but also conveys the direct admission of holding such property from a superior on certain conditions. It is natural that an idea so entirely identified with the received notions of landed possession in England, should introduce itself with facility into all our discussions on the same subject in other countries; but those authors who have found in the incidents of landed property in India the whole system of the west, to the extent of applying the technical terms of the feudal law indiscriminately to both, appear to me to have made the same approach to correct investigation as the poet, who, in a happy simile, has discovered a fanciful and unexpected resemblance between things really unlike. I refrain for the present from the proof of this position, because I think it will abundantly unfold itself in the course of the investigation. An elaborate comparison of these two systems would lead to discussions of great length, and perhaps of little importance; and I am neither qualified nor disposed to enter the lists with those *learned men* who have investigated the origin of the feodal institutions; who are not agreed whether feod be a stipendiary property,* or simply glebe or land; whether the system of allotting landed property, in the descending scale of military subordination, as a payment for military service, was imported from the woods of Germany by a people among whom no landed property had previously† existed; or whether the highest of authorities‡ has solved the difficulty, by making the feoffs of the German

* Blackstone, Vol. II, c. 4, and the authorities there quoted.
† Tacitus de Mor Ger. m. c. 26. Cæsar de bello Gall. b. vi, c. 21.
‡ Spirit of Laws, b. xxx, c. 3.

chiefs to consist in arms, horses, dinners, or other valuable things, according to which explanation every government on earth is feudal.

These diversities of doctrine seem to show, that a fixed object of comparison will not easily be discovered in the feudal system; but in the investigation of the state of landed property in India, I object to the employment of feudal terms, because they beg the question, by implying a chain of facts which, at least, remain to be proved: and I shall avoid the comparison altogether, because I should only expect to be led by it to the discovery, not of what that property is, but of what it is like: a mode of reasoning which has, perhaps, been the source of most of the errors on this subject which have hitherto been promulgated.

The explanation of the origin of landed property which is delivered by Menu* is not exceeded in correctness by any of the writers† of the west. "Cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who first cleared and tilled it;" and the exact coincidence of this doctrine with that of the early Mohammedans is worthy of particular remark. "Whosoever‡ cultivates waste lands does thereby acquire the property of them; a Zimmee (infidel) becomes proprietor of them in the same manner as a Mussulman." The general idea of property, delivered by the Roman lawyers,§ and adopted into all the codes of Europe, is that of simple, uniform, and *absolute* dominion; but it is manifest that the notion of absolute dominion is to be understood with considerable limitations. The idea of *absolute* dominion over anything which we possess, is altogether incompatible with the existence of society, which necessarily renders all our possessions *conditional*: property, whether moveable or immoveable, even the disposal of our time, and of our personal labour, the most valuable of our property, and the most unquestionably our own, are all of them liable to the conditions and restrictions prescribed by the community to which we belong, or by the person or persons representing or governing that community. At the very period when Justinian was employed in the compilation of the laws to which we have adverted, many of these persons described as possessing immoveable property in absolute dominion were compelled to relinquish their lands, because they were insufficient to satisfy the demands of the treasury. The government must not only have absorbed the share of the produce belonging to the proprietor, but the profit derivable by a tenant before the proprietors

* Menu, c. 9, v. 44. This is the allodial property of the west, or what may not inaptly be termed property *without tenure*.

† Blackstone, Vol. II, c. 1, and the authorities there quoted, together with the civilians quoted by Gibbon, c. 44, and Ayliffe passim.

‡ An oral authority of Mohammed, quoted in the Hedaya.

§ Gibbon, chap. 44. Ayliffe passim.

‖ Procopius, quoted by Gibbon in chap. 40. There is reason to suspect exaggeration in the statement of Procopius in all that could convey a satire on Justinian; but the fact, though highly coloured, is still entitled to credit.

could have been driven to relinquish their lands. This case of extreme oppression more than extinguished the property: but if we deny the existence of property merely because it is subject to contributions for the service of the state, we shall search in vain for its existence in any age or nation. In England a proprietor of land who farms it out to another, is generally supposed to receive as rent a value equal to about one-third of the gross of produce; this proportion will vary in different countries according to circumstances; but whatever it may be, the portion of it which remains, after the payment of the demands of the public, may safely be described as the proprietor's share of the produce of his own land: that which remains to him, after defraying all public taxes, and all charges of management. Wherever we can find this share, and the person entitled to receive it, him we may, without the risk of error, consider as the proprietor; and if this right has descended to him by fixed rules from his ancestors, as the hereditary proprietor. Property may be limited by many other conditions; but "dominion so far absolute as to exclude all claims, excepting those of the community which protects it," conveys a general idea of the most perfect kind of property that is consistent with the restrictions incident to a regulated society: always supposing, in the case of land, the existence of the proprietor's share which has been described. There is perhaps no single criterion by which the existence of such share is so distinctly ascertained as by the fact of land being saleable. When unoccupied land is abundant (as it is in most parts of India,) and all lands are taxed in proportion to their value, we do not hear of men purchasing the privilege to become tenants; to obtain that which is open to all, and even courts the acceptance of all: men do not give a valuable consideration for a thing of no value; the fact of purchase shows that there is something to sell, that there is a proprietor's share. If the demands of the government become so heavy as to leave no such share, the sovereign may then be named the proprietor, or the usurper, or any other more imposing or more gentle term which eastern courtesy shall invent: it is plain that the former proprietor is reduced to the condition of a tenant; he may cling for a time to the possession of his fathers, and this attachment may survive the existence of that which created it; but he is in effect no longer a proprietor of land, it is no longer saleable; there is no proprietor's share, the value and the property have ceased together; and there is no longer a question about exclusive dominion, because no person will contend for that to which no value is attached.

Before dismissing this branch of the subject, it is worthy of remark, that according to the Roman lawyers* the power of

* Adams's Antiquities, p. 56. Ayliffe, p. 282. It is true that the Roman lawyers sometimes consider usufruct as "*a species of dominion or property* (Ayliff, p. 315.) Dominium, according to this explanation, is to be considered as a *totum*, or *genus*, containing under it as two *species*, a *nude* property, and an usufruct; the *plenum dominium* being the union of both these species of property. But this mode of considering *usufruct* seems to be scarcely compatible

alienating land was the criterion of property; possession without such power being described as merely the usufruct. The inference appears to be irresistible, that the fact of land being saleable ascertains the existence of property, and that the right to sell identifies the proprietor. The reader is requested to bear in mind the definition which has been offered of property, and of the circumstances which ascertain its existence or extinction in the case of land; because, without aspiring to deliver abstract definitions not liable to objection, these are the meanings which will be uniformly attached to the term whenever it shall be found in the course of this discussion. It is hoped that these preliminary explanations will enable us to enter with some advantage into the nature of landed property in India.

The earliest opinions on this subject received by the western world may chiefly, if not wholly, be traced to the narratives of those persons who accompanied the expedition of Alexander, and of the embassy of Megasthenes, who shortly afterwards penetrated still farther into India as the ambassador of Seleucus; the substance of their information, as well as of all that had been obtained in the intermediate periods, has been collected in the works of Diodorus, a native of Sicily, who flourished at Rome about 44 years before the christian era, and of Strabo, an Asiatic Greek, who lived in the subsequent century: both of them authors of deserved celebrity, who are said to have visited most of the countries which they described, with the exception, however, of India, as is evident from their works. Strabo complains that the modern voyagers whom he had consulted, who sailed from the Red Sea to India (some few of them even to the Ganges), were so rude and ignorant as to be incapable of making or communicating useful observations. The companions of Alexander are stated by the same author to have given different and opposite

with the broad distinction constantly preserved between *it* and *property* by themselves, and is liable to the serious objection of unnecessarily employing the same word (viz., property) to signify two distinct and different things, than which nothing can be more fatal to precision in expressing our thoughts. Thus in the very explanation of this fanciful genus and species, "a nude property (say they) is one thing, and a plenum dominium is another; for a nude property is when the proprietor has the property of a thing the usufruct being in another, and thus *usufruct is distinct and separate from the property of a thing*" (Ayliffe, p. 318.) It is probably this application of the same term to dissimilar things which has given rise to the indistinct notions to be found on the records of Madras of two properties in one thing. Nothing can be more simple and intelligible than the explanation of usufruct given by the Roman lawyers, without reference to this confusion of two things declared to be distinct and separate, viz., "the right of using the profits arising from a *thing belonging to another person*, without any prejudice or diminution to the substance or property thereof." (Ayliffe, p. 312.) I accordingly adhere to this definition of usufruct, in the persuasion that no confusion of ideas can possibly arise from distinguishing in all cases whatever, between the right to the substance of a thing, and the right to its temporary use, or from always employing different words to express these very different things.

accounts of what they had seen; "and if (adds he) they differ thus regarding what they saw, what opinion shall we form of what they only heard?" The means of communication which were possessed by the philosophers who accompanied Alexander are happily described in the quaint but acute answer of Mandanis the sophist, to Onesicritus, when sent by the conqueror to be instructed in the philosophy of India: "I may well be excused (said Mandanis), if conversing with you through the medium of *three* interpreters, ignorant of every language but that of the vulgar, I should find it impossible to unfold the principles of our philosophy. To form such an expectation would be as unreasonable as to demand that I should transmit water in a limpid state through a medium of mud." The imposing reputation of antiquity has, however, given great weight to the information derived from these sources. It seems to have been scarcely noticed, that Strabo, on the authority of Nearchus, assures us,* that the husbandman of India carried home just as much of his crop as was sufficient for the subsistence of the year, and burned *all the rest*, in order that he might have an incentive to labour in the succeeding year; that Diodorus affirms famine to be unknown in India; that Arrian and Strabo affirm slavery, which is universal in every part of India, to have no existence there;† and, finally, that Strabo himself stigmatizes as retailers of fables Nearchus, Onesicritus, and Megasthenes, whom in other places he cites as his authorities: while Diodorus and Strabo are carefully quoted to show that the whole‡ property of the soil was vested in the king, who received as proprietor a fourth part of the produce. With the aid of more direct and perfect modes of interpreting the pompous phraseology of the east, which styles its monarchs the lords, and its priests the gods of the earth, the inference of these authors, whether strictly correct or otherwise, was very fairly deducible from the translations which they would probably receive of these terms; and a stranger who should receive from an English lawyer an explanation of the king's fictitious rights under the feudal system, without enquiry into the substantial fact, would probably receive a similar impression regarding the property of land in England.§ It will be seen hereafter, that in conformity

* Strabo, Book 15.

† Vincent's Nearchus, Prel. Dis., page 15: ibid. p. 57.

‡ Diodorus, book ii. Strabo, book xv.—In this, however, they are not consistent with each other, for Strabo affirms that the cultivators pay a fourth of the produce *as rent*, while Diodorus states that they pay a fourth of the produce *besides the rent*.

§ The reader who has not perused the observations of Algernon Sydney on this subject (chap. 3, sect. 29), will be amused and instructed by referring to them, and to the doctrines of his opponents, very similar indeed to the doctrines now held regarding landed property of India; and he will naturally be led to conjecture what the practical doctrines regarding the property of land in England might have been at this day, if such men as Algernon Sydney had not dared and died for the benefit of posterity.

to what is stated by Strabo and Diodorus, the king was really entitled to exact one-fourth of the crop in times of public distress. The voyagers* and travellers of later times, without any exception, that has fallen within the scope of my limited reading, and the authors (when they have condescended to notice temporal affairs) of that very strange collection the "Lettres Edifiantes," have all echoed the same doctrine: and† the European travellers who visited the court of Aurungzebe in the latter part of the 17th century are unanimous in denying the existence of private landed property in India. The whole of Asia, indeed, seems to be condemned to the same interdict: and a late‡ author broadly pronounces that in Syria there is no property, real or personal; an assertion which he might at any time have discovered to be erroneous, by the purchase of a farthing's-worth of greens in the bazar. It is thus that men of genius confound the real with the imaginary consequences of despotism; and because there is no efficient and equal protection for property, conclude at once on its absolute extinction.

When the English government became the sovereign of a vast territory in India, the question of landed property was investigated with warmth, and two opposite parties arose, respectively affirming the right of the sovereign and of the Zemindar, to the property of the soil. The reasonings on this subject were not only recorded on the official proceedings of the company's government, but were submitted to the judgment of the public by men of respectability and talent, personally conversant with the department of Indian revenue: and a decision on the whole case has been pronounced by the high authority of a lawyer, a statesman, and a minister; and generally confirmed in an anonymous work§ of merit on the husbandry of Bengal, attributed to an author of still greater authority on subjects of this nature. As this decision appears at present to govern the public opinion, I shall quote it at length.

‖ "On the subject of the rights of Zemindars the reasonings continued for years in extremes. On one hand it was asserted that the Zemindar had been merely an officer or collector of revenue; on the other, that he had been a feudatory prince of the empire. It has required the most laborious investigation to discover the fact, viz. that the Mogul was the lord superior or proprietor (terms¶ equivalent in their meaning) of the soil; that the Zemindars were officers of revenue, justice and police in their districts, where they

* I have not been able to procure the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote in the age of Justinian.

† Bernier, Thevenot, Chardin, Tavernier, and I believe Manouchi.

‡ Volney, vol ii, p. 402 I quote the page from Patton

§ Husbandry of Bengal, p. 68. ‖ Plans for British India, p. 470

¶ This is a notable instance of the employment of feudal terms, which, with due submission, appear to me to be rendered *equivalent* by confounding fiction with substantial fact and at all events cannot, without begging the whole question, be so applied in India

also commanded a kind of irregular body of militia; that this office was frequently hereditary, but not necessarily so; that on the failure of payment of the rents, or of fulfilling the other duties of his office, he could be suspended or removed from his situation at the pleasure of the prince; that the rents to be paid to him were not fixed, but assessed, at the will of the sovereign: and that the Ryot or cultivator of the soil, though attached to his possession, and with the right to cultivate it, yet was subjected to payments, varying according to particular agreements and local customs; that, in general, he continued on the spot on which his labours were directed to raise the means for his own subsistence, but that the proportion to be paid to the state was to be judged of by the Zemindar; that the rights of the Ryot had been gradually abridged, and the proportions he paid increased, during the successive revolutions through which his country had to pass before and after the fall of the Mogul empire."

I shall close this formidable list of authorities in favour of the proprietary right of the sovereign, with a reference to a *Digest of Hindoo Law.** The ingenious author Jagganatha,† with a courtesy and consideration for opinions established by authority which is peculiar to the natives of India, has, in his Commentary, pronounced the earth to be the "protective property of powerful conquerors, and not of subjects cultivating the soil:" they are, however, admitted to acquire an *annual property*, on payment of annual revenue, until a greater revenue be offered by another person! The general object of a commentary is supposed to be the elucidation of the text; and as a curious and instructive example of inference, the reader is here presented with the text from which this conclusion is drawn.

"Thrice seven times exterminating the military tribe, *Parasu Rama* gave the earth to *Casyapa* as a gratuity for the sacrifice of a horse." I feel it necessary to assure the reader that this is a serious quotation of the whole text: to which is prefixed a short introduction by the commentator, intimating, not inelegantly, if fable alone were intended, that "this earth, created by God, became the wife of *Prithu* (the Cecrops of India, who first invented agriculture,) and by *marriage* and otherwise became the property of several princes." The learned and highly enlightened translator of this work truly informs us, "that‡ much of the commentary might have been omitted without injury to the context," but that he undertook a verbal translation as a public duty, and could take no freedoms

* London Edition, vol. i. p. 460.

† I am aware that some other commentators have maintained the same doctrine before Jagganatha, influenced, without doubt, by the same courtesy; but they have produced no text that any man of plain understanding would acknowledge as authority. Jagganatha, as will presently be seen, combats the opinion of *a large class of commentators*, who affirm the *husbandman* to be the proprietor. It will be seen hereafter that the word Cshetra-Carta, translated husbandman, is literally *landlord*.

‡ Preface, p. 24.

with either a restriction which probably many readers will regret, when apprized on the same respectable authority that the work is intended to serve "as* a standard for the administration of justice among the Hindoo subjects of Great Britain."

I have endeavoured to marshal, without any disguise, the mighty phalanx of opinion which is concentrated against me, and I shall now proceed to examine the authorities which have led me to a different conclusion.

Every Indian village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; and exhibits a living picture of that state of things which theorists have imagined in the earlier stages of civilization, when men have assembled in communities for the purpose of reciprocally administering to each other's wants: 1. the Goud, Potail, Mocuddum, or Mundil (as he is named in different languages), is the judge and magistrate; 2. the Curnum, Shanboag, or Putwaree, is the register; 3. the Taliary or Sthulwar, and, 4. the Toti, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops; 5. the Neerguntee distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; 6. the Jotishee, or Joshee, or astrologer, performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the lucky or unlucky days and hours for all the operations of farming; 7. the smith, and 8. carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; 9. the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; 10. the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun, and sometimes woven, in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market; 11. the barber contributes to the cleanliness, and assists in the toilet of the villagers; 12. the silversmith,† marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters; and these twelve officers (Barra bullowuttee, or Ayangadees) or requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour, either in allotments of land from the corporate stock, or in fees consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village. In some instances the lands of a village are cultivated in common, and the crop divided in the proportions of the labour contributed, but generally each occupant tills his own field; the waste land is a common pasture for the cattle of the village; its external boundaries are as carefully marked as those of the richest field, and they are maintained as a common right of the village, or rather the *township* (a term which more correctly describes the thing in our contempla-

* Preface, p. 25, London Edition.

† In some parts of the country the silversmith is not found included in the enumeration of twelve, his place being occupied by the *poet*, a less expensive member of the community, who frequently fills also the office of schoolmaster.

tion), to the exclusion of others, with as much jealousy and rancour as the frontiers of the most potent kingdoms. Such are the primitive component parts of all the kingdoms of India. Their technical combination to compose districts, provinces, or principalities, of from ten to a hundred thousand villages, has been infinitely diversified at different periods by the wisdom or caprice of the chief ruler, or by the vigour and resistance of those who, in every age, country, and condition, have coveted independence for themselves, and the power to govern the greatest possible number of their fellow-creatures. Menu's* arrangement places a lord over one town with its district (which is precisely the township above described); a lord of ten, of twenty, of a hundred, and of a thousand, in a scale of regular subordination, reporting and receiving commands successively from the next in gradation; and fixes with precision the salaries and perquisites of each. His scheme of government recognizes none of those persons who, in these days, are known by the several designations of Wadeyars, Poligars, Zemindars,† Deshayes, &c. all in their respective jurisdictions assuming, when they dare, the title of Raja or king: all the officers enumerated by Menu have, in their several scales, at different periods, simply acted as agents of the sovereign; as farmers of revenue contracting with the sovereign for a certain sum, and levying what they can, as partisans or chiefs of troops, receiving an assignment on revenues managed by another, or the direct management themselves, for the purpose of defraying the pay of the troops. In these several capacities they may have continued obedient to the sovereign who deputed them; they may have obtained from his favour, or from his fears, a remission of a part of the sum to be accounted for; they may have rebelled and usurped the whole government, or have established a small independent principality, or a larger: but with regard to the villages or townships of which the principality is composed, they have appeared but in one character, viz., the government, the sovereign: a person exercising the sovereign authority on his own account, or by delegation on account of another. The interior constitution and condition of each separate township remains unchanged; no revolutions affect it; no conquest reaches it. It is not intended to assert that the village in our contemplation may not have produced the Cæsar of his little world; the rights of the inhabitants may have been invaded by the Potail, by the Poligar ruling over twenty, by the Wadeyar ruling over thirty-three, by the collector

* Chap. 7, p. 115, &c.

† In the work of Tippoo Sultaun, who affected new names for all objects, they are called *Boomeean*, the plural of a Persian word nearly synonymous with Zemindar. He, however, applies it not only to the Indian Chief of a district which he is reducing to subjection, but frequently (and with more propriety) to the inhabitants of the district generally; apparently intending to convey the idea of their being the aborigines. *Boom*, country, region, *boomee*, belonging to a region; a person who has never left home.

over two hundred, or by the sovereign of twenty thousand townships: each or either of these persons may have attempted, or have succeeded, or have failed, in persuading or forcing an augmentation of the proportion of money or of grain paid by the township to the state; but conquests, usurpations, or revolutions, considered as such, have absolutely no influence on its condition. The conqueror, or usurper, directly or through his agents, addresses himself as sovereign or representative of the sovereign to the head of the township; its officers, its boundaries, and the whole frame of its interior management remain unalterably the same,* and it is of importance to remember that every state in India is a congeries of these little republics.

The most ancient and authentic authorities accessible to the English reader are the institutes of Menu translated by Sir W. Jones; and the texts from a great variety of books of sacred law, which are collected and arranged in the Digest of Hindoo law already mentioned. The author of that work informs† us in his Commentary, that *Chandeswara and others* explain the word *husbandman* as *owner of the field*, and endeavours to remove the difficulty of reconciling these authorities with his own courtly opinion, already mentioned, by a series of quibbles which I will not attempt to discuss, because I profess myself unable distinctly to comprehend them. This author has not thought proper to quote a text of which he could scarcely be ignorant, viz., "‡ cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who first cleared and tilled it;" a passage which distinctly establishes the existence of private property in land in the days of Menu. It may possibly be objected that this passage occurs not in a disquisition concerning land, but for the purpose of illustrating a question of filiation by comparing the respective claims of the owner of seed and the owner of the land in which it is sown; but this apparent objection, as I conceive, materially strengthens the authority; we illustrate facts which are obscure, by reference to facts of general notoriety; and it is manifest that this origin of landed property, so consonant to the dictates of reason, and to the general opinion of mankind, must have been familiarly known and acknowledged as a practical rule of society

* "Every village, with its twelve Ayangadees, as they are called, is a kind of little republic, with the Potail at the head of it; and India is a mass of such republics. The inhabitants, during war, look chiefly to their own Potail. They give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred; wherever it goes the internal management remains unaltered; the Potail is still the collector and magistrate, and head farmer. From the age of Menu until this day the settlements have been made either with or through the Potails." Report from Anantpoor, 15th of May 1806, by my friend Lieutenant Colonel Munro, to whose excellent reports on revenue I am proud to acknowledge the most extensive obligations.

† Vol. i. p. [illegible], London Edition.

‡ Menu, c. 9. v. 44.

at the period* when the code of Menu was compiled (for it professes to be a compilation), viz., about 880 years before the Christian era, and 553 before the expedition of Alexander.

The passages *from the Digest itself*, which prove beyond the possibility of cavil the existence of private property in land, crowd upon me in such numbers that I am only at a loss which of them to select; but in order that we may not be disturbed by the claims of the fabulous husband of the earth, in the form of Raja or Zemindar, it may be proper to commence with showing that the laws of Menu, and of the Digest, with regard to the sale, the gift, the hereditary descent, and other incidents of land, can by no possibility be forced to apply to either Raja or Zemindar, or any other person than the individual occupant and proprietor. † Six formalities for the conveyance of land are enumerated in the Digest, viz. 1. the assent of townsmen; 2. of kindred; 3. of neighbours; 4. of heirs; 5. the delivery of gold; and 6 of water:‡ to which six formalities the commentator is pleased to add a seventh, not mentioned in the text, the assent of the king, or the officer of the king residing in the town. I shall, however, be satisfied with his own explanation of this very passage in another place, when he had probably suffered his recollection and his courtesy to be off their guard. "§ The assent of townsmen, of heirs, and of kindred, is there required for the publicity of the gift; the assent of neighbours for the sake of preventing disputes concerning the boundaries. Publicity is required that the townsman and the giver's own kinsmen may be witnesses." The land which is here given or conveyed as private property is a portion, and apparently a small portion, of one of the townships, which we have described; townsmen, neighbours, and kindred, assemble not only on account of the publicity of the gift, but to ascertain *how much* is given. ‖Menu prescribes the mode of adjusting disputes concerning boundaries, not only between two villages, but between two¶ fields, and determines that in the latter case the testimony of next neighbours on every side must be considered as the best means of decision. "** Let the *owner* of a field enclose it with a hedge. Whatever man *owns* a field, if seed conveyed into it should germinate," &c. &c. These are but a few of very many texts which might, if necessary, be adduced to prove a fact no longer to be deemed doubtful; namely, that the land intended is neither a province, nor a kingdom, nor

* Preface to the Translation. † Vol. ii, p. 161.

‡ The sale of immoveable property cannot be effected without the formalities of donation, vol. iii, p. 432. The delivery of gold and water (which is the usual formality of a gift) is on this account necessary to conveyances of every description.

§ Vol. iii, p. 432. ‖ C. 8, v. 243.

¶ C. 8, v. 262.—"The bounds of arable fields."—"Should the neighbours say anything untrue when *two men* dispute about a landmark," &c.

** Ibid. v. 239.

an empire; but simply a field, or an estate, a portion of the lands of a township. This fact will be farther illustrated in treating of the restrictions under which the land was possessed; first with regard to hereditary descent, and secondly with regard to taxes or public contributions, or, in other words, to the claims of the king.

A distinction is made between the* title to land which a man has acquired himself, and that which has descended to him from an ancestor. A man may give or sell at his pleasure what himself has acquired, even though he should leave his family destitute: "†A man's own gift is valid, because he has property which is the established cause of validity, but it is not admitted that the religious purpose is attained," &c. &c. "‡ *Property is equally devested by the voluntary act of the owner in sale as in gift, and it occurs a hundred times in practice*," but what has descended from an ancestor cannot be alienated without the consent of the heir, or heirs (that is, all the sons equally), who have§ a lien equally in the immoveable heritage, whether they be divided or undivided," *i. e.*, whether they live under the paternal roof, or have removed to other habitations. "Land or other immoveable property, and slaves employed in the cultivation of it, a man shall neither give away nor sell, even though he has acquired them himself unless he convene all his sons." The authorities are not agreed with regard to independent power over what he has acquired himself. "‖ The validity (says Jagganatha) of a gift of land, whether inherited from ancestors, or acquired by the donor himself, being admitted, because the incumbent has ownership the same would be established in regard even to the whole of a man's estate, for the ownership is not different:" and again "Be it anyhow in regard to the whole of a man's estate acquired by himself, the gift of what has descended from an ancestor, by a man who has a son living, is void because he has not independent power over that property.¶" Such are the commentaries of a man who has pronounced in another place that subjects have no landed property at all; the reader will, however, unquestionably have observed, that we have here not only every requisite character of hereditary landed property but the actual recognition of **entailed landed property as an universal principle of Hindoo law. Without farther waste of time in accumulating the volume of authorities which remain we pass to the rights of the king.

* Digest, vol iii, p. 131.
† Vol iii, p. 132.
‡ Vol iii, p. 452. The words quoted are those of the Commentator.
§ Vol ii, p. 131, text. ‖ Vol ii, p. 113, text.
¶ Because the heirs have a lien.

** It is not intended to intimate that landed property is rendered more absolute by entail. He who can sell and devise without restriction has the most absolute property in land. In this case the property is more perfect as to it regards the individual; in the case of entail it is more perfect as it regards the family.

The author of the Digest* cites an authority for the succession to kingdoms in favor of *one* son, who must be "consecrated to the empire," in opposition to the rule of equal division to all the sons†, *as in the case of private landed property;* but he affirms the text to relate to the rule in a particular family. The commentator is of opinion that kingdoms may be divided; because they have not been pronounced indivisible by direct sacred authority. It is of little importance to examine the force of this negative argument, because he admits the *king* "may‡ give *the whole to one,* and that this is in conformity with the practice of former kings." This fact alone, which is of too much notoriety to require illustration, as it regards Rajas and Zemindars§ equally would be sufficient, if others were wanting, to prove that the king, although the|| "regent of the waters, and the lord of the firmament," and "a powerful divinity who appears in a human shape," never was, in the contemplation of Hindoo law, the proprietor, whose land *must* be divided equally among all the sons. In the former case it *may* be given to one, in the latter it *must* descend in equal shares to all.

The taxes of various kinds which may be levied by the king are detailed by Menu¶ with great minuteness. Of the produce of land a sixth is the largest share which can be taken in ordinary circumstances, and a** fourth in times of urgent distress; but the whole tenor†† of the institutes and the digest show that the sixth part of the crop is the king's share, which is constantly in the contemplation of all Hindoo lawyers. This share is confirmed by the elegant Hindoo drama of *Sacontala*‡‡ written,§§ probably, two centuries after the expedition of Alexander; it is universally recognized in all writings, and of general notoriety among Hindoos of every description: in one word, I have never met with a Hindoo farmer of ordinary capacity that was ignorant of the fact;|||| and we shall hereafter find that it was promulgated as the law of the south of India in the sixteenth century.

* Vol. ii, p. 119.

† The gift of a kingdom is valid, as it is of landed property. Commentary, vol. ii, p. 126.

‡ Vol. ii, p. 118.

§ We have already taken occasion to remark that it is the character of all Hindoo institutions to render *offices* as well as property the objects of inheritance. The reader has had the opportunity of understanding the nature and origin of the Zemindars of the south. I am entirely satisfied that those of Bengal were not different, and incidental illustrations of this opinion will be found in the sequel.

|| Menu, cap. 7, v. 7 and 8. ¶ Cap. 7, v. 127 to 132. ** Cap. 10, v. 118.

†† Cap. 8, v. 304, 308. Digest, vol. ii, p. 168, passim.

‡‡ Act v.

§§ I state this from memory. I think this is the era assigned to it by the learned and accomplished translator. I know that there is reason for placing the age of Calidas considerably later.

|||| I dissent absolutely from the opinion of those who describe the Indian husbandman as destitute of knowledge, observation, and understanding. I

The public officer who, in a luminous and most able report, has assured us* that "the lands of Canara have for ages been private property, and that the landed property of that province is both more ancient and more perfect than that of England, has stated with equal confidence that† "private property *has never* existed in India, excepting on the Malabar coast." The reasons applying to ancient authorities on which this opinion is founded appear to be, 1st, that if only a sixth were taken as the share of the government, the property would be so perfect that the fine prescribed by Menu for a proprietor neglecting to cultivate his land would be unnecessary and absurd, and that therefore the sixth was the nominal and not the real share; 2nd, that in ancient royal grants of land in Canara and Malabar, the revenue, or king's share, is specified to be the thing given; in other parts of India *the land itself* is given. I am perfectly aware how great an authority I have here to encounter; and the objections which he has urged shall be discussed with every consideration of personal respect and public deference to his eminent talents and extensive knowledge.‡

1st. It is necessary to adduce the whole text to which this objection refers.

§ "If land be injured by the fault of the farmer himself, *as if he fails to sow it in due time*, he shall be fined ten times as much as the *king's* share *of the crop that might otherwise have been raised*, but only five times as much if it was the fault of his servants without his knowledge."

The owner of the field, who is enjoined six verses before to enclose it, would appear from the translation to be a distinct person from the *farmer* mentioned in this text. The report admits that Ryots, according to Menu, rented their lands to under-tenants; and I will observe in passing, that this very admission necessarily involves the existence of a proprietor's share, and consequently of private property. I notice this distinction, however, of *owner* and *farmer* more on account of a difficulty which will presently be noticed in comprehending the text, than of any real importance which I ascribe to any interpretation of which it is susceptible.

have uniformly found them the most observant and intelligent of all the classes with whom I have conversed, and fond of discussing the rationale of all the operations of their husbandry. To the question whether the broad-cast or the drill husbandry required the greatest proportion of seed, a farmer of Mysoor answered me that he could not state from actual experiment, for that he had never been so slovenly a farmer as to try the broad-cast, as some of his more indolent and poorer neighbours had done, but concluded that a large saving must be made by the drill.

* Lieutenant-Colonel Munro's Report, dated 9th November 1800.

† Ditto, 15th August, 1807.

‡ My valuable friend Colonel Munro has perused in England the manuscript of this and the succeeding chapter; and I have the satisfaction to know that our difference of opinion is now but slight and unimportant.

§ Menu, cap. 8, v. 243.

The words printed in* Italics are the gloss of *Culluca*, a commentator comparatively modern, whose exact era is unknown; and according to the text (including that gloss,) the fine paid to the king for neglecting to sow, is ten times the king's share; or, as the reader will perceive by the most simple calculation, 66⅔ per cent. *more than the whole crop* which could have been produced on the field. The text without the gloss merely states that he shall be fined ten times as much as *the share*, without specifying whose or what share, and is absolutely silent with regard to the condition on which the whole objection is founded, namely, that he is fined for "failing to sow it in due time." The naked text, however, merely states, that "if land be injured by the fault of the farmer, he shall pay ten times as much as *the share*:" what this share may be I do not pretend to decide; and will only venture to conclude, that the commentator must necessarily have erred in explaining it to be the *king's* share: for it is manifestly absurd to have recourse to the monstrous supposition of a tenant's being fined for any neglect whatever, 66⅔ per cent. more than the possible gross produce of his farm. However this may be, the naked text of the passage does not justify the assertion that a Ryot is fined for neglecting to sow: but admitting the whole gloss and translation, we proceed to examine whether the fact of being so fined disproves the existence of private property in the land.

The existence of private landed property under the government of Rome, from the earliest periods of its history, will scarcely be questioned; and yet † "Numa Pompilius appointed magistrates over the pagi, or villages, whose business it was to inspect the lands, and to take an account of those which were well or ill cultivated, and the king reprimanded and FINED the slothful, and excited them to cultivate their lands."—The lands in question were not the public domains cultivated by captives, in which case we should not have heard of the mild punishment by fine; but are distinctly stated to have been the allotment of land made to the people by tribes and curiæ as private property. From this apparent reluctance to cultivate, and the punishment which it incurred, I perceive no grounds for denying the existence of private property, but abundant ground to conclude that a proportion of the crop was paid to the king as a branch of public revenue; and this fact we shall afterwards find confirmed. This mode of raising a revenue for the service of the state, would most obviously present itself to all nations in the early stages of civilization: in a small and simple society it is apparently the most equitable rule of public contribution: and some progress must have been made in the study of government before its gross injustice, as a tax on industry, should be ascer-

* Preface to the Institutes, p. 13.
† Dionysius Halicarnass, Lib. 2.

tained and admitted. When the amount of the sovereign's revenue depends on the amount of the lands which shall be cultivated, he will unquestionably exert all the powers which he possesses to compel the extension of culture; but if his revenue is not to be increased by such extension, his fines and punishments are without an object. We shall probably find no one instance in history, of a government punishing or reprimanding husbandmen for neglecting to cultivate, without finding a revenue raised from a share of the crop; nor any instance of a revenue so raised without finding the husbandman goaded to extend his cultivation. It is not my intention to affirm, that in the age of Menu, under a government uniformly despotic, the proprietor of the land never suffered oppression. Menu himself decides this question in a remarkable injunction.* "Since the servants of the king, whom he has appointed guardians of districts, are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men; from such knaves let him defend his people:" and an author† cited in the Digest classes very quaintly together, as objects of a similar nature, the danger to be apprehended from *fire*, from *robbers*, and from the *king*: but I infer on the ground of the authorities which I have quoted, that the sixth part of the crop was the regulated share payable to the sovereign; and that the property expressly implied by the right to the remaining five-sixths is not invalidated by the existence of a fine for neglecting to cultivate, even if the existence of such a fine had been more clearly made out.

2d. In the royal grants of Canara the revenue is given: in all others *the land itself.*

An examination, more or less close or cursory as the subject attracted my attention, of nearly seventeen hundred grants of land in the Mackenzie collection, enabled me to observe that their forms differ very materially, in various parts of the country: those in the central parts of the peninsula correspond pretty exactly with those found in Hindostan; probably because both countries were subjected to the same conquerors from the north before the Mohammedan invasion, and at periods antecedent to the conquest of the eastern and western tracts. Throughout Drauveda, or the eastern country below the Ghauts, now erroneously named the Carnatic, abundance of ancient inscriptions exist, in which revenue is bestowed by the king; and very many, indeed, in which land is bestowed on a temple by the *individual proprietor.* In several remarkable documents, which will hereafter be particularly described, the whole detail is related of the purchase of land at a public auction from a proprietor who is named; and according to the exact injunction of the institutes and digest, of assembling the whole of the township to recognize the validity of the sale, and the amount of the thing sold. I shall be ready

* Menu, cap vii, v 123
† Vol. ii, p 13

to admit that the royal grants in Hindostan and the centre of the southern peninsula confer the land, whenever the advocates of regal proprietary right shall be prepared to concede that they confer the *sky* also, for both are specially given in a hundred instances; to one of which, as being open to public reference, I shall confine my observations.* "I give the earth and the *sky* as long as the sun and the moon shall last:" but the very same grant, in the preceding part of that paragraph, details the things given to be, as I conceive, the rights which the king derives from the village or township described; closing the enumeration with the words, and "*all that has been possessed by the servants of the Raja.*" In a succeeding paragraph the thing given is placed beyond all doubt. "Let all his neighbours, and all who till the land, be obedient to my commands. What you have formerly been accustomed to perform and pay, do it unto him in all things." The thing alienated was the revenue, or the royalties; nothing else could be alienated by the king. In the grant which we have noticed, he alienates the revenues of a township; and I have never seen an ancient royal grant (which are always for religious purposes), excepting of one or more townships, or of a portion of a township, whose limits on every side are exactly described: in short, of land already in culture, and paying revenue. The Bramin grantee would reject as a meagre compliment the gift of waste land, destitute of inhabitants to till it, of which abundance may be procured without obligation: he would accept what we see given in this instrument, the right to a revenue already existing, payable by the inhabitants of a township or part of a township; and indeed, on a close examination of all the possible beginnings of regal proprietary right, we shall find it not only difficult to prove, but equally perplexing distinctly to imagine, the existence of landed property in a king, that had not previously been the landed property of a subject. I shall conclude this branch of the subject with an extract from a Mohammedan law authority, which shall be hereafter quoted at greater length. "Inheritance is annexed to property; and he who has the tribute * from the land has no property in the land: hence it is known that the king has no right to grant the land which pays tribute, but that he may grant the tribute arising from it."

Before proceeding to trace what can yet be discovered of the history of landed property in India from the age of Menu to the present day, in which the invalidity of these two objections will be farther illustrated, it may be useful in a rapid sketch to examine whether anything exists relative to the condition of the occupants of land, in the early history of other countries, so materially differing from that described in the institutes and the digest, as to justify the conclusions which have been drawn, indi-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i, p. 157.

* "Omnia tenes Cæsar imperio sed non dominio," say the Roman lawyers.

cating the nature of landed property in India to be distinct from that of all other regions of the earth.

In the most ancient and authentic of all histories, although we find distinct* records of the sale and purchase of the land of individuals in Judea, and of the† partition of the lands of a conquered people as the private property of the victors, I have not been able to trace with any certainty the nature and amount of the contributions which were paid for the service of the state, unless we are to consider the interests of the priesthood and of the sovereign to be united, and a portion of the‡ tithes in peace, and of the slaves§ and cattle taken in war, which was paid to the Levites, as intended to be applied to the public expenses of the state.‖ The tithe itself is of the exact nature of the Indian contribution; and the inference that this or some separate portion of the crop was payable in kind to the sovereign, appears to be supported by the existence of a special officer for superintending the tribute,¶ and another for "the storehouses in the fields,** in the cities, in the villages, and in the castles;" an enumeration which seems to show that a portion of the crop was laid up for the sovereign in every field, village, and city.

In Egypt we have the most distinct evidence that one-fifth was the land-tax, or the sovereign's share of the crop. ††Pharaoh took up "the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years." The fifth must consequently have been his established share: and after the supposed purchase by Pharaoh of all the lands and all the people of Egypt, in return for food during the famine, the fifth only was the share which he continued to exact. I hope to be pardoned by biblical critics for the presumption of offering a short observation on this transaction. The learned Blackstone‡‡ is of opinion that Pharaoh in this instance, like the feudal sovereigns of later days, acquired the *allodial* rights, and granted back the land as a *beneficium* or *feud*: and the very acute investigator of the principles§§ of Asiatic monarchies thinks, that by the latter part of the transaction, Joseph had only bound the husbandmen more strongly to the obligation of

* Genesis, chap. xxiii, v. 16 and 17.

† Joshua, chap. xix, v. 51.

‡ Leviticus, chap. xxvii, v. 30.

§ Numbers, chap. xxi, v. 26 to 30.

‖ This supposition is strengthened by observing that Mohammed, who borrowed so much from the Jewish institutions, levied a tenth as head of the church, but applied a large portion of it to the services of the state; and it would also seem that this was the portion exacted from Judea after its conquest by the Romans. See Burman, De vectigalibus populi Romani, p. 25 and 26.

¶ 1 Kings, chap. iv, v. 6.

** 1 Chronicles, chap. xxvii, v. 25.

†† Genesis, chap. xlvii, v. 13 to 27.

‡‡ Com. Book 2, chap. 6.

§§ Patton, p. 29.

paying the established tax to the sovereign. If the passage is to be literally interpreted, the people of Egypt were free men and proprietors of the land: by this transaction they divested themselves of their property and became *slaves* to the king. Can any man seriously believe, that so fatal a revolution had taken place in the personal liberty and fixed property of a whole people, and yet that their relation towards the sovereign remained unaltered in all its essential characters? They paid the same taxes as before; and as far as the sacred text informs us, possessed their land virtually on the same conditions as before. Sovereigns do not usually enslave their subjects, and acquire their property, without a more substantial object in view than to restore their liberty and property. The chief difficulty appears to me to be solved, by adverting to the figurative language in which the most familiar, as well as the most important, ideas are conveyed in holy writ, and in all the dialects of the eastern world. "You have purchased me as a slave," is the most common form of speech throughout the peninsula of India at this day, to express permanent gratitude for an important favour: "*You have purchased my house, my family, my lands, my flesh,*" is a form of speech which I have recently heard applied with great warmth, and I believe with perfect sincerity, by a man who meant exactly to say, "I am for ever obliged and devoted to you;" and however strong the expressions may appear in the biblical history of this transaction, all difficulty vanishes if we may be permitted to suppose that Joseph only inculcates, and the people only admit, in figurative language, the important benefits conferred by Pharaoh, and the consequent gratitude due by his subjects. It must however be admitted that the fact of the fifth having been the previous land-tax, as stated by Blackstone, is only inferred from the context, and not positively asserted in the biblical history. At that period the lands of the priests were alone exempted, but in the time of Herodotus and Diodorus the allotments to the military were also free lands: and many other changes had taken place, which forbid any inference being drawn from their works regarding the actual state of more ancient institutions. Egypt was subjugated by the Romans about the time that their own republican government was finally extinguished; and we find the emperors retaining the direct management of Egypt as one of their own provinces, and restraining the access of their subjects: the former circumstance indicating a prosperous revenue; and the latter, that there was something to conceal. It is certain, that in the other portions of the Roman empire, one-tenth of the crop of corn was the usual tax, and that one-fifth was absolutely unknown *in any other province*. A tax is seldom lowered under a despotism, and not very often under any government; and all these circumstances combined give some color to the hypothesis, that the fifth may have been exacted for the first time under the plea of an expected

famine, and that Joseph, like a skilful financier, availed himself of the means which afterwards occurred to perpetuate the tax.

In attempting to trace the state of landed property in Greece, a ground to which I return as a stranger, after a long and unbroken absence, I can discover nothing but the features of splendid fable in many of those institutions which historians and philosophers have held up as sober truths to the admiration of posterity. That the lands of Sparta were equally divided among the citizens, and were free from all public impositions, is the only law of Lycurgus which seems to have a direct relation to the state of landed property in that republic; and it will be necessary, however adventurous the attempt, to offer a few short remarks on the general nature of these institutions, for the purpose of showing that this representation of the fact is absolutely incredible. The Spartan legislator himself never permitted his laws to be committed to writing: and it cannot be surprising if nothing distinct or certain has descended to posterity regarding that which never had a distinct or fixed existence. Subsequent writers seem to have been chiefly guided by the authority of Xenophon; but whether his treatise on the Lacedemonian Republic (a work which I have only seen in quotation) ought, like the Cyropædia, simply to be considered as an eloquent political romance, is a question which I only venture to suggest on account of the insurmountable contradictions to be found in those authors who appear to have followed its authority.

The state of Sparta had no treasure,* the lands as well as the other property of the Spartans being free from all impositions. One of the means of occasional contribution evinced their extreme poverty; a general fast of all the citizens saved a small sum, which the state conferred on an ally in distress: yet the ingenious and learned author who assures us of this fact, and everywhere cites his authorities, informs us† that the king or general appeared in the army with great splendour: that the state provided for his maintenance, and that of his household, consisting, besides his usual guard,‡ of one hundred select men, of the two pythians or augurs, the polemarchs or principal officers, and three inferior officers who attended on his person not a very mean staff in those days of simplicity, equality, and poverty. The state, it seems, provided for all these expenses, and necessarily for very much more, without taxes, without revenues, and without treasure.§ If the land allotted to the king during peace could by any violence of construction be forced to signify the

* Travels of Anacharsis, vol iv, p. 137 † Ibid vol. iv, p. 132.

‡ Herodotus, B 6, C 56.

§ The fact of the allotment of land I observe is from Xenophon: the heroes of the Iliad had their separate domains, and so must the kings of Sparta: yet animals, meal, and wine, were sent to them periodically by the state: whence did these supplies come?

fund provided by the state for the exigencies of war; if the state might be said to have no treasure, although it existed in the hands of their principal officer; and if we should consent to pass, without observation, the express evidence of public revenue involved in the demand of tribute* from *Helos;* and, without comment, the brutal and unmanly conduct of these admired republicans towards its unhappy citizens, and to the slaves who, in after times, were named *Helots* as a term of ignominy; still it will be altogether impossible to reconcile to the supposed prohibition of money, and equal division of land, a few facts incidentally related by Herodotus, who wrote near a century before Xenophon, and was not composing a political romance. In speaking of a female infant of plain and disagreeable features, he simply narrates that it was a source of great affliction to her parents, who were people of †great affluence in Sparta. A Milesian deposited a large sum of money with a Spartan, exacting an oath for its restitution when demanded: the ‡Spartan, it appears, found that the precious metals were more valuable than the iron currency of Lacedemon in a state of perfect equality; and refused to return it, until he should consult the oracle whether he might avail himself of a quibble of the law to cheat the man who had reposed confidence in him. The king, on a march,§ might take for his own use as many sheep as he thought proper. ‖Notwithstanding the celebrated obligation of dining at the frugal table, to which every citizen subscribed his twelve medimni, private entertainments did exist; and persons were found sufficiently affluent to invite the king to partake of them. ¶Themistocles paid a visit to Sparta, where he was splendidly entertained; on his departure they gave him the handsomest chariot in Sparta (is it possible that there were handsome chariots in this land of poverty?) and three hundred knights escorted him to the frontier, regarding whose particular quality the annotators seem only to be so far agreed, that none *but those who were wealthy possessed horses.*** The very fact, indeed, which has been so often adduced to illustrate the perfect equality of the citizens of Sparta; namely, that those who had no chariots or horses were entitled to demand the use of these conveniences from such of their neighbours as possessed them; is in itself an incontrovertible proof of open and distinguished inequality. That Lycurgus, like other enthusiasts, may have indulged in the dream of perfect and permanent equality; that, aided by a faction of armed adherents, he†† accomplished the forcible plunder of his respectable fellow-citizens for the purpose of dividing the spoil among the needy; and even that all this may have been honestly intended, is not absolutely incredible; but those who believe in the

* Lempriere in vocem. † Book 6, c. 61. ‡ Ibid., c. 86.
§ Herodotus, book 6, c. 56. ‖ Ibid., c. 57. ¶ Book 8, c. 124.
** Beloe, vol iv, p. 439. †† Anacharsis, vol. iv, p. 119.

reality and the permanence of institutions so evidently contrary to the nature of things, and, as I think, to a fair examination of historical facts, must possess either a grasp of comprehension, or an extent of credulity, which I am altogether unable to reach.

The unsatisfactory result of our enquiries regarding the state of landed property in Sparta is not much relieved by a superior degree of information with respect to Athens. Solon found it necessary by sundry edicts to force* the people to till and cultivate their lands which lay neglected. For the reasons which have formerly been assigned, it is probable that the state received a proportion of the crop; but the fact is not positively confirmed by anything which I have been able to discover in the subsequent plan of taxation, which, as Athens became a commercial and maritime state, would chiefly depend upon its duties and excise, and latterly upon a sort of property-tax for the construction of ships of war, levied on the possessors of land and other property indiscriminately. We pass to more distinct information in Italy.

Under the Roman empire, through every change of government, a portion of the produce of the lands was paid in kind. The fines imposed by Numa Pompilius for neglecting to cultivate are the earliest evidence of this fact: by subsequent regulations, whoever neglected to till the ground was liable to the animadversion of the censors;† and the imperial‡ magazines for the reception of a portion of the produce in the various articles of wine or oil, wheat or barley, wood or iron, continued to the latest periods of the empire to be the deposit of this branch of the public taxation.

In the history of a people who rose from the condition of a band of robbers without territory, to be the conquerors of the world, the incidents of landed property must be traced in that branch of the ancient international law of Greece and Italy, by which the vanquished people not only forfeited their territory and personal property, but became the predial or domestic slaves of the conquerors. Under this principle the conquered lands were, of course, disposed of as appeared to be most for the interest of the conquerors. Whilst the territory was very limited, the lands reserved for the state admitted of the same management as the lands of an individual, and would probably be cultivated by public slaves: but as the state extended its bounds, this mode would become extravagant or impracticable. The whole conquered territory was sometimes confiscated, as in the case of *Campania*, which was reserved exclusively for the exigencies of the state, and became the great granary§ of the city during a considerable period of its history.

* Beloe's Notes on Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 168.

† Adam's Antiquities, 533

‡ Gibbon, chap. 17.

§ Pulcherrima populi Romani possessio, subsidium annonæ, horreum belli, sub signo claustrisque reipublicæ positum vectigal.—Cicero

Sometimes the conquered people submitted under a sort of capitulation* to pay an aggregate fixed tribute (stipendium or tributum); and others, as in the case of Sicily, were confirmed in their ancient privileges, or were fined in a certain† portion of their land. As the Roman territory farther enlarged, colonies were frequently sent out, as well to provide for distinguished soldiers, as to form a sort of garrison to keep the vanquished in subjection. The conditions of these establishments necessarily varied with circumstances; but the lands allotted to the *coloni*‡ generally paid as a tax a certain portion of the produce, which never exceeded one-tenth§ of the crop of grain, and one-fifth of the produce of trees. The conquered people were usually admitted to rent the lands rejected by the *coloni*; and the remainder of the land fit for cultivation, which was left unoccupied (probably by the slain and by the slaves carried off to the old territory, or appropriated by the coloni on the spot) was either rented for a share of the crop, or converted into public pasture (scriptura), which formed a separate branch of revenue. In many cases these lands were sold (redeemable by the state) for a period of one hundred years;|| a practice which was supposed to have produced many irregular and corrupt alienations.

The farmers of revenue, generally of the equestrian order, formed a very remarkable corporation, governed by particular laws; and, as far as regarded their influence in the state, may in many respects be compared to the monied interest of England. In the collection of the revenue it must be concluded, that exclusively of the important difference of proprietor and tenant, (which however seems to have been obliterated in Italy when the cities were admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens) a distinction was made between the coloni and common husbandmen (aratores) in the amount of their payments. One material preference consisted in the selection of the best lands. One-tenth of the crop was the tax usually exacted from both;¶ a proportion which is obviously a much heavier tax on poor than on rich land. The farmers of revenue (publicani or socii) divided the business of their department into three branches, correspond-

* Inter Siciliam cæterasque provincias hoc interest, quod ceteris aut impositum est vectigal certum, quod stipendiarium dicitur, ut Hispanis et plerisque Pœnorum quasi victoriæ præmium et pœna belli, aut censoria locatio constituta est, ut Asiæ lege Sempronia: Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam fidemque recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent, eadem conditione populo Romano parerent qua suis ante paruissent. Cic. 5. Verr.

† Burman, p. 8.

‡ I use the term *colonus* as I find it uniformly employed by Burman, p. 10, 12, 19, &c. &c., *a proprietor cultivating the lands assigned to him in a new establishment*: the term *coloni conductores* and *partiarii*, apparently *stewards* and *tenants working for a share of the crop*, are sufficiently distinguished by those epithets.

§ Hyginus et Appian, apud Burman, p. 20.

|| Hyginus apud Burm., p. 14.

¶ Burman, p. 23.

ing with the three principal heads of Roman revenue; the customs (portorium), the public pastures, (scriptura), and the landed revenue; and the very name *decumani*,* by which the persons employed in this latter department were universally distinguished (the two others being called portitores and pecuarii), furnishes abundant evidence that one-tenth part was the most common portion† of the crop exacted as a tax. Spain paid one-twentieth only of corn, and one-tenth of the produce of trees; whether by compact or in consideration of its inferior fertility, does not seem to be entirely certain. But the distinction between the coloni and aratores, so strongly marked in their first establishment, evidently varied in subsequent periods; and we even find the whole of the public lands of Italy not only confirmed to their actual possessors, as good policy most strongly demanded, but altogether exempted from taxes by the law of the tribune Thorius, so justly reprobated by Cicero. Previously to that period, it seems probable that a distinction existed similar to that of the fixed rent which is noticed by Cicero in his account of the Sicilian revenue, where he attributes to Verres, as an iniquitous innovation, the decree by which he required each farmer to register the number of acres which he annually cultivated; a decree which was obviously no otherwise iniquitous than as it was contrary to the laws of Hiero, the preservation of which constituted the main condition of the compact by which the Sicilians submitted to the government of Rome, and these laws exacted not the actual tenth, but a fixed land-tax estimated to be one-tenth; thus we find, that some of the cities which had been disfranchised as the punishment of revolt were subject to other conditions.§ The publicani, who rented the revenues of a province by public auction at the spear of the censor for a fixed sum (merces), were, in ordinary cases, at perfect liberty to make their own bargains with the husbandmen, subject only to the conditions and restrictions previously promulgated in the tabulæ or leges censoriæ, public advertisements of the censor, and the decumani made their annual settlements with the husbandmen for a certain quantity of grain or of money, on each acre* to be cultivated, calculating in the former case the amount of the produce and agreeing for

* The term was also applied to those who *paid* a tenth, and the distinction must be determined by the context.

† A tenth is the *[illegible]* [illegible] paid in India, before the [illegible] of the [illegible]; it is the portion paid in the little [illegible] of Coorg at this day, and the Dutch found and continued that tax in Ceylon.

‡ Burm. p. 2[illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] Livy, [illegible] and Cicero.

§ Burm. 141, et passim. "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible], certum est, [illegible] lege Censoria [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] decumas ex lege Hieronica [illegible] Cic. Verr.

Burm. p. 123. I do not know whether any of the tabulæ censoriæ have been preserved; they would probably convey a more intimate knowledge of the details of Roman revenue than can be obtained from any other source.

* Burm. p. 2[illegible]

the estimated tenth, generally at the rate of one medimnus for an acre of good land, which was supposed to produce ten medimni. The coloni, if this explanation be correct, held their lands at a fixed estimate of the probable tenth, and the aratores were subject, like the Ryots of India, to an annual settlement, increasing with the augmentation of their industry. The coloni (or decumani, from whatever cause,) were the proprietors at a fixed land-tax; the aratores were (where the distinction continued) the tenants of lands which were the property of the state, paying in proportion to the quantity of land which was annually tilled. The object of the Agrarian laws, which so much agitated the public mind at different periods of the republic, was not a general division of all the lands, but of those confiscated (publicati) which in Italy were afterwards, by the conflicting meanness and ambition of plebeian and imperial demagogues, not only rendered private property, but with the whole territory of that country exempted from all taxes whatever; leaving to the unfortunate provinces the whole burden of the requisite expenses of the state, and of an institution* which is entitled to hold a more distinguished place than has usually been assigned to it among the causes of the decline of the Roman empire, namely, the gratuitous distribution, first of corn, and afterwards of pork,† bread, and oil, to the licentious and depraved populace of the city. After the impolitic and unjust exemption which has been noticed, the means of making these distributions were necessarily drawn from the provinces; and the idleness and poverty which so high a premium encouraged and ensured, naturally augmented the evil; until, after the lapse of a century and a half from the period of the exemption, Augustus and his successors were obliged to restore the revenues of Italy, through the medium of a complex system of customs, excise, and income-tax; and to revive neglected agriculture by restricting the culture‡ of the vine.

The history of the details of revenue under the emperors cannot be easily traced. The canon Frumentarius, which is ascribed to Augustus, seems to have fixed the proportions§ of corn

* This institution is rivalled by the English poor laws alone. To the advocates of this system may be recommended the grave consideration of the humorous answer of a Prætorian prefect to the emperor Aurelian (A. D. 275), when he was desirous of adding wine to the other gratuitous distributions; "Si et vinum populo damus, superest ut et pullos at anseres demus." Vopisc., c. 47, Burm. p. 53.

† Burman, p. 53.

‡ Italy was covered with pleasure grounds and vineyards, and Domitian, in the early and promising part of his reign, was elegantly complimented as the person,

Qui castæ Cereri diu negata
Reddit jugera *sobriasque terras*.

§ When these were not sufficient for the supply of the city and the army, the provinces were compelled to *sell* at *rates* fixed by the fiscal officers, which rates, the exemptions allowed to aged persons and men of large families prove to have been considered as oppressive. Burman, p. 42.

and other supplies in kind to be furnished by the several provinces; and the mode in which these proportions and other payments were distributed into *capita* is amply and clearly described by Mr. Gibbon, without enabling us to judge by farther detail whether any material changes were introduced in the later periods of the Roman empire with regard to the proportions of the crop paid by the individual husbandman. It is not credible that the payment of so small a portion as one-tenth of the crop could have excited the grievous complaints of oppression which were re-echoed from all the provinces: the right of inspection and interference to ascertain the extent of cultivation which the decumanus unquestionably possessed, involved, under the loose government of the Roman provinces, the power to do more; and the direct interest of the farmer or officer of the revenue to use compulsory means for the extension of culture, is a source of oppression which, exclusively of other exactions,* must everywhere produce similar effects. The husbandman of Italy or India, whether proprietor or farmer, whether, like the Roman, paying a tenth, or, like the Indian, a sixth, would be incessantly goaded to cultivate, so long as the power and the interest were united which we have described to exist. We find the English husbandman, whether proprietor or farmer, frequently declining to raise corn on his titheable land: he would be compelled to do this if the person entitled to receive the tithe possessed the power and influence of the decumanus. Fines for neglecting to cultivate can only illustrate the ruinous principle of the tax, without furnishing any conclusive inference for or against the existence of private property in the land.

The barbarous principle of international law, which has been above described, seems to have continued during every period of the Roman history; and a remarkable example occurs under the eastern empire so late as A. D. 536, when the soldiers of Africa, under Solomon the general of Justinian, having married the wives and daughters of the vanquished Vandals, claimed the lands also which formerly belonged to their new spouses, and mutinied to obtain them. Solomon replied, "that he did not refuse slaves and moveables as spoils to the soldier; but the lands he alleged to belong to the emperor and the state which fed them, and gave them the quality of soldiers; not to conquer for themselves the lands taken by barbarians from the empire, but to recover them for the treasury from which they were paid."†

It may hence be fairly risked, as an apology for the errors of those ancient‡ authors who affirm all land in India to be the property of the state, that they came to the consideration of the

* The *cella*, a tax to furnish provisions for the tables of the prætors and pro-consuls, would necessarily involve great abuses.

† Procopius, lib. 2, chap. 10.

‡ It is quite unnecessary to quote examples in Greece; the history of the Helots is all-sufficient

subject with minds familiarized and predisposed to the doctrine, and only found in the supposed institutions of that country an extension of the principle long established in their own. A conjecture may be supported by some traditionary traces, that it was an ancient practice of India to reduce the vanquished to the condition of slaves, and to confiscate their lands; but without discussing the wild chronology of that country, we have abundant evidence that the principle, as well as the practice, if they ever did exist, had ceased many centuries before the expedition of Alexander; that private property in land was then distinctly recognized by law, and that the conqueror was enjoined to respect and maintain the rights and customs of the vanquished. In other respects we find the ancient principle of taxation, namely, the payment of a portion of the crop, to have been the same in every country upon earth; and we may now proceed to examine the few faint traces of its history which exist in India from that period to the present day.

Hindoo conquerors are enjoined* to confirm the established laws and customs of the conquered nation; but they are too good casuists not to discover that any additional tax†, however recently imposed by the former sovereign, is, relatively to the period of conquest, an established thing; and consequently to be confirmed. The more northern barbarians, under the designation of Huns,‡ Toorks, Afghans, or Patans, who followed in the same career, where in this single respect certainly more unmerciful than their Hindoo predecessors. In India, as in Europe, the conquerors and the conquered, successively impelling and impelled, rolled forward, wave after wave, in a southern direction; and whoever will attentively examine the structure and the geography of that portion of India usually called the Southern Peninsula, may infer, *a priori*, that the countries below the ghauts, separated by a barrier scarcely penetrable from the central regions, and forbidding approach by a burning climate, always formidable to the natives of the north, will have been the last visited by those invaders, and will have retained a larger portion of their primitive institutions. We shall accordingly find, that in the central regions the existence, and with it the remembrance, of private property in land has been nearly obliterated; while throughout the lower countries it can every where be distinctly proved, and in many places in as perfect a state and as fondly cherished as

* Menu, chap. 7, v. 203.

† The Shasters, however, commend as a meritorious act the reduction to one-sixth of the taxes of a conquered country which may have been higher.

‡ Toork is the name by which a Mussulman is known in all the vernacular dialects of the south of India at this time. Hun or hoon is a term chiefly confined to inscriptions and books. The white Huns of Bochara had extended their conquests to the Penjab, and probably farther, and were expelled by a king of *Gour* in Bengal. Vide Asiatic Researches, vol. 1, p. 136. Europeans are named *Hoons* at this time.

in any part of Europe. I shall confine my observations on this subject to the tract which, commencing near to Madras in the latitude of about thirteen and a half north, comprises the extent between the sea and the hills from thence to Cape Comorin, and round that promontory, extending north to the latitude of nearly fifteen N. a belt of various breadth, of from sixty to an hundred and sixty miles, and in length near nine hundred English miles.

From the causes which have been noticed, and from circumstances which the limits of this discussion do not permit us to examine, the country known in our maps by the name of Canara* has preserved a larger portion of its ancient institutions and historical records than any other region of India. An early event recorded in poetic numbers may in India well be classed as a traditionary tale; and I only advert to the conquest of this country by one of a dynasty of seventy-seven kings who ruled at Banawasee† about 1450 years before Christ, for the purpose of observing, that according to the tradition, he reduced *Hoobasnica*, a *Hullia*‡ or *Pariar* king, and all his subjects, to a state of slavery, in which their descendants continue to this day. The fact is worthy of note from the ground which it affords for a conjecture which many circumstances will support, that these unhappy outcasts were the aborigines of India; and that the establishment of casts was not the effort of a single mind, but the result of successive expedients for retaining in subjection the conquests of the northern Hindoos; for they, also, are confessedly from the north. Among the various lists of dynasties and kings, real or imaginary, which I have examined in the Mackenzie collection, is one which records the names of the monarchs who successively established the distinctions of the priesthood, the military, the agricultural, and servile classes.

Without further noticing events which have no immediate relation to our subject, it is only necessary to state, that one-sixth of the crop is the share which is said to have been exacted by the government from time immemorial until A. D. 1252, when a nephew of the Pandian,§ taking advantage of a civil war,

* I derive my information on this subject from the able reports above alluded to, from the Mackenzie manuscripts, and from the personal aid in examining them of a most intelligent and learned native of that country named Ramapa.

† Noted by *Ptolemy*, who has a wonderful proportion of the names of places in the south of India, but, as might be supposed, little information regarding their latitudes and longitudes.

‡ The name by which they are known in Canara and in Mysoor at this time.

§ The Pandian race long had their capital at Madura (the Pandionis Mediterranea and Madura regia Pandionis of Ptolemy). This invader, from his wonderful success, is fabled to have been attended by an army of demons, *Bootum*, and was thence called *Boota Pandi Raja*: he was son of the king's sister, and from that circumstance is said to have established the line of hereditary descent in the conquered country in nephews by the sister's side. The Pandian dynasty must have made conquests on that coast at an early period;

invaded the country in ships, and conquered it. Before his time the sixth had been received in the rough grain; but he imposed on his subjects the task of delivering it deprived of its husks* in a state fit for food, thereby increasing the revenue about ten per cent. which is the estimated expense of this operation. This mode of payment continued until the establishment of a new government at Videyanuggur or Vijeyanuggur, founded by fugitives from the subverted government of Warangul when the Pandian dynasty of Canara, having already reached the period of its decline, readily yielded to the rising state in 1336. The minister and spiritual preceptor *Vedyaranya*,† under whose auspices the new dynasty was erected, composed a work on law and government, which is still extant in many hands, and easily procurable: it was intended as a manual for the officers of state; is founded on the text of Parasara, with a copious commentary by Videyaranya, assigning as usual to the king one-sixth, as the royal share of the crop, and very rudely pronouncing the king who takes more to be infamous in this world, and consigned to (Nareka) the infernal regions in the next. This share he was desirous of converting from a grain to a money payment, and established fixed rules for the conversion, founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase, and the value of grain. The result literally conforms to the law of the Digest; viz., one-sixth to the king, one-thirtieth to the bramins, one-twentieth to the gods, the rest to the proprietor. It is unnecessary to

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for at the era, whatever it may be, of the "Periplus of the Erythrean sea," *Nelcynda* (Nelisuram,) was subjected to that dynasty: *Musiris* to *Ceprobotus*, written by Ptolemy *Cerabothus*, perhaps *Cerun* or *Cherun Puttri* or *Chera Puttri, the Progeny of Cherun*, the dynasty which long ruled over Malabar. The *Chaldest* to which, according to Mr. Duncan's paper in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, Malabar was afterwards subject, is no doubt *Chol* or *Chola Desh* (as I since find it was written by Mr. Duncan, the present reading being an error of the press); the latter syllable being a termination signifying country or region; the third of the rival dynasties of the lower south. The remains of an ancient fortress close to the temple of Calliarcoil in the woods of Shevagunga, or the lesser Marawar country, as it is sometimes called, still bear the name of Pandian Kota, *Pandian castle*; and a family claiming a direct descent from the house of Pandian is still said to exist in the neighbouring country.

* The calculation of increase stated in the Shasters is twelve-fold; the former rulers of course received as revenue *two measures* for every measure sown. To reduce paddy to rice, it loses exactly one-half its bulk; the rate of the Pandian accordingly was one measure of rice for every measure of paddy sown.

† *Forest of Science*, a new title; his former name was *Madava Acharee*, and the title of the work to which I particularly allude is *Parasara Madaveeum*, sometimes also called *Videyarnaya Smirti*. He also composed another work, sometimes known by the latter title, but generally called *Videyaranya Sungraham*, which treats exclusively of religious duties. The Pundit of the court of Seringapatam informs me that he considers the text of Parasara as the most clear and comprehensive, and the commentary of Videyaranya the most ample and satisfactory, of all the authorities which he possesses.

enter farther into this detail, than to state that thirty is the whole number on which the distribution is made: of which it is calculated that fifteen, or one-half, is consumed in the expenses of agriculture, and the maintenance of the farmer's family. The distribution of the remaining fifteen stands thus:—

To the sovereign one-sixth of the gross produce ...	5
To the bramins one-twentieth	1½
To the gods one-thirtieth	1
Remains proprietor's share, which is exactly one-fourth	7½
	15

The share payable to the bramins and the gods was received by the sovereign, and by him distributed; so that the sum actually received by the sovereign and by the proprietor were equal. Instead of satisfying himself with leaving things as they were, and taking from this province a smaller revenue on account of its remote situation, as suggested in the report (it is, in fact, not remote compared with many other parts of the dominion,) it is evident that Hurryhur Roy called in the aid of the Shasters for the purpose of raising the revenue; and did actually raise it exactly twenty per cent. by his skill in applying that authority to his calculations; the result of the whole detail being that he received one ghetti pagoda for two kauties and a half of land, the same sum only having formerly been paid for three kauties. From 1336 until 1618, when the hereditary governors of the province began to aim at independence, this rate continued unaltered, but soon after this latter period an additional assessment* of fifty per cent. was levied on the whole revenue, with some exceptions, in which the usurper was opposed by minor usurpations; but even at this period lands were saleable at ten years' purchase, and, in some instances, so high as twenty-five and thirty. The hereditary right to landed property in Canara and Malabar was, and continues to be, indefeasible, even by the longest prescriptive occupancy; the heir may at any distance of time reclaim his patrimony, on paying the expense of such permanent improvements as may have been made in the estate. It is unnecessary to go through the detail of the subsequent assessments on the revenue of this province up to the period of its conquest by Hyder in 1763; they were chiefly in the nature of temporary aids, which the exigencies of the times rendered it necessary to continue from year to year: the public contributions were still comparatively moderate, and the condi-

* The rate established by Scopa Naik is still considered to be the highest fixed rate, and by many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries to be the original tax. I was led into the latter error, and some others relative to Bednore (which I had not visited) in my report on Mysore.

tion of the people comfortable and affluent. "The whole course of Hyder's administration was (in the forcible language of the report already alluded to) nothing but a series of experiments for the purpose of discovering the utmost extent to which the land-rent could be carried, or how much it was possible to extort from the farmer without diminishing cultivation. The increase of assessment of Hyder and Tippoo Sultaun has, in some places, annihilated the old proprietors, and it has everywhere diminished the quantity, but not altered the nature, of the property. If, after paying the Sircar rent, and what is due to himself for his labour, there remain the most trifling surplus, he will almost as soon part with his life as with his estate." A subsequent collector informs us, that under Tippoo's government the proprietors had actually begun to disavow their property; but in the very second year of English management, they claimed as their own, what the year before had been held in the names of their tenants. The demands of the government had, from their excessive amount, in some cases annihilated the property, in others it was on the very verge of extinction: and there can be no question that another century of similar exaction would have extinguished private property in land altogether: and, in conformity to the fact stated by the collector, by being constantly denied, it would soon have been forgotten. The whole system has been revised by the judicious and able hand which has described it: property has been restored by diminishing the exactions of the government, and *leaving a proprietor's share*; and the reporter observes, that "in reforming the revenue system of that province, government has no new rights to private property in land to create; they may augment the value of the property by diminishing the assessment, but the right itself is already as strong as purchase or prescription can make it, and is as well understood as it is in Great Britain." We pass to Malabar.

According to a tradition common to Canara and Malabar, but more anxiously preserved in the latter, the royalties of both countries were formerly vested in the priesthood; but I am disposed to consider the historical conqueror and the fabulous Parasa Rama, who created and gave them to the Bramins, as one and the same person. If it might be permitted to risk a conjectural statement of the facts on which these extravagant fables are founded, I should consider Parasa Rama as a mighty conqueror, who, struck with remorse for the injuries which he had inflicted on mankind, endeavoured to expiate his offences by resigning the greater part of his revenues to the priesthood. The* insatiable Bramins thus become possessed of all that he had the power to bestow, began artfully and incessantly to urge the best possible reasons for new conquests, in order that they might have

* This interpretation of the fable was chiefly suggested to me by the present minister of Mysoor.

new grants; and the sovereign, disgusted at their unfeeling rapacity, undertook the conquest of Kerala* and Concan for the express purpose of getting for ever rid of them, prohibiting any Bramin on pain of death from following him into those countries. His new dominions being provided with no separate order of priesthood, Parasu Rama founded the caste of the *Concan† Bramins*, who are to this day disclaimed as such by those of the rest of India. They compose a large portion of the ruling characters in the Maratta state, and in their various predatory incursions into other countries are stated to seek with avidity for the copies of a work containing the history of their origin, for the purpose of destroying it; and the eastern Bramins affirm that the orders for this purpose given to their illiterate troops have produced a [illegible] destruction of manuscripts. In the decline of [illegible] Parasu Rama was [illegible] by renewed compunction, and [illegible] for expiation in a complete surrender of his [illegible] to his new priesthood. Under this [illegible] § [illegible] portion of one-sixth of the produce was [illegible] for the support of the government. No distinct [illegible] of tracing the history of this country from [illegible] until the year 970, when a sovereign of the country [illegible] the Mahommedan faith, and retiring to Mecca, divided [illegible] among his officers or subordinate chiefs.

[illegible] now distinguished in our maps by the [illegible] into a [illegible] at war with each other, and [illegible] but that of [illegible] was one of [illegible] the Indian hero of [illegible] his sword. With the [illegible] by the

* [illegible]

‡ [illegible]

§ [illegible] for the [illegible] and Parasu Rama, [illegible] these countries.

subjugation of others, Malabar was found nearly in the state which has been lightly sketched, when subdued by Hyder. Under that dynasty the efforts of the government were constantly directed to the forcible reduction of these chiefs, and to the introduction of the same system of revenue which prevailed in the rest of the dominions of Hyder. The northern and more inaccessible parts of Malabar continued to oppose a successful resistance; but the more open southern districts, where armies could act with effect, would (in the opinion of a *member of the board of revenue, who has lately visited the province) "in a few years have paid the whole rent to the Circar; they would have lost their property in the land, and have virtually become farmers like the Rayets in the ceded districts; but Cotiote and the northern districts of Malabar were never thoroughly subdued by the Mysoor government, and it is only now that we are beginning to establish our authority there. The strength of the country has enabled the people to defend their rent and remain landlords. Perhaps the strength of the country along he ghauts is the true cause of the existence of private property in the soil, which the inhabitants of Bednore, Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, not only claim, but have been generally ready to support by force of arms. It would most likely have existed everywhere, but in other parts of India armies of horse could carry into execution the immediate orders of a despot, who never admitted of private property, because his wants incited, and his power enabled, him to draw the whole landlord's rent."

Private property in Malabar and Travancore is distinguished by the emphatical word *Junmum*,† "a term bearing the express signification of *birthright*." The various gradations of mortgage, temporary transfer, and conditional possession (as ‡described in the several official reports from Malabar) which are all requisite, before a deed of complete and final sale can be effected, mark a stronger reluctance to alienation, and a more anxious attachment to landed property than can be found in the institutions of any other people ancient or modern: and the high selling price of twenty§ years' purchase, reckoning on the clear rent or proprietor's share, in a country where the legal interest of money is more than double that of Britain, testifies the undiminished preservation of this sentiment to the present day.

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* Mr. Thackray's report on a personal inspection of *Malabar*, *Canara*, and the *ceded districts* in 1806-7; a performance of great force, and full of clear views and just thinking.

† Colonel Macaulay's excellent report on the lands of Travancore.

‡ A very satisfactory and clear general account of *Junmum* may be found in Mr. Strachey's report, I think in 1800 (for I state from memory), and in those of Major Walker, and the commissioners, a complete detail of the forms adhered to.

§ Adverting to the respective rates of interest, it will be recollected that this is as high as forty years' purchase in England.

The chief of a clan, whose military excursions seldom carry his followers above a day's march from their homes, has little need of revenue, and the landed property, which, in arriving at power by whatever means he will not fail to have acquired, furnished in Malabar the principal fund for his requisite disbursements. The Raja of Travancore was one of the most successful of these chiefs in the [illegible] of his neighbours. [illegible] "The forfeiture of the [illegible] in the country, and the assumption of the [illegible] principal Nayrs, who were [illegible] extensive lands [illegible] These circumstances [illegible] for alleged crimes, have [illegible] landed property [illegible] and [illegible] of his [illegible] military service [illegible] ing any [illegible] of an [illegible] been imp[illegible] of any [illegible] that which is [illegible] the highest [illegible] one half [illegible] to a person [illegible] as fifty [illegible] for the [illegible] of similar [illegible]

The [illegible] landed property [illegible] however [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible]

lands, thus merging the features of sovereignty in the more profitable character of farmer, merchant, and monopolist.

In passing to the eastern coast we shall commence with the northern part of the tract which has been described; that being the point at which it first sustained the impure contact of the northern invaders. The territories of the three contemporary dynasties of the Chola, the Chara, and the Pandian, which contended with various success for the northern, the south western (including Malabar,) and the south-eastern portions of this extensive region, under its general name of Drauveda, met near to Caroor, a town situated about thirty miles west of Trichinopoly, which appears to have passed alternately into the possession of each of the opponents: they were all conquered by Narsing Raja and Crishna Raja of Vijeyanuggur* in the period between† 1490 and 1515. Over the whole extent of this country, as in every other in which the authority of the Shasters was acknowledged, one-sixth was the legitimate share of the crop payable to the sovereign. Before and after the period at which we are arrived, the evidence of private property in land is so abundant, that I will spare the reader the ample detail which might easily be presented to him of public recorded gifts of land from individuals to the temples, and of the constant transfer of lands by sale and mortgage, in spite of all the oppressions which the proprietors had sustained, even after that period when the pestilent doctrine of the sovereign being the actual, instead of the figurative, proprietor of the soil, began to be promulgated by the British government. The historical documents of the Mackenzie collection are not yet so numerous as to afford the means of following with precision the effect of successive revolutions on the state of property in this part of India. Nearly eighty years after the subversion of the Hindoo government at Vijeyanuggur, seven years after the grant of territory by the descendant of that house reigning at Chandergherry for the erection of the first English fort at Madras,‡ the dissensions of the Hindoos had brought

* It was first called *Videya*, and afterwards *Vijeyanuggur*, the city of *science*, then of *victory*. This is ascertained by the grants.

† *Cherun* had long before been absorbed in the dominions of the other two, and chiefly of the Chola.

‡ The English founded an establishment at Armagon, about thirty-six miles north of Puliacate, in 1626; and on receiving on the 1st March, 1639, the grant alluded to in the text, they commenced the fortress on the 1st March, 1640, finally removed to it *from Armagon* on the 24th September 1641, and finished it in 1643, at the expense of nine thousand two hundred and fifty pagodas, or three thousand five hundred pounds sterling! abandoning altogether the old establishment at Armagon. The grant from Sree Rung Rayeel expressly enjoins, that the town and fort to be erected at Madras shall be called after his own name, *Sree-Runga-Raya-patam*; but the local governor or Naick, *Damerla Vencatadree*, who first invited Mr. Francis Day, the chief of Armagon, to remove to Madras, and engaged to procure the grant of his sovereign, had previously intimated that he would have the new English establishment founded in the

down two distinct armies from the Mussulman states of Golconda and Vijeyapoor, which respectively possessed themselves of the strong posts of Chandergherry and Vellore in 1646. Having determined by an amicable convention the lines within which they should respectively limit their incursions so as not to interfere with each other, Meer Jumla, the General of Golconda, invaded the lower country about ten years afterwards, and retained a precarious hold on some of the northern districts of Coromandel. In the next year an army from Vijeyapoor, a division of which was commanded by Shahjee, father to Sevajee the founder of the Mahratta empire, extended its conquests as far as Tanjore and probably farther south, [illegible] these countries in several [illegible] until 1665, when Gingee fell into their hands and gave them a more firm possession of the country. This fort was afterwards seized by the wonderful Sevajee, who, encouraged by the establishment of different branches of his own family at [illegible] and [illegible] at Tanjore, made in the year 1677 his astonishing irruption into the lower country; but the commencement of the first fixed Mohammedan government may be dated about the year [illegible], when Zulfikar Khan the imperial general entered on a systematic plan for the conquest and fixed occupation of the country, and obtained possession of its last stronghold Gingee in [illegible]. The whole financial plan of a Mohammedan government exercised over [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

proprietors received from Mohammedan farmers or tenants cultivating their lands, and defraying the expenses of agriculture; and if this fifty per cent. remaining to the farmer or tenant for defraying the charges of agriculture and maintaining his family be taken, as I believe it may, as the most general average* in those parts of India which have been conquered by strangers, it is obvious, and the first Mussulman invaders must have known it, that the owner of land from whom the remaining fifty is exacted is at once reduced to the actual condition of a tenant; and that instead of one-half, they were taking the whole income of the ancient *proprietors.* Those who contend for the proprietary right of the sovereign will, at this stage of oppression, certainly find him to possess one-half of the produce, as a barbarous remuneration for not having murdered the original proprietor: but I will not insult my countrymen by supposing that an individual can be found among them, who, knowing the nature of the right (if right it may be called), would desire to succeed to it. These Mohammedan rulers combining, in a character full of extravagant contradiction, the worst extremes of the savage, with some prominent features of civilized man, did not effect at one blow the extinction of the ancient proprietors; these unfortunate persons resisted, in their way, the successive exactions which were imposed, by flying† to the woods, from whence they were recalled by persuasion, by false promises, by hunger, or by force, to renew the culture of their lands: but the plain and undeviating principle of the government was to extort the utmost sum that could be levied, without the certainty of thereby diminishing the revenue of the succeeding year. These polished barbarians, bringing along with them a compound of the system of revenue established by Tooril Mul‡ under the emperor Acber,§ and of that introduced

* The amount varies according to climate, soil, and facility of irrigation, from about thirty-five per cent., which I believe is the lowest, to fifty-five, and perhaps in some few cases to sixty per cent. There are certain general charges, from ten to eighteen per cent., which are deducted previously to the division, excepting where lands have been allotted to defray them.

† Some of these scenes have been acted within my own time, and under my personal observation.

‡ The introduction to the *Asophia Dufter*, or financial register of the Deckan and south, in the Mackenzie collection, which I translated at his request, shows that the system of *Tooril Mul* accompanied the southern conquests of the imperial forces.

§ Ayeen è Acberi, translated by Mr. Gladwin. It is difficult to discover from this strange and desultory work of Abul Fuzzul the actual intentions of Acber with regard to the character of the government which he meant to establish. In his collection of letters is one of considerable merit and eloquence addressed to the viceroy of Goa, desiring to be furnished with a person capable of unfolding to him the principles of the Christian religion. His adoration of the sun is at direct variance with the fundamental dogmas of the Mohammedan religion; and it would seem, from many insinuations of Abul Fuzzul, and particularly by the sort of Masonic parole and countersign (Alla Acber; Jil e Jollâlehoo), of the *new light* (Jillal u Deen was his name before his accession), that he had determined to be not only the prophet but

by the independent Mohammedan princes of the Deckan, applied the technical language of these systems to the actual state of Arcot, but they found a sort of occupant who had either *been* [illegible] *passed over* in those systems. *Canney Atchy*, in Tamul, the vernacular language of the country, is a compound term each member of which signifies "*independent hereditary property*," according to the genius of the language, which [illegible] two words of similar import to render the meaning more [illegible]; or *Canney* may be taken in its other allowed signification of [illegible]* and the compound word, according

* [illegible] Much has been written of the spirit of wisdom [illegible] through [illegible] Akbar certainly was [illegible] the creation of a protecting government [illegible] Mohammedan [illegible] I cannot at present refer to the [illegible] Ayeen Akbery [illegible] from the translation, Abul Fazzel [illegible] but [illegible]

to that interpretation, will signify *independent hereditary landed property:* there is no third meaning of which the words are susceptible. This word even these unfeeling barbarians translated in their records of revenue by the Arabic word *Meerass, inheritance;* and its possessor by the Persian inflection *Meerassdar, hereditary proprietor* (or possessor of inheritance). The terms Meerass and Meerassdar have since been continued under the British administration, but for the purpose of assimilating everything to the system of Bengal, where a proprietor, unknown to the history of India, had for some years been created under the modern name of Zemindar; these occupants of *absolute dominion in landed property* were declared to possess merely the "hereditary right of cultivation."

The first discussions of importance on this subject that I have been able to trace on the Records of Madras, occurred in the year 1795-6,* when the inhabitants of Trimashy, a village in the district of Poonamallee, firmly refused to accede to the terms demanded by the Collector; and that officer, considering the refusal to proceed from a refractory disposition incited by the intrigues of the *dubashes* of Madras (viz., native interpreters and agents to gentlemen in office who were not conversant with the languages of the country,) proposed, that "the *Meerassy* inhabitants of that village should be deprived of their *Meerass*, and that it should be transferred to others who are willing to cultivate on the proposed terms." The Board of Revenue opposed, and the Governor in Council supported, the expediency of this measure, and the discussions

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means to rule, to govern, to possess in permanent authority; whence, by the usual adjunct, is formed the abstract term, à l c chì, Atchi, dominion. Càni, in high Tamul, is property generally, but in low Tamul, is in this sense applied to landed property only: the compound therefore signifies literally, *absolute dominion in landed property. Vellalen* is the name of the caste which, throughout the Tamul principalities, were the aboriginal holders of Càniyatchi; and the word is compounded of the superlative or corroborative particle *Vell*, and *álen* from the root abovementioned: *He who is fixed in dominion.*

I observe in a report from the collector of the Jaghire, dated in 1795 a russoom (custom. Pers.) of the Meerassdar; *i. e.*, a certain share of the gross produce when cultivated by Pyacarees (tenants hereafter to be described) is termed *Càni Seema*, which signifies literally, "property of the country, land, soil, district;" and, by context, proprietor's share or due; which *Càni Mara*, another name for the same thing, literally signifies. But I do not claim a *critical* knowledge of the Tamul or Sanscrit languages, and write this note where I cannot refer to better authority (on the South Atlantic ocean). This share had been reduced by successive exactions so low as two and a half per cent.; in some cases even to less than one per cent: among other remaining rights, they still possessed a small *manium* free from all taxes; *tunderwarum*, literally *a warum* (share) *composed of scraps* (Ellis) and other trifling dues. These were the sad remnants of proprietary right.

* The Indian year of revenue, which begins in July and embraces portions of two of the Julian calendar, is here adverted to. The English have adopted from the Mohammedans the term *fussilee*, for this description of year, viz. the *year of the seasons*, to distinguish it from the lunar, which confounds all seasons.

on the subject were protracted to a voluminous length. The Board of Revenue defended the rights of the occupants under the varied designations of "Meerassy right," "which implies inheritance, property;" "proprietary right;" "Meerassy privileges;" "rights of inheritance in regard to the soil," &c.: but, misled by supposed historical facts, which had not then been sufficiently examined, they unadvisedly admitted a position which had been assumed "as a fundamental* axiom" by the government, viz., "that the actual property in the soil is vested in government, who alone have the power of making an absolute sale† of the land;" and their defence of rights and privileges incompatible with this admission sank before the superior talents of their opponent. It is certain from the known characters of the men that each party sincerely believed itself to be defending the cause of justice. Facts appear to have been on the side of the Board of Revenue; mental power and logical skill on the side of the government; and in commenting among other expressions on the phrase "certain defined rights and privileges of the Meerassidars," they arrive at the following conclusion: "This definition then of the [illegible] right of a Meerassidar, which has been adopted and defended by the Board of Revenue, involves a contradiction of terms; for it defines it to be an [illegible] property [illegible] in the cultivation of the soil, the proprietary right of which soil is [illegible] vested in the [illegible] further defined to be a definite right under [illegible] of law and an independent [illegible] This it is [illegible] abstract state of the question; but if questions of this nature were to be determined by metaphysical abstraction, it might with equal justice be argued that law is the child of property, and not the parent; that property must exist before law [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

in the affirmative; viz., that the occupants of land in India "can* establish no more right of inheritance in respect to the soil, than tenantry upon an estate in England can establish a right to the land by hereditary residence;" and the *Meerass* of a villager was defined to be "a preference of cultivation derived from hereditary residence."

This decision necessarily became the rule of conduct to all subordinate boards and officers: and in 1799 we find the Board of Revenue in a report preparatory to the introduction of the system of Bengal, affirming for the government, and denying to the inhabitants, all property in the soil; and unfolding a slight glance at the difficulties with which they were surrounded in the remarkable phraseology of "proprietary† indefeasible fees of hereditary cultivators."

Early in 1800 orders were issued to the Collectors to make the requisite preparatory arrangements for dividing the country into estates, for the purpose of being *sold* to persons to be denominated Zemindars: and some of these officers had the courage to plead anew the cause of the actual proprietors. The Collector of Dindegul‡ observes that the sale will be "generally impracticable from the poverty of the people, who were expected to become the purchasers, as well as from the objection these very people would have to purchase a proprietary right in what prescription had already made their own."

"The Nautumcars," a local name for the same description of persons, "certainly consider the farm they cultivate *as their own property*, and no government, save the Mussulman, appears to have considered the soil as its own. In forming the present benevolent system, this solitary precedent surely will not operate as an example to act upon; but where no written document is found, what has been known as usage will be established as law; this would confirm the prescriptive right of many industrious natives to the lands they have long occupied, and be the certain means of making them comprehend whence their advantages are derived."

The Collectors of Tinnevelly,§ and of Salem and Coimbatore, suggested objections of a similar tendency; and the very collector‖

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* Consultation, January 8th, 1796. † September 3rd, 1799.

‡ Mr. Hurdis, March 1, 1800.

§ Mr. Lushington of the former; Major Macleod of the latter. I cannot recover the notes which I made from the able and intelligent report of the former, and I state the fact from memory. Salem was the portion of the latter collectorate to be prepared. It is known that the local institutions of that district and the Baramahal do not materially differ, and had been entirely assimilated by Colonel Read, who, in spite of a speculative tendency which is too often the associate of genius, and the acknowledged error of over-assessing the lands, may be considered as the *founder* of all correct knowledge of revenue in the south, and perhaps of a more correct and detailed knowledge than had previously existed in any part of India.

‖ Mr. Place.

of the jageer, who had formerly proposed the disfranchisement of the *Meerassdars* of Trimashy, appears to have been now satisfied "that the *Meerassdar is the actual proprietor*," and the tenant a very distinct person, the *Pyacarree*, who cultivates the land of another on condition of receiving a portion of the produce. "If" says the collector, "he *(the Meerassdar)* had only a right to cultivate, or only a preference in the cultivation, it would be equally to him as to the *Pyacarree* a thing of no real value; whereas the Meerassdar sells, mortgages, gives away, or leaves his lands to his posterity, which the other cannot." "Meerass then," he adds in another place, "is the ultimate and the largest interest that they can covet or have in their lands; and if it bears a construction different from that which I have always given it, and which it has in the *acceptation of the natives themselves*, I can only hope to be excused from having mistaken the rights of government by the beneficial effects of the illusion." Under a government certainly of as much purity as ever directed the affairs of any state, it is truly wonderful that no effect whatever should have been produced by these powerful and eloquent appeals. In this latter report, however, and in several others on the condition of the Company's jageer, I recognize the state of things which has already been noticed in Canara: the occupants clung to the property as long as any proprietor's share was left; and at length, strange as it may appear, the *Pyacarrees* are stated generally to have received a larger share of the crop in return for their labour than the proprietors who cultivated their own lands. The latter were probably capable of bearing large exactions, rather than desert their patrimony: they discovered the distinction, and began to disavow their *Meerass* or *Cawnyatchee*, and to enter themselves on the books as *Pyacarrees*, who are free to labour where they please. Property, it would seem, had been absorbed in the exactions of the government; and under a continuance of the same order of things, there can be no doubt that the rights which were systematically denied would speedily have been forgotten.

The system however proceeded, the lands were sold* in several districts, and on the 1st January 1802, laws† and regulations were enacted for protecting the property thus created.

* "The Salem estates originally sold for 19 per cent. on the annual jumma. What kind of an estate is that which sells for 19 per cent. of the land tax of one year! In England where the rental is 2,000*l.* the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, is 400*l.* What would be said to a man who sold such an estate for 76*l.* which is 19 per cent. on 400*l.*!" *Mr Thackeray's report, already referred to.*

† In order that I may not inadvertently misrepresent this final and solemn decision, the words of the regulations shall be scrupulously quoted. The proprietary right of the government is affirmed in the following terms:

REGULATION XXXI

"Whereas the ruling power of the provinces now subject to the government of Fort St George has, in conformity to the ancient usages of the

Suspicions however arose, and began to acquire strength, that there had been some error in these proceedings; and in 1805-6,

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country, reserved to itself and had exercised the *actual proprietary right of lands of every description,*" &c. &c.

The preamble of Reg. xxv. determines "*to grant to Zemindars* and other land-holders, their heirs and successors, a permanent property in their land in all time to come," &c. &c.

And the II. (or first enacting) clause of the same regulation thus proceeds:

"In conformity to these principles an assessment shall be fixed on all lands liable to pay revenue to the government; and in consequence of such assessment the *proprietary right of the soil* shall become vested in the *Zemindars* or other proprietors of land, and in their heirs and lawful successors for ever."

The condition of the *Meerassdars* or *Canyatchikars* (under-farmers or Ryots, as they are named) is determined in the following clauses:

REGULATION XXX.

IX. "Where disputes may arise respecting rates of assessment in money or of division in kind, the rates shall be determined according to the rates prevailing in the cultivated lands, in the year preceding the assessment of the permanent jumma on such lands; or where that may not be ascertainable, according to the rates established for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute may arise.

X. Where under farmers or Ryots may refuse to exchange mutual engagements in writing with proprietors or farmers of land, defining the terms on which such under-farmers or Ryots are to hold their lands, and may persist in such refusal for the space of one month after the prescribed pottahs may have been offered in presence of witnesses by the proprietors or farmers of land, or may refuse to fulfil those engagements when entered into; such proprietors or farmers of land shall have power to grant the lands of the under-farmers or Ryots so refusing to other persons."

The few public officers on the establishment of Fort St. George, who, having the means of examining the question, continue to be the advocates of this system, give to these clauses the distinction of being the *bill of rights* of the Ryots. The modern Arabic term "Ryot," is in these regulations made to be synonimous with "under-farmer" or "tenant;" and considering him in that capacity, his rights are respectably protected: but believing, and having, as I think, proved that the *Canyatchikars* are the proprietors of the soil, it is unnecessary to give a name to the act which vests "the proprietary right of that soil" in other persons, and only secures to them the rights incident to the condition of a tenant. An able and respectable member* of the Board of Revenue in a note on a report of inspection of the southern provinces observes, that "Zemindars, Rajas, Poligars, Jagiredars, are the representatives of the government to whom the collection of the government rent has been transferred, not the absolute property in the land, and right to demand any rent." If this definition be correct, and I object to no one word of it, *rent* alone excepted, it only shows that the government intended to create *hereditary proprietors of the soil*, and have only made *hereditary farmers of revenue*: that a great error has been committed; and that the attributes as well as the ideas of property have been so mistaken, confounded, and dispersed, that it will be a work of no ordinary difficulty to replace them where they ought to be found.

The same gentleman affirms that the *Meerassdars* or *Canyatchikars* have everywhere "the right to sell or transfer by deed, gift, or otherwise, the land they occupy, subject always to the condition of paying the *standard rent*," viz., the payment named "assessment" and "revenue," in Reg. XXV. c. II. above quoted; and in other places "permanent assessment," "moderate

* Mr. Hodgson, March 28, 1808.

Lord William Bentinck, then governor of Madras, on whose mind these suspicions had made a deep impression, prepared and circulated a set of queries for the purpose of obtaining farther information for his guidance in the settlement of those districts not yet alienated; the result of this investigation, afterwards recorded on the proceedings of the government, strengthened the opinions which he had previously formed, and induced his lordship to make a journey to Calcutta for the express purpose of obtaining the sanction of the governor general for suspending the farther operation of the Zemindary system. The answers to these queries, and the spontaneous reports of collectors about this period of time, will enable us to discuss the condition of the remaining provinces which we had proposed to examine.

Passing south to regions somewhat more remote from the first impressions of the northern conquerors, we arrive at Trichinopoly and Tanjore, sometimes united and sometimes separate: the latter principality containing the town of Kumbakonam, the ancient capital of the *Chola* race, one of the oldest Hindoo dynasties of which any traces have hitherto been discovered in these lower regions, and from which the whole coast* in later times has taken its name. Tanjore in 1675 fell into the hands of Ekojee, the brother of the celebrated founder of the Mahratta empire. Throughout all its revolutions this country had remained under a Hindoo† government, with the exception of the very short period that it was possessed by Mohammed Aly; and it is of no material importance to our present purpose to trace the ancient history of its private landed proprietors, since the whole province continues at this day to exhibit every character that constitutes a highly respectable proprietary right. I cannot describe the state of landed property in this part of India more forcibly than by adopting the very words of a late report;‡ "Without entering on the question of who is proprietor of the soil, I will content myself with stating that immemorial usage has established both in Tanjore and Trichinopoly, that the occu-

assessment of public revenue." "That they exercise the right above stated wherever the standard rent (revenue) has not been increased so as to absorb all the profit on cultivation, or arable land, is sufficiently scarce to be of value in the acquisition."

It is satisfactory to observe on the same authority, that evidence of private property "not absorbed" exists at the present time in the sale of land in the following districts besides Canara and Malabar, viz., *North Arcot*, *South Arcot*, *Jageer*, now *Zillah of Chingleput*, *Tanjore*, *Trichinopoly*, *Dindigul*, *Madura*, *Ramnad*, *Tinnevelly*. Paddy lands and wet lands are transferred by sale in *Coimbatore*, and wells or lands in which wells have been sunk for the purposes of irrigation in *Salem*. Such lands I believe to be saleable even in the Deckan.

* See the note on p. 5.

† It was tributary, or at least paid occasional contribution to the Mohammedan state of Vijeyapoor, and at an earlier period to the Hindoo Rajas of Vijeyanuggur.

‡ Report, 8th September 1805, by Mr. Wallace.

pants, whether distinguished by the names of Meerassdar or Mahajanums,* have the right of selling, bestowing, devising and bequeathing† their lands in the manner which to them is most agreeable. Whether this right was granted originally by the ancient constitution of the country, appears to me not worth considering at the present day. I think it a fortunate circumstance that the right does at present exist, whether it originated in encroachment on the sovereign's right, in a wise and formal abrogation of those rights, or in institutions coeval with the remotest antiquity. It is fortunate that at a moment when we are consulting on the means of establishing the property and welfare of the numerous people of these provinces, we find the lands of the country in the hands of men who feel and understand the full rights and advantages of possession, who have enjoyed them in a degree more or less secure before the British name was known in India, and who, in consequence of them, have rendered populous and fertile the extensive provinces of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.‡

The class of proprietors to whom I allude are not to be considered as the actual cultivators of the soil; the far greater mass of them till their lands by the means of hired labourers, or by a class of people termed *Pullers*, who are of the lowest caste, and who may be considered as the slaves of the soil. The landed property of these provinces is divided and subdivided in every possible degree; there are proprietors of four thousand§ acres, of four hundred acres, of forty acres, and of one acre.

The occupants and Meerassdars above described are far from being mere nominal proprietors; they have a clear, ample, and unquestioned proprietor's share, amounting, according to the

* Mahajenum—this is not the appellation usually given by the natives themselves, but a Sanscrit term (*Maha magnus* Jenam *gens*, persons of consequence) introduced probably by the Mahratta Bramins. *Canyatchikar* is unquestionably the name universally known to the proprietors of Tanjore.—*Ellis.*

† The bequest when a man dies or becomes an *anchoret* must of course be conformable to the restrictions of the Hindoo law, and can only be requisite in the latter case to announce the fact of divesting the property; in the former, the laws determine, and the testator cannot change the rule of succession. Since writing this note, I have observed in the public papers the report of a decision in the supreme court at Calcutta, which affirms the power of bequest by a Hindoo in unequal portions; I have also been assured on good authority, that this power had been denied in the decision of a learned Judge of the supreme court at Madras, in conformity to the explanation of the Hindoo law stated in the first part of this note.

‡ I conclude that Trichinopoly is indebted for this advantage to its contiguity to Tanjore—the Mussulman rulers of the former could not, without a revolution involving the loss of the whole revenue, place their husbandmen on a footing materially differing from that of their immediate neighbours.

§ The authors of the Zemindary system in Bengal rested much on the expediency of gradations in society. He must be a strenuous disciple of aristocracy who does not recognize in this and the subsequent passages an abundant gradation in property, distinction, privilege, and power.

same authority, to the respectable proportion of twenty-seven* per cent. of the gross produce, a larger rent than remained to an English proprietor of land who had tithes and land-tax to pay, even before the establishment of the income-tax. The report of a most respectable committee on the affairs of Tanjore in 1807, gives a very clear detail of the distribution of property over the whole province, which consists of five thousand eight hundred and seventy-three townships: of this number there are one thousand eight hundred and seven townships, in which one individual holds the whole undivided lands: there are two thousand two hundred and two, of which the property in each is held by several persons having their distinct and separate estates: and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, the landed property in which is held in common by all the *Meerassdars* or proprietors of the village, who contribute labor and receive a share of the crop in the proportion of their respective properties. The same report states that the number of Meerassdars who are Bramins is computed to be 17,149

Of Soodras, including native Christians 42,442

Mohammedans 1,457

61,048

The fact of the existence of so considerable a number of Mohammedan† proprietors is a curious and conclusive proof of the unrestrained facility of alienating landed property in Tanjore;

* One hundred and fifty is the whole produce of a fixed portion of land on which the calculation is made; of which eighteen goes to general charges, and one hundred and thirty-two remains to be divided between the government and the proprietor. The government receives $59\frac{51}{128}$, or 45 per cent. and the proprietor $72\frac{57}{128}$, or fifty-five per cent.: this latter amount is again to be divided between the proprietor and his *Paragoodie*, the same person as the *Pyacaree* of the vicinity of Madras; an independent laborer, who receives a fixed share of the produce, and out of it defrays the expenses of cultivation his share of the above seventy-two is thirty-eight, and the proprietor's thirty-four the former being twenty-eight per cent. and the latter twenty-seven per cent. upon the whole sum to be divided, viz., one hundred and thirty-two. The difference is remarkable (as it necessarily must from the facility of culture) between the expenses of cultivation and maintenance of the farmer's family in this province and in Canara, viz., twenty-eight per cent. and fifty per cent.; but I am not certain of the exact nature of the eighteen for general charges excluded in the first instance in the above calculation. If the greater portion of this sum should be chargeable as expenses of husbandry, and consequently be added to the farmer's share, he would have near thirty-seven per cent. instead of twenty-eight, which is still a wonderfully small proportion. When Anquetil du Perron informs us that the government of Tanjore exacted from sixty to seventy per cent. the nature of this error is explained by supposing that he had conversed with Paragoodies, who informed him of the share, *which they did not receive;* and he, following the prevalent doctrine that no private property existed in the land, concluded that the whole share not received by the farmer must necessarily go to the government.

† They are all Lubbies (Ellis): the descendants of Mohammedans who emigrated from Arabia during the tyrannical rule of Hijaj ben Yusuf, in the early part of the eighth century.

but I do not observe the rate or number of years' purchase at which land is usually sold, to be stated in any of the reports which I have perused.

Passing south to the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly, portions of the ancient Pandian region; the Collector of the former*, with an able and honest simplicity which is altogether admirable, enumerates among the impediments to the free sale of landed property "the regulations of government declaring the property of the soil to be vested solely in them:" previously to that regulation he intimates that "this was not the case, the inhabitants considering the ground attached to their villages, their own property, and the Circar entitled to receive the tax, should it be brought under cultivation." Land however continues to be sold and mortgaged† in that province, but I cannot extract the number of years' purchase from the rates described by the Collector, from not being sufficiently acquainted with the local coins and standards of measure which are peculiar to that province.

The report to which I have before adverted, of a respectable member of the Board of Revenue of Madras,‡ who made a personal inspection of Tinnevelly in 1807, informs us, that *Cawney Atchey* or Meerass (the thing as well as the word), is familiarly known throughout the Province: and discusses with great ability the question of the property in uncultivated land, which he determines to be the right of the Meerassdars of the village, or, in other words, the corporate property of the township, to the exclusion of the claim of the newly-invented personage named Zemindar or Mootadar, already introduced into some provinces under the government of Fort St. George. With regard to the actual limits of the individual Meerass, "each Meerassdar considers himself proprietor (I here, says the reporter, use the word proprietor in a limited§ sense to describe the Meerassee property) of all the land of his Meerass, whether it be cultivated or not." If from misfortune or other circumstances another person cultivates any part of his land, he is entitled to receive a share of the gross produce, amounting to about $13\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. which in that

* Mr. Parish.

† The same forms of sale, mortgage and redemption, and the very same technical terms, are in use in Tanjore and the southern provinces, as are employed in Malabar. The most important of these technical terms are common to Canara also, and to the rest of the eastern and western low country, over the greater part of the tract which I have proposed to examine. "The terms are all of Tamul origin; the few Sanscrit terms to be found in the reports probably have been adopted by the Collectors from conversation with their official servants, many of whom are Mahratta Bramins.—*Ellis.*

‡ Mr. Hodgson.

§ Everywhere I trace the doubts, or reservations, regarding the existence of landed property in the lower countries, to the limitations on *absolute dominion*, although absolute and unlimited dominion over any kind of property is nowhere on earth to be found.

province is called *Swamy bhogum*,* literally, lord's (landlord's) share. On the banks of the never-failing Tumbrapurny river, a former Hindoo prince, in the excess of his piety, dispossessed and expatriated the former proprietors, to make way for a colony of northern Bramins, whose posterity, or that of subsequent purchasers, hold these lands on more favorable terms, but to what extent we are not exactly informed. These lands, as well as the others, are everywhere throughout the province a transferable and saleable property: the lowest commutation for a proprietor's share, as may be observed, being only about one-half the value of similar property in Tanjore, and of course when managed by the proprietor himself it is considerably greater. But Madura and Tinnevelly, exclusively of numerous revolutions under the Hindoo government, had been subjected to a scourge which Tanjore had escaped during a tedious tyranny of upwards of sixty years of direct Mohammedan rule; in which it can only be attributed to the plain fact of their never having been completely subdued, that the existence of a landlord's share has survived to the present time.

For the satisfaction of those who may desire to inspect the forms of alienation, an abstract is subjoined† (preserving the verbal translation of what may be considered as the enacting clauses) of two documents from the Mackenzie collection, one of them dated before, and the other after, the conquest of the lower countries by the Rajas of Vijeyanuggur, for the purpose of exhibiting the practice which prevailed in the sale of private landed property north of the Coleroon at those respective periods; and a translation is added of a bill of sale for the alienation of landed property, according to the forms of the present day, to the south of that river. Specimens are not offered of similar instruments in Canara and Malabar, because their existence is notorious and acknowledged.

We have now passed over the tract which I had proposed to trace, and, as I hope, have proved to the satisfaction of every impartial mind the positive and unquestionable existence of private landed property in India. After proving its distinct recognition in the ancient Shasters or sacred laws of the Hindoos, we have clearly deduced its‡ derivation from that source, and its

* This is the term throughout the whole of the lower country to the east. *Bhogum*, in its primitive signification, is *enjoyment*, and by an easy transition signifies right, share.—*Ellis.*

† See Appendix, No 2.

‡ It may be convenient to recapitulate the grounds of this derivation in Canara. 1st, that such is the tradition; 2d, that the people are Hindoos, and such is the Hindoo law; 3d, that the conversion [illegible] grant to a money rent by Hurryhur Ray is professedly founded on the Hindoo law, and continued until, first, indirectly, by the pressure of a Mohammedan attack, and afterwards directly, from Mohammedan conquest, the property had nearly become extinguished. It is incumbent on those (if such there be) who may still question this derivation, to show another, or to refute these facts.

present existence in a perfect form in the provinces of Canara and Malabar, and the principalities of Coorg and Travancore, which had longest evaded the sword of the northern barbarians: we have found it preserved in considerable purity under Hindoo dynasties, and comparatively few revolutions in Tanjore* until the present day: we have traced its existence entire, but its value diminished, in Madura and† Tinnevelly, which had experienced numerous revolutions, and had long groaned under the Mohammedan yoke. In the provinces adjacent and west of Madras, which had sustained the close and immediate gripe of these invaders, we have shown by ancient documents its immemorial existence in former times, and even at the present day the right, in quality, clear and distinct, but in value approaching to extinction: and we have observed in the latter years of the dynasty of Hyder, the perfect landed property of Canara approaching the same unhappy state in which the proprietor from fear disowned his property, and a small interval remained before its very existence would be buried in oblivion. The enquiry has led us over a large portion of the provinces subject to the government of Fort St. George, and a necessity has occurred for touching lightly on its territorial policy. Before this branch of the subject be dismissed, it may be useful to take a rapid glance, imperfect from the nature of my materials, over the provinces subject to Bengal, whence this policy has been received.

It is to be regretted that the long and uninterrupted subjugation of Hindoostan by Mohammedan princes had so far obliterated the best characters of the ancient Hindoo constitution, as to present to the first English observers nothing but Mohammedan institutions and edicts, as the earliest documents which it was necessary to consider. Institutions derived from the best practices of a code which inculcates war against infidels as a religious

* Tanjore was under Mohammedan rule (Mohammed Ali) no longer than the period necessary for referring the question to England, and receiving an answer. Short, however, as it was, large strides were made towards the extinction of landed property by the removal of considerable numbers of the ancient proprietors. On the restoration of the country: the exigencies of government, and the distresses of the people, caused the introduction of a new order of persons named Puttuckdars, men of wealth, a sort of middleman or contractor between the proprietors and the government, who by authority, influence, and chicanery, contrived to get possession of a large share of the landed property in their respective Puttuckcams, or, as the Tanjoreans emphatically express it, they swallowed up their neighbours as the large fish swallow the lesser ones. The Puttuckdars were abolished in 1801-2; but the English government has introduced and *threatens* to extend a system essentially the same, substituting for the word *Puttuckdar* the word *Zemindar*.—*Chiefly from Mr. Ellis.*

† In the report of the Ceylon Commissioners I trace a close resemblance to the Hindoo institutions of the continent at the traditionary period when the share of the sovereign was one-tenth of the produce, as it is (or was in 1795) in Ceylon; and private property (Sahaperveny) unquestioned and unquestionable.

duty, condemns the women and children of the vanquished to slavery, and the men* to death, and condescends to accept submission and the highest possible tribute as a merciful commutation† for liberty and life, do not seem to be very proper objects of imitation for an English government.

But the examples already presented to the reader, of the circumstances which have accelerated the decay of landed property in the south, afford sufficient ground to conjecture that the same causes may have effected its entire extinction in many parts of Bengal. The political and official relations of the English government were long and generally confined to intercourse with Mohammedan authorities; the few Hindoos of consequence with whom they communicated were either usurpers or official servants, brought up in the trammels of Mohammedan principles and forms, which had long superseded the ancient constitution of the country. Our first impressions and prejudices were received from these impure sources, and the ancient Hindoo law was concealed by an impenetrable veil which has not yet been entirely removed.

The perplexity and, without meaning disrespect, it is not of small amount‖ which pervades the official discussions of those great personages who established what is called the permanent settlement of Bengal, seems chiefly to have arisen from viewing the condition of the people through the medium of Mohammedan institutions. Although the royalties of the very ground on which these eminent men conducted this important controversy‡ were granted by a Mohammedan prince, on the express condition that the English company should purchase the thirty-eight villages of which the grant was composed, from the *owners*§ (not the owner,) neither of these personages could perceive any claim to the property of the soil, excepting in the sovereign or the Zemindar, and both were agreed in recognizing the rights of the latter. It is really curious to observe the inextricable

* Sale, Prel. Disc., p. 191.

† Tippoo broadly avows this principle in his account of the seizure of Goanese Christians to be forcibly converted to the Mohammedan religion. Their lives were forfeited; to spare them was mercy, to honor them with Islam a favor. No fault is imputed, excepting their being Christians. *Sultaun u Towareekh.* See also Hedaya, book ix, chap. 7, as quoted in page [illegible].

‡ The object under discussion was whether the demand of government on the land should then be unalterably fixed, or whether government should postpone this measure until they should be better informed. Lord Cornwallis supported the first, and Sir John Shore the second of these propositions.

§ I quote from "Patton's Principles of Asiatic Monarchies," p. 147. I have never seen a Persian copy of the grant.

‖ The fate of this opinion is singular. I imagine there is now not one man in England or in India who conscientiously believes that the person designated by the modern term Zemindar ever was proprietor. I of course mean the Zemindar in the contemplation of these disputants, for, in the modern technical language of Bengal, the word means equally the [illegible]

puzzle in which they are reciprocally involved by this admission. Sir John Shore* observes that "it is equally a contradiction in terms to say that the property of the soil is vested in the Zemindar, and that we have a right to regulate the terms by which he is to let his lands to the Ryots, as it is to connect that avowal with discretionary and arbitrary claims."† They had here discovered a proprietor, whom it was found necessary to deprive of the first characteristic of property, the right to manage it in his own way (a ward of chancery, or a proprietor under a statute of lunacy.) ‡Lord Cornwallis had observed that "the numerous prohibitory orders against the levying new taxes, accompanied with threats of fine and imprisonment for the disobedience of them, have proved ineffectual," but nevertheless thinks that the Zemindars must and can in future be restrained. His lordship, however, comforts himself by reflecting, that if they do levy new impositions, the rents will, in the end, thereby be lowered; because, "when the rent becomes so high as to be oppressive and intolerable to the Ryot (what inference does the reader expect?) he must at length desert the land!" the very land, the rents, taxes, or impositions on which the Zemindar ought to be punished for attempting to raise; and yet in a document selected, strangely enough, as an Appendix to such a Minute, §a Collector, after giving an account of certain *Baboos* who had obtained by fraud and misrepresentation a grant of some villages, and now, in the expectation of the proprietary right in land being vested in Zemindars, claimed to be considered in that capacity, goes on to state that this property was in the same expectation claimed by the heads of villages as *Málicks* ‖ or *proprietors*. These unfortunate men are described to have arrived at a state nearly resembling that which has already been noticed in Canara and Arcot; they had been compelled to disavow their property, and had placed their villages under the protection of a Zemindar, as being more able to screen them from the vexatious interference of the provincial officer Hákim. "These persons (continues the Collector) have occasionally disposed of the whole or a part of such villages, and the *purchasers* claim to be *Málicks* or *proprietors*. Some of these purchasers of land have sold their land to others, and it is possible that such sales may have been variously multiplied. The *old proprietors* again represent, that the sale was

ant of the officer who collected the dues of government from the proprietors, and the proprietor himself where he has been permitted to exist.

* Now Lord Teignmouth. Minute, Dec. 21, 1789.

† What would the noble lord say to his English tenant who should stigmatize as an arbitrary claim, his lordship's right to get the best rent he can for his land?

‡ Minute, February 3, 1790.

§ Of Shawabad, September 29, 1789.

‖ Arabic, and adopted in Persian. I find these modern terms exclusively used in the whole of these discussions.

made to answer oppressive exactions, and ought to be declared void." The Collector concludes with the following remarkable words : " In truth, gentlemen, these old *Málicks* have urged their claims with much anxiety and importunity; they absolutely refused to enter into any engagements but as Málicks (proprietors,) declaring they would rather lose their lives than acquiesce in a relinquishment of their hereditary rights." I have said that the perplexity observable on this controversy is curious; and I will now add that it is astonishing, because the simple recognition of private* property in land, so broadly announced and so unquestionably proved by this contest of the new and the old proprietors, who reciprocally admitted the fact of repeated sale, would have solved every difficulty, and served as a guide through the mighty maze in which these noble personages continued to involve themselves and their readers to the end of the controversy.

In the Appendix to a Minute by Sir John Shore, the date of which I cannot recover, two very singular documents are exhibited: one, the extract of a report (apparently from the Board of Revenue,) which, after conclusively proving that the Zemindar is a mere official servant, states that "the Ultumgha† Sunnud is all sufficient to establish, beyond controversy, that the property of land in these countries is exclusively vested in the crown;" and the other, a Mohammedan law authority which establishes, beyond controversy, that the fact is not so. The distinction has already been noticed between the practice of Mohammedan rulers towards conquered infidels, and a country inhabited by the faithful; and the document which I now submit to the reader is a curious and important refutation of the doctrine of European travellers already alluded to, which denies the existence of private property in land, in the Mohammedan countries of the east. It is entitled, Extract from the Mohammedan Law on Landed Property. Verbal translation from the Arabic.

In the book *K[illegible]* it is written:‡ "Tributary land is held in full property by its owner, and so is titled or

* "I am fully persuaded that we had the same authority for considering many classes of the Ryots proprietors of the soil, and the benefits to be hoped for from [illegible] except those we can derive from that of declaring the Zemindars and Talookdars, the only proprietors." — Grant, as quoted in "British India [illegible]," vol. ii. p. [illegible]. I regret that I could not procure a copy of the late Mr. Grant's work, which, as I understand, was printed, [illegible]; and I [illegible] regret that circumstances have prevented my having [illegible] of manuscripts in the possession of [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Grant, as it is probable that they would have supported the opinion for which I contend.

† The [illegible] proving the [illegible] to be of Mohammedan origin.

‡ The word [illegible] to be *Khiraj*, and the decimated land *Ashr*. [illegible] Abul Fuzl has an elaborate and, as I think, unsatisfactory discussion respecting the tribute and taxes of Mohammedans in vol. i. of the

decimated) land: a sale, a gift, or a charitable devise of it is lawful, and it will be inherited like other property. Thus *in the Book Mohodeyah*, in a passage quoted from *Almohit* (a work of the lawyer Mohammed,) lands are held in full property by them, they shall inherit those lands, and shall pay the tribute out of them;" and in the book *Alkhanujah* it is written, "The sovereign has a right of property in the tribute or rent;" so in the book *Modena Sharhi Baaz* it is written, "A town and the district* annexed to it shall not be sold by the sovereign, if it pay tribute or rent to the crown, nor shall it be given nor inherited, nor shall it belong to the royal domains; for inheritance is annexed to property, and he who has the tribute from the land has no property in the land: hence it is known that *the king† has no right to grant the land which pays tribute, but that he may grant the tribute arising from it.*"

Ayeen e Acberie. I understand the *Asheree*, or tenth, to be the *Zecat* or *Alms* first levied by *Mohammed*, ostensibly for charitable purposes, and afterwards much modified for political objects by himself, and more by his successors; and *Kheraj* to have been originally the larger tribute, or fifth, exacted from a conquered country (the exaction of one-half being a more modern invention, see p. 164). The former was the distinction of the faithful, and the latter of the infidels, inhabiting one and the same country. Many of the countries now entirely inhabited by Mohammedans submitted on condition of paying the *Kheraj*: which imposition on the infidel has continued to be levied on his Mohammedan successor, although, on embracing the faith, he was strictly entitled to exemption on paying *Zecat*; but as this latter was properly an *apostolical*, and *Kheraj* a *royal* right, the conqueror, who had no claim to direct divine mission, found it more profitable to exercise the rights of royalty. Persia originally paid *Kheraj*, but there are some lands (perhaps occupied at first by the faithful) which continue to pay but a tenth of the produce. While on the subject of Persia I will add, that unless all the intelligent natives of that country with whom I have conversed have, without communication with each other, accidentally united to deceive me, private hereditary property in land now exists, and always has existed, in Persia. The *Asheree*, I understand to be the fixed *land-tax* of the Ottoman government at this time.

* The township which we have so often had occasion to notice.

† Sir William Jones, in his preface to the Translation of *Alsirajeyyah*, has the following passages:—"Nothing can be more certain than that *land, rents*, and *goods* are, in the language of all Mahommedan lawyers, *property alike* alienable and inheritable;" and again, "The old Hindoos most assuredly were *absolute proprietors of their land*, although they called their sovereigns Lords of the earth," &c.: the passage is quoted by the anonymous author of a work called *British India analyzed*, who proceeds to express his chagrin, "to find, on Sir W. Jones's authority, that reference to additional Mohammedan authority is yet necessary to decide whether any species of property was compatible with the Koran." Where has the author found the necessity on the authority of Sir William Jones, or on any other authority? And has the Koran in establishing minute and distinct rules for the descent and partition of estates, and the alienation by sale, mortgage, or gift, of moveable and immoveable property, only decided the incidents of a nonenity? The author of the present work may well despair of being heard where the authority of Sir William Jones has been condemned to neglect and oblivion. Sir William, however, had apparently gone no farther than to ascertain that there was a proprietor distinct from the sovereign, and *seems* to have taken the authority of the rulers of the day in supposing this proprietor to be the Zemindar.

Under the only doctrine which was recognized in this discussion, the proof, and it is abundantly satisfactory, that the land is not the king's, leaves no alternative but to consign it to the Zemindar. The author of "The Principles of Asiatic Monarchies," argues with great force, that the claim of the Zemindar being limited to one-tenth of the sum collected for the king, it is absurd to distinguish as proprietor the person entitled to one tenth,* while the remaining nine-tenths are called a duty, a tax, a quit-rent. The argument is conclusive: but the ingenious author has not unfolded the whole of the absurdity. Under the utmost limit of exaction recorded in the modern history of India, the sovereign has received one-half of the crop. The real share of the crop, which, even under such exaction, would go to this redoubtable proprietor, would be one-twentieth, or five per cent.; according to the laws of Menu and the other Sasters, his share would be one-sixtieth, or one and two-thirds per cent.; and this is the thing which a British government has named *proprietor of the land*. In the controversy to determine whether the sovereign or the Zemindar were the proprietor, each party appears to me to have reciprocally refuted the proposition of his adversary, without establishing his own: they have severally proved that neither the king nor the Zemindar is the proprietor.

At a very early period of the Company's government in Bengal, Mr. Verelst, when charged with the collections of the province of Chittagong, looking at the condition of the people, with that sound plain common sense which distinguished his character, and not through the medium of Mohammedan institutions, confirmed the rights which he found the people actually to possess, of transmitting and alienating their landed property by inheritance, mortgage, sale or gift.† The recognition of that right (in the words of the Judge and Magistrate of that province in 1801) "has fixed a value on real property here which is not attached to it in other parts of Bengal, and has given existence to a numerous body of land-holders unknown elsewhere," who are afterwards stated to consider themselves, and to be recognized by the court, as "*the actual proprietors of the soil.*" In a subsequent passage we find these remarkable words: "If comfortable habitations and a numerous and healthy progeny be proofs of a happy condition, the Ryots in this province enjoy it in a high degree, and the small estates in this division have contributed to increase population, and to rear a temperate and robust species of man fit for every sort of labor." The opinions received on the same occasion from other provinces are uniform in stating that the condition of the

* The technical name of this proportion in the Mohammedan Records is Nankar. I do not know the ancient Hindoo term in the north: this I suppose to be modern, and an irregular compound from the Persian word *Nan*, bread, and signifying subsistence, provision, or salary; but I have only seen the word in the *English* Records of Bengal, it is not in use in the south.

† Answers to questions circulated in 1801

cultivators has been meliorated (slender melioration if they ought to be the proprietors:) by the establishment of courts to which they can apply for redress against great oppressions: but I find nothing from the Zemindaries resembling or approaching the delightful picture which has been drawn of the condition of these *rightful proprietors* confirmed in the possession of their estates.

About the same time that Mr. Verelst confirmed in Chittagong the rights which he found established, Bulwunt Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, then subject to the Vizier of Oude, found the same rights in that province; but instead of confirming, he invaded and usurped them: forcibly subverting the rights of the landholders, he reduced them from the condition of proprietors to that of mere tenants. This usurpation continued until the system of considering the Zemindar as the proprietor of the soil had been for some time established, and the courts of the English government had been erected at Benares. The usurpation had not been of sufficient standing to obliterate the knowledge and the remembrance of the ancient proprietary rights; and, after due investigation, the present Zemindar was prevailed on by the British government formally to recognize these rights, and they have accordingly been restored.*

I observe that a similar question was depending before the

* I am indebted for this fact to verbal information from a gentleman now holding a very high office in India, and officially conversant with the whole history of revenue in Bengal. The restoration occurred during the period that Mr. Duncan, now governor of Bombay, presided over the affairs of that province; and I have also the obliging permission of that gentleman to state that he considers the account here given to be generally correct: but I do not know the exact extent to which Bulwunt Sing had proceeded in his exactions. The present settlement is made with the actual occupants (whether individually or collectively by villages is virtually the same); and according to the nomenclature of Bengal as applied to Chittagong; we have here the *great* Zemindar of Benares, and a multitude of *small* Zemindars paying ten or twenty Rupees of revenue through the medium or on account of the *great* Zemindar, who retains one Rupee in ten of the nett collections as his commission. It will scarcely be denied that the Zemindars of Benares and Burdwan, when we first became acquainted with them, were considered to be the same description of persons, and to bear the same relation to the inhabitants of their respective provinces. Yet in one the occupants of the lands have been made proprietors, in the other they are tenants.

I have observed in the Minutes of Sir John Shore an account of two descriptions of Ryots in Bengal, which seem to correspond with the *Caniatchikar* and *Payacarec* of the south; and, I have no doubt, were originally possessed of the same rights, namely, *Khodkasht* and *Paykasht*, modern Persian terms translated from Hindoo appellations, which it would be satisfactory to ascertain. In the copy which I first saw, the words were written without the letter *h* in the last syllable; and I had no conjecture what they were until a few days before I left Madras. I found them on looking over a Persian copy of the local regulation for Benares; which, however, savours more of the general system of Bengal than I had been induced to expect from what is above stated. It is not always safe to interpret technical terms according to their strict grammatical import; and these Persian compounds are too equivocally composed to have any positive import. The following is a verbal

provincial court in 1801, between the Zemindars and Muckuddums (heads of villages) in *Bhaugulpore; but I am not informed whether any other attempts have been made by the inhabitants of Bengal for the recovery of their ancient rights. The reader will probably be of opinion that enough has been adduced to establish the existence in that country of the same rights, and the traces of a gradation similar to that of the south, by which they have been partially obliterated, or entirely destroyed. Happily, in a large portion of the territory subject to the government of Fort St. George, the question is still open to consideration; the rights which still exist are ripe for confirmation; and those which have been partially or wholly usurped or destroyed may yet be restored. Instead of creating, by the most absurd of all misnomers, a few nominal† proprietors, who, without farther usurpation, can by no possible exertion of power be rendered either more or less than farmers or contractors of revenue;‡ the British government may still restore property and

translation of the written explanation [illegible] for me by a Judge of the Suddur Adawlut at Madras [illegible] of the court.

[illegible] The meaning of [illegible] and [illegible] the same, and deny the [illegible] namely, that the latter may [illegible] from his farm at the [illegible]

For reasons which [illegible] to discuss, some of the details of management [illegible]

* It may [illegible] with the Zemindary system [illegible] than thirty years [illegible] Answers to [illegible]

† [illegible] from Madras, that [illegible] the [illegible] Board of Revenue [illegible] that they are well adapted to serve as a [illegible]

‡ [illegible] is the corporate property of the [illegible] however, an exception. When

its concomitant blessings to the great mass of its subjects. In this portion of India its ancient constitution may yet be revived. A company of merchants may confer a more solid benefit than was announced in the splendid proclamation of the Roman consul to the cities of Greece: freedom, in its most rational, safe, and acceptable form, may be proclaimed to the little republics of India, by declaring the fixed and moderate revenue that each shall pay, and leaving the interior distribution to themselves, interfering only on appeal from their own little magistrate, either in matters of revenue, or of landed, or of personal property. Under such a system, varying only from their ancient constitution in substituting for the tax on industry, involved in the exaction of a proportion of the crop, a fixed money payment, which is also of great antiquity in India; the waste would quickly be covered with luxuriant crops, because every extension of culture would be a clear profit to the proprietor; and without running into the wild fancies of a golden age, the mass of the people would be interested in the permanency of a government which had essentially improved their condition, and, with the religion and law* of their fathers, had revived their long forgotten proprietary rights. But the British government will only deceive itself, and harass the people, in the vain attempt to improve their condition by mere theories and innovations, while they continue to exact the whole landlord's rent, as is done in some districts, and the greater part of it as in others: they must not expect to create property in land by a certain number of magical words inscribed on paper or parchment: the only operation by which property in land can be restored is simply to leave to the farmer that which constitutes property, a rent, a proprietor's share; and this may be effected without any material diminution of that revenue which the exigencies of the time so imperiously demand, by conceding to the proprietor the abatement which has, in all cases, been made to the newly invented Zemindar.

In adverting, however, to a *fixed* revenue, I bend to received opinions, without absolutely acquiescing in them. With the most unfeigned deference for the superior talents and knowledge of some of those great men who applaud the *permanent* and *unalterable landed assessment* of Bengal, I must still be permitted to doubt the expediency of the irrevocable pledge which has been given. It is not intended here to examine whether those provinces have flourished in consequence of the present system, or in spite of it. I admit, without reserve, that almost anything was better than the incessant fluctuation of our former plans; but there is an infinite distance between condemning capricious innovation, and approving that political nullity, an irrevocable

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as we have seen to be the case in Tanjore, a whole township belongs to an individual, the escheat will fall to the sovereign.

* See Appendix, No. 3.

law. To terminate abuses by shutting out improvement; to render it impossible for the land tax to increase, and probable, nay certain, that it will diminish; is the system of revenue which has succeeded to our former errors. An English Chancellor of the Exchequer who should propose to pledge the national faith to an unalterable tax, might captivate the multitude, but would be smiled at by the financiers of Europe: and yet principles do not alter in traversing the ocean. If the facility so confidently alleged by the authors of this plan, of raising in India the requisite revenue from other sources, had any real foundation, we should not now hear of the deficit of Indian revenue: and it may be permitted more than to doubt whether we should not at this day have witnessed lighter taxes and more ample revenue, if a less rash and ambitious haste for unattainable perfection had left improvement to be the offspring of knowledge, and the landlord's rent to have enriched the real proprietor of the soil, instead of pampering the hereditary farmer of revenue.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM 1672 TO 1704.

Changes introduced by Chick Deo Raj into the condition of the landholders—pliability of his religious principles—The land tax authorized by the Hindoo law not yet exceeded—comparison of past and present amount—Comparative value of the precious metals—curious facts showing that the value has not changed—Vexatious taxes intended to be commuted for an increase of the land tax—consequent insurrection—treacherous murder of the Jungum priests—insurrection suppressed—Present state of property in Mysoor—Buttai—home fields exempted—average assessment—land not saleable—inference—exceptions—home fields descend as inheritance—in the later conquests and northern tracts property absolutely extinguished—Death of Chick Deo Raj—conquests—State of Deckan and the South—Siege and capture of Gingee by Daood Khan, and its consequences—Aurungzebe's distribution of command—Kasim Khan - Foujidar —Dewan—Nabob—Revolution of words and things—Carnatic Hyderabad—Vijeyapoor—Balaghaut—Payeen Ghaut—their respective limits—necessity for explaining these technical divisions to render intelligible the future narrative—names of countries lost or changed—Pretensions of the natives absorbed in the contests of foreigners—Regularity and order confined to the pages of the imperial register—Anarchy of the country ably described by a cotemporary author.

WE return to the changes introduced by Chick Deo Raj Wadeyar into the condition of the landholders of Mysoor. The religious principles of the Raja seem to have been sufficiently flexible to adapt themselves without difficulty to the circumstances of the times. There is little doubt that he was educated in the principles of the Jungum;* but he openly conformed to the ceremonial of the Vishnoo, which was the ruling religion. His early and long intimacy with Visha Lacsha,† the Jain Pundit,‡ whom on his elevation he had appointed his first minister, created a general belief that he was secretly converted to that persuasion, and an expectation that he would openly profess it; and this circumstance was supposed chiefly to have influenced the Jungum to assassinate that minister. When Tremalayangar, a Vishnavite, became afterwards the confidential minister, the Raja evinced as strong an attachment to that persuasion: but political considerations alone would have rendered him the decided enemy of the religion in which he was supposed to have been educated. The contempt and abhorrence in which the Jungum hold the bramins (whom they stigmatize with the opprobrious appellation of *dogs*) is adverse to despotism in a country where any considerable portion of the people is subject to the braminical code, by its tendency to subvert the subordination which arises from the

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* For the tenets of the Jungum, see Appendix, No. 4.

† He was usually called by no other name than the Yellandoor Pundit, from the place of his birth.

‡ Jain. See Appendix, No. 5.

artificial distinction of castes or ranks in society, and to shake the obedience which the Raja usually secures, by enlisting the priesthood on the side of the throne; and the hostility and hatred of the Raja was farther increased by the opposition which the Jungum incited against his financial measures.

As far as the most scrupulous enquiry has enabled me to judge, there is no reason to think that any Raja of Mysoor had hitherto professedly deviated from the Hindoo laws on the assessment of land, as taught in all the (Mula Smirtis) Sasters or text books, and particularly inculcated in the treatise* locally in use, which condemns the Raja who shall augment the assessment to "infamy in this world, and the pains of hell in the next." The ancient *Candaiam* or money rent of the land, probably established in this part of the country at a period antecedent to the government of Vijeyanuggur, is well known at this day, and in some of the districts continues to be distinguished in the village accounts; although, from the incessant convulsions of the country, the record of the details of the original settlement is perhaps irrecoverably lost. It is certain that the total amount of the *new* impositions is considered, at this time, generally to equal the ancient *Candaiam*; and although in all general imposts glaring irregularities will be found to prevail, the average assessment of lands paying a fixed money rent is now reckoned one-third† of the produce, and the ancient Candaiam one-sixth.‡

Although general opinion may be considered, in this case, to constitute as good evidence as any that can be obtained from calculations depending on elements in their nature so fluctuating and uncertain as the money price of grain, the varying expenses of agriculture, and the average increase on the seed, I am aware that political economists will expect some attempt to discover what allowance should be made for the supposed decrease in the value of the precious metals. I have attempted to obtain from the records of temples (to which I had free access), and by every other research which has occurred to me, a table of the selling prices of grain for a long series of years; but I dare not place reliance on the few authentic facts which have been procured, because, in the place where I am now writing,§ I know that within the last eight years the price of grain has fluctuated to the astonishing amount of two hundred per cent between its

* Parasara Mulaveerum.

† Of the accuracy of this proposition the following fact appears to be conclusive. The Dewan is at this time engaged in a survey of the lands, for the purpose of detecting frauds on the revenue by false entries of the quantity of land. To persons who may be dissatisfied with the *measurement of the land*, the option will be given of *measuring the crop* and paying one-third as the fixed assessment, at the liberal conversion of seventy-five seers of ragee for a Rupee.

‡ I have in numerous instances calculated the proportion of the old Candaiam to the present value of the crop, and uniformly found it about a sixth.

§ The town of Mysoor.

extremes, and I should incur the same risk of error in arguing on the insulated facts to which I have adverted, as in taking one of these extremes as the money price of the nineteenth century. We have, however, within our reach two curious facts of unquestionable authenticity, namely, the rates at which grain was converted into money in the payment of revenue in Canara, before and after the year 1336. The rate of conversion which Hurryhur Roy found established at that period was thirty seers for a Rupee; and there is no reason to suppose that this rate had been altered from its reputed establishment by Bootè Pandè Roy, in 1252, until 1336, at which latter period the existence of this rate is perfectly authenticated. We have before observed that Hurryhur called in the aid of the Sasters to increase his revenue; and, for the purpose of qualifying the increased demand by a rate of conversion more favorable to the husbandman, calculated its price at 33¾ for the Rupee. The settlement of Hurryhur Roy provided for his being paid always in money, and never in grain. In the ancient settlement, the government reserved the option of being paid in money or in kind. The rate of conversion established by the government therefore could not have materially varied from the real average; but we may be tolerably certain that it was rather dearer; and this circumstance, joined to Hurryhur Roy's having adopted a more popular rate of conversion, affords evidence as convincing as can reasonably be required, that the average price of rice in 1336 was not far removed from thirty-five seers the Rupee, which we know to be pretty nearly the average rate in those countries at the present time :* and, by analogy, we are justified in concluding that the difference of the money price in Mysoor at the present period, and about one century ago, could not be material. The sixth was accordingly the lawful share of the crop for which the Raja received his equivalent in money; and, from previous reasoning and subsequent fact, we have every cause to believe that he was unwilling to risk the odium of increasing this proportion in a direct manner. He therefore had recourse to the law of the Sasters, which authorized him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husband-

* I leave this fact to be accounted for by more skilful political economists, observing only, that the money price of grain may be permanently affected in two ways : 1st. It is supposed to be rendered really dearer, by the natural increase of population being very much greater than the natural increase of food ; and 2d, it is rendered apparently dearer, by the increased amount of the precious metals in circulation. The quantities of the precious metals which in India are secreted under ground, and by unexpected deaths are for ever removed from circulation, may in some degree explain why the money prices of food do not increase so rapidly in India as in Europe ; and a decrease of population may, plausibly enough, be added to this cause : but the proof of this decrease is far from satisfactory, or rather, there is strong reason to distrust the fact altogether ; and the proportion which the increase of population really bears to the increase of food in India is a subject which well merits a separate and ample discussion.

man by a variety of vexatious taxes, which should compel him to seek relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of the landed assessment: and this is the arrangement which generally ensued; although, from the great discontent excited by the taxes, the compromise was generally made on the condition of excepting some one or more of the most offensive, and proportionally increasing those which remained: but the Raja, with that profound knowledge of human nature which distinguished all his measures, exempted from these new imposts all the lands which were allotted to the provincial soldiery in lieu of pay, according to the ordinary practice of the smaller Hindoo states, and thus neutralised, in some degree, the opposition to the measure and ensured the means of eventual compulsion. Those who may be desirous of comparing the ingenuity of an eastern and a western financier, may examine the subjoined detail of these taxes.* The whole system is stated to have been at once

* 1. [illegible] 2. [illegible], Hul, [illegible] a tax [illegible] straw [illegible] on the ground [illegible] paid [illegible] on the pretence that a share of the straw as well as of the grain belonged to government. 3. [illegible] is literally [illegible] the [illegible] of exchange on a defective coin [illegible] on the pretence of [illegible] It was [illegible] on the several [illegible], and averaged [illegible] 4. [illegible] for example [illegible] his [illegible] payment of a [illegible] to the government, his [illegible] so collected was now [illegible] of each Ryot. 5. [illegible] duty of transit on goods or grain [illegible] [illegible]

unfolded, with intimation that it would be gradually introduced according to circumstances; but the commotions which it produced, by leading to measures of extreme severity, precipitated its total and abrupt introduction.

One of the earliest measures of this Raja's reign had been to compel the dependent Wadeyars and Poligars, who, like his own ancestors, had commenced the career of ambition by affecting in their respective districts to be addressed by the title of Raja, publicly to renounce that assumption of independence, to disclaim the local prerogatives of punishment and confiscation without previous authority from the Raja, and to revert to their original character of obedient officers of the government. This object was aided by first inviting, and then compelling them to fix their residence at Seringapatam; by assigning to them offices of honor about the Raja's person, and gradually converting them from rebellious chieftains to obsequious courtiers. The insurgents in the districts were left, in consequence, destitute of the direction of their accustomed leaders, and the Jungum priests, deprived of their local importance, and much of their pecuniary receipts, by the removal of these mock courts from the provinces, were foremost in expressing their detestation of this new and unheard-of measure of finance, and in exhorting their disciples to resistance. Every-where the inverted plough, suspended from the tree at the gate of the village, whose shade forms the coffee-house or the exchange of its inhabitants, announced a state of insurrection. Having determined not to till the land, the husbandmen deserted their villages, and assembled in some places like fugitives seeking a distant settlement; in others, as rebels breathing revenge. Chick Deo Raj, however, was too prompt in his measures to admit of any very formidable combination. Before proceeding to measures of open violence, he adopted a plan of perfidy and horror, yielding in infamy to nothing which we find recorded in the annals of the most sanguinary people. An invitation was sent to all the priests of the Jungum to meet the Raja at the great temple of Nunjendgode, about fourteen miles south of Mysoor, ostensibly to converse with him on the subject of the refractory conduct of their followers. Treachery was apprehended, and the number which assembled was estimated at about four hundred only. A large pit had been previously prepared in a walled inclosure, connected by a series of squares composed of tent walls, with the canopy of audience, at which they were successively received one at a time, and after making their obeisance were desired to retire to a place, where, according to

alienation of grain. 20. *Tcared Baguloo* (opening a door.) In a country and a state of society where window-glass is unknown, this is a most ingenious substitute for the window tax. The husbandman paid it, as expressed by the name, for the permission to open his door. It was, however, levied only on those made of planks, and not on the common bamboo door of the poorer villagers.

custom, they expected to find refreshments prepared at the expense of the Raja. Expert executioners were in waiting in the square, and every individual in succession was so skilfully beheaded, and tumbled into the pit, as to give no alarm to those who followed, and the business of the public audience went on without interruption or suspicion. Circular orders had been sent for the destruction, on the same day, of all the Jungum *muts* (places of residence and worship) in his dominions; and the number reported to have been in consequence destroyed was upwards of seven hundred. The disappearance of the four hundred Jungum priests was the only intimation of their fate received by their mournful disciples, but the traditionary account which I have above delivered has been traced through several channels to sources of the most respectable information, and I profess my entire belief in the reality of the fact. This notable achievement was followed by the operations of the troops, which had also been previously combined. Wherever a mob had assembled, a detachment of troops, chiefly cavalry, was collected in the neighbourhood, and prepared to act on one and the same day. The orders were distinct and simple; to charge without parley into the midst of the mob; to cut down in the first selection every man wearing an orange-colored robe (the peculiar garb of the Jungum priests), and not to cease acting until the crowds had everywhere dispersed. It may be concluded that the effects of this system of terror left no material difficulties to the final establishment of the new system of revenue; and there is a tradition which I have not been able to authenticate, that the Raja exacted from every village a written renunciation, ostensibly voluntary, of private property in the land, and an acknowledgment that it was the right of the state. If such documents ever existed, they were probably destroyed in 1786, as noticed in the Preface.

It remains to sketch the present state of property in Mysoor, connected with the view which has been taken of its condition in the surrounding countries. I cannot trace the period at which the system of *Buttai* * or an equal division of the crop was introduced into Mysoor. Its authors probably found it [illegible] expedient and profitable to leave untouched the [illegible] of what may be called the † home fields and [illegible] on the [illegible] irrigated from artificial reservoirs [illegible] sive and more slovenly farming of the [illegible] ling the possessor of the former to cultivate [illegible] the two latter, and thereby raising the [illegible] the crop paid to the government to about 60 per cent. [illegible] I have stated in another place ‡ [illegible] that average

* For the [illegible] page 103.
† This is the [illegible] Regulations, Art. 4, and [illegible] consult Mr. Crisp's translation.
‡ *Report on Mysoor*, printed for official [illegible] 1804 [illegible]

from one to three per cent. Following the prevalent doctrines, I at that time considered the husbandman of Mysoor simply as the tenant: and to that situation he has certainly been reduced, with the exception before explained, of Bednore, which follows the system of Canara; and of plantations of cocoa-nut, areca, and other perennial trees, which in every part of Mysoor are a transferable and saleable property. From 57 to 60 per cent. of the amount of the crop appears to be a large proportion in India for replacing the charges of agriculture and the maintenance and profit of the farmer: the proportions, however, will not seem so enormous on considering the details of culture sketched in the subjoined note,* and I rest the conclusion of these proportions being necessary on the broad fact of the land not being saleable. That a liberal tenant's share generally remains, is, however, rendered probable by the fact that the home fields have continued to descend as heritage to all the sons equally, according to the Hindoo law. I have observed several gradations in the affection and attachment with which the husbandmen in different districts adhere to their patrimony; and in some few places they appear to consider it with an indifference which seems to indicate an unfavorable tenant's share. With sufficient leisure

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the Governor-General in Council, and published *(with whose permission the author does not know)* in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1805.

* The whole world does not, perhaps, exhibit a cleaner system of husbandry than that of the cultivation of Ragee (Cynosurus Corocanus of Linnæus) in the home fields of Mysoor. On the first shower of rain after harvest the home fields are again turned up with the plough, and this operation, as showers occur, is repeated six successive times during the dry season, at once destroying the weeds and opening the ground to the influence of the sun, the decomposition of water and air, and the formation of new compounds. The manure of the village, which is carefully and skilfully prepared, is then spread out on the land, and incorporated with it by a seventh ploughing, and a harrowing with an instrument nearly resembling a large rake, drawn by oxen and guided by a boy: when the field is completely pulverized, a drill plough, of admirable and simple contrivance, performs the operation of sowing twelve rows at once by means of twelve hollow bamboos (reeds) at the lower end, piercing a transverse beam at equal intervals, and united at the top in a wooden bowl, which receives the seed and feeds the twelve drills: a pole at right angles with this beam (introduced between two oxen) is connected with the yoke; the bamboos project below about three inches beyond the transverse beam, being jointed at their insertion for the purpose of giving a true direction to the projecting parts, which being cut diagonally at the end, serve, when the machine is put in motion, at once to make the little furrow and introduce the seed: a flat board, placed edgewise and annexed to the machine, closes the process; levelling the furrows and covering the seed. If the crop threatens to be too early or too luxuriant, it is fed down with sheep. Two operations of a weeding plough of very simple construction, at proper intervals of time, loosens the earth about the roots and destroys the weeds; and afterwards, during the growth of the crop, at least three hand weedings are applied. This laborious process rewards the husbandman in good seasons with a crop of eighty fold from the best land. The period between seed-time and harvest is five months. There is another kind of ragee which requires but three months. It is sown at a different season in worse ground, and requires different treatment.

and health for the investigation, these variations might probably be traced to the state of the public assessments at the period of their conquest by the several Rajas of Mysoor. It is not intended here to advert to the later conquests, in which the Mussulman rule had long been established. They, with some gradations also, and several exceptions, arising from imperfect conquest, may be included in the general sketch of the condition of the countries north of the present territory of Mysoor, and chiefly those south of the Toombudra, now usually termed the Ceded Districts, long, very long, the seat of incessant revolutions. The condition of these countries with regard to proprietary or hereditary right in the land shall be given in the words of the final report on those provinces, delivered in August 1807, by Lieutenant-Colonel Munro. "In the ceded districts, and throughout the Deckan, the Ryot has little or no property in land; he has no possessory right; he does not even claim it. He is so far from asserting either a proprietary or a possessory right, that he is always ready to relinquish his land, and take some other which he supposes is lighter assessed."* The connexion of this fact with those which have been noticed in the preceding chapter, requires no farther comment. It is apparently the extreme limit of descent in a lapse from long-forgotten proprietary right, and completes the last step of the gradation which I had proposed to describe.

1704.—Chick Deo Raj died on the 12th December 1704, after a reign of thirty-one years and twenty days, and his conquests conclude, in our accustomed order, the narrative of his reign.

1675.—Chickadavaroydroog from Narasapa Wadeyar.

1676.—Honovelly from Ismaul Cawn, an officer of Rand Dhoola Khan.

Bondasamoodrum, belonging to the Hobly of Chickadavroydroog, from Hussein Khan.

Cadanaud, from Boojangia, son of the Wadeyar of Voomatoor.

Aundoor from Patadomodelare.

Mudgerry, Mergasee, and ten other forts and districts depending on them, captured from this year to 1678

1687. Toomcoor

* This enlightened and excellent public servant estimates the average assessment paid to government in that district at about 45 per cent. of the crop, and states an opinion in which I most cordially concur, that private property in land can never be established in those countries until it is reduced to one-third. I will not deny myself the pleasure of stating an incident related to me by a respectable public servant of the government of Mysoor, who was sent in 1807 to assist in the adjustment of a disputed boundary between that territory and the district in charge of this collector. A violent dispute occurred in his presence between some villagers, and the party aggrieved threatened to go to Anantpoor and complain to their *father*. He perceived that Colonel Munro was meant, and found upon inquiry, that he was generally distinguished throughout the district by that appellation.

Chickanaikhully from the house of Eccojee.
Condecara from the same.
1687.—Tamagondala, by the treaty of Causim Khan, from Eccojee.

Bangalore was captured in the year Prabava on the 11th Aushadum, by Causim Khan from the house of Eccojee, and on the 15th of the same month it was occupied by the people of the Raja. (The original date is here inserted for the purpose of affording the means of examining the note to which it refers.)

1688.—Auvamparoor, Auraseraumany, and Oscotta.
Darmapoory from the people of Aura.
Manoogonda from the same.
Ponara Goodai from Saulyada.
Waumaloor from the people of Aura.
1689.—Parametty from the same.
Kauvarypatam, by treaty with Coyamatoor.
Coontoordroog.
Aununtagerry; these three by the treaty concluded by Lingurajayah with the Aurachee.
1690.—Baugadee by capitulation.
Hauranhully by ditto.
Baunavaram by assault in the night.
Caaloor by capitulation.
Sakarapatam by ditto.
Baloor by ditto.
Waustaura by assault.
Chicka Mogooloor by capitulation.
Maharajdroog by ditto.
Ausana (Hassan) by ditto.
Grauma by ditto.
1694.—Aurkalagodoo by siege.
Igoor by capitulation.
Salaswerpoora by ditto.
Codalepata.

Of fifteen districts conquered by the Mysooreans from the state of Ekaree or Bednore, two, namely, Igoor and Wastara, were returned by treaty, and the remaining 13 districts were retained.

We have had occasion to trace in the progress of this reign some of the leading circumstances which enabled the Raja of Mysoor not only to secure the calm and tranquil establishment of his little state, but to enlarge its boundaries in every direction, during political convulsions which shook the whole of Deckan in its largest acceptation, and exposed it to calamities which are felt at this day in their direct consequences. But before we proceed in our narrative, it may be useful once more to look around us, for the purpose of endeavouring to understand the actual situation of those unhappy countries at the period of the death of Chick Deo Raj.

The capture of Ginjee had been a special object of the empe-

ror's vigilance and attention, from the expectation that in its fall the last hope of the Mahratta nation would be crushed, and an impregnable seat of provincial government be obtained, which should insure the future tranquillity of the most southern possessions of the empire. The tedious and ill-conducted siege of this eastern Troy was prolonged for many years, by the treachery, cabals, and intrigues of the chiefs, and by a secret struggle between a prince of the blood and Zulfecar Khan, the commander-in-chief, for the independent sovereignty, which each of them had designed to establish in his own person in the future capital of Ginjee. The attack and defence were equally a theatrical exhibition, in which the chief actors performed their concerted parts; but the stage effect was occasionally marred by a drunken manager or ill-instructed performer. The prince, apprised of the secrets of the scene, wrote an explanatory letter to his father, the emperor Aurungzebe: Zulfecar Khan, duly informed by his spies, seized the prince before the letter was dispatched, and sent him in silver fetters to his father, with a letter full of regret at having discovered the base and undutiful design of the prince, to throw off his allegiance and to subvert the emperor's authority. It was the chief object of the general in protracting the seige to keep the army together, in order that he might profit by events on the death of Aurungzebe, which was daily expected. But to preserve appearances, it was necessary to report frequent attacks and repulses. Rama, the son of Sevajee, who commanded at Ginjee, was constantly intoxicated by the habitual use of ganga (hemp leaves) and opium; and his officers, finding his arrangements insufficient to guard against the danger even of a sham attack, held consultations to deliberate regarding his deposition; but on reflection, their perfect understanding with Zulfecar Khan, and a new distribution of the subordinate commands, seem to afford an adequate security. On the other side, Daood Khan, second in command of the Mogul army, drank largely of the best European liquors, and when full of the god would perpetually volunteer the extirpation of the infidels. Zulfecar Khan necessarily assented to these enterprizes but always gave secret intelligence to the enemy of the time and place of attack; and the troops of Daood Khan were as often repulsed with slaughter. The prince at length arrived at court, his tale, which unfolded the truth, but not the whole truth, was believed; and Zulfecar Khan received secret intimation from his friends, that nothing but the immediate capture of Ginjee could save him from disgrace and dishonour. Rama apprised of this necessity, retired to Vellore, which was still in the possession of the Mahrattas, and Zulfecar was adjusting with him a double negociation for the capture of Ginjee, and the release of Rama's wives and family who had been surprised at an early period of the siege, when one of Daood Khan's drunken frolics actually carried the

place early in 1698, and Rama proceeded in haste to the western coast. But the capture of this post, which was of more reputation than real importance, disappointed the expectations of the Moguls; for the name of Sevajee, and the ties of common interest, rallied around Rama and his son the whole resources of the Mahratta people; and Ginjee was found to be so extremely unhealthy, that some years afterwards the Mogul armies were obliged to canton on the plains of Arcot, which led to the establishment of that capital of the lower province (in 1716).

One of the first measures of Aurungzebe, after the conquest of the Mohammedan states of Vijeyapoor and Golconda in 1690, was the appointment of Kasim Khan as Foujedar over the provinces of Carnatic, lately dependant upon those two kingdoms. We shall presently have occasion to describe the provinces into which this extensive command were afterwards divided; and, as they did not materially vary from those adopted in the first arrangement under Kasim Khan, it will only be necessary in this place to observe, that the province of Carnatic Vijeyapoor consisted chiefly of the settled districts of Sera and Bangalore; and the forced tribute exacted from the chiefs of Harponelly, Conderpee, Anagoondy,* Bednore, Chittledroog, and Mysoor, and some others of smaller importance. The reader has had some opportunity of understanding the nature and origin of these smaller powers; and he is requested to remember, as an illustration of the manner in which the term Zemindar was understood by the Moguls† themselves, that these chiefs (and all others of a similar description) are entered in the imperial records as the *Zemindars* of these respective places. In this, as in the subsequent arrangement, the administration of each of the divisions to which we have adverted was committed to an officer possessed of civil and military powers, under the designation of *Foujedar* and *Dewan*, officers which were sometimes divided, but more frequently united, in the south; sometimes subordinate to a provincial governor, and sometimes holding their appointments direct from the Soubadar of the Deckan; or the provincial government was exercised by the officer above adverted to, under the designation of *Nawaub*, or *Nabob*,‡ a term conveying the direct recognition of dependence, which, in the revolution of words and things, afterwards became the title under which these officers maintained their right to independent sovereign authority.

Kasim Khan was surprised in 1698 by the Mahrattas, aided by the chief of Chittledroog, at *Dodairee*, about thirty miles east of the latter place, where he either put an end to his own exist-

* A supposed descendant of the former Rayeels, who had now settled at this suburb of the former capital.

† They are also uniformly so named by the Hindoo author of the transactions of Aurungzebe in the Deckan. See Scott's Deckan, passim; and particularly the journal of the Boondela officer.

‡ The plural of *Naib* (a deputy,) to render the term more courteous.

ence, or was secretly assassinated. He was succeeded by Zulfecar Khan, whose command in the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut, some years before the death of Kasim Khan, being ostensibly directed by the presence of a prince of the blood (and the advice of his father Assud Khan), must be considered to have been then separated from the general command of the Carnatics. He was employed in a course of incessant and destructive warfare, for nearly nineteen years, until the death of the emperor in 1707. The express statement of nineteen actions fought, and three thousand coss marched, by this officer in the course of six months only, may afford some faint idea of the wretchedness in which the unfortunate inhabitants were involved during that period; and these miseries of war, in the ordinary course of human calamity, were necessarily followed by a long and destructive famine* and pestilence. Within the period which has been thus briefly discussed, Zulfecar Khan appears to have made three different expeditions to the south of the Caveri, levying heavy contributions on Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

The subsequent division of the Dekkan (now extended over the whole south) into six soubas or viceroyalties, is no farther connected with our purpose than as it relates to the two last in the official enumeration; viz.

1. Candeish (capital) Burhanpoor.

2. Aurungabad, lately the capital of the Nizam Shahee dynasty.

3. Beder, the ancient capital of the Bahmine Sultauns.

4. Berar.

5. Hyderabad, capital of the late Golconda, or Kootub Shahee dynasty.

6. Vijeyapoor, capital of the Adil Shahee dynasty.

Of the fifth and sixth in this enumeration, we shall only have occasion to advert to the portions designated in the public records as *Carnatic*, named from the capitals to which they formerly belonged, or were now assigned; viz. *Carnatic Hyderabad*, and *Carnatic Vijeyapoor*; subdivided again into *Balaghaut* and *Payeen Ghaut*, to distinguish the countries situated above and below the passes of the mountains. The *Carnatic Hyderabad Balaghaut* comprehended the provinces forming, under a later arrangement, the five circars of, 1. Sidhout. 2. Gunjeecotta. 3. Gooty. 4. Gurrumcunda. 5. Cummum. The first, second, fourth and fifth of these provinces, afterwards formed the petty state of the Patan Nabobs of Kurpa, who established themselves there about this period, and within a few years extended their possessions along the back of the eastern Ghauts, nearly to the Caveri, including most of the Baramahal, which now belonged

* The horrors of a famine, which commenced in 1687, and its consequences for a long period of years, are affectingly described in many of the memoirs in the Mvkenzie collection, and may be traced in several passages of Scott's Deckan

to Mysoor. The third of these, namely, Gooti, fell afterwards into the possession of the Mahratta house of Gorepora, which was distinguished in the wars of the south under Morari Row.

The Carnatic Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut was composed of the whole country extending from Guntoor to the Coleroon, along the sea-coast of Coromandel; afterwards better known as the province of Arcot. *Carnatic Vijeyapoor* seems to have been all considered as Balaghaut; for its Payeen Ghaut, including Vellore, Ginjee, Tanjore, still held by the descendant of one of its officers, and Trichinopoly, so far as it might be deemed a dependency, seems to have been included in the Hyderabad Carnatic Payeen Ghaut. In other respects its Balaghaut did not materially differ from the former distribution, namely, the whole of the conquered provinces, and the forced tribute from the *Zemindars* of the Balaghaut south of the Toombuddra, and west of *Carnatic Hyderabad* as above described. The two circars of Adoni and Ghazipoor, or Nundial, situated south of the Toombuddra, were excluded from the Carnatics in this arrangement; the first certainly, and the second probably, because they had been so excluded by the Mussulman powers after the battle of Tellicota in 1564. They were now rated as distinct Circars in the Souba of Vijeyapoor (not Carnatic,) and this separation continued seventy-three years afterwards, when the Carnatic Balaghaut fell under the dominion of Hyder. The important frontier province of Savanoor Buncapoor, which had been conquered by Vijeyapoor shortly after the battle of Tellicota, was also excluded from this arrangement, although distinctly a part of the ancient Carnatic. It was now possessed by one of the Patan officers of Vijeyapoor, who opportunely embracing the party of the conquerors, was continued in its command as a military dependent, defraying the expenses of his quota of troops from the revenues of the province, and remitting a stipulated sum to the imperial treasury.

The two Patan families of Savanoor and Kurpa, and a third at Kurnool, began about this time to rally around them the remains of the genuine Patans, or ferocious bands of the same tribe, who were perpetually descending from the Indian Caucasus to improve their fortunes in the south. The power of these petty states was yet in embryo, but was destined to make a considerable figure in events connected with Mysoor.

These enumerations, however, apparently tedious, will save to the reader the trouble of frequently returning to unravel the same dry intricacies, and were indispensable for enabling us to travel together, with any tolerable precision, over the narrative of future events. A general recollection of these territorial divisions will enable us to understand, without much farther reference, the subsequent political contests of the south, in which the Carnatic itself lost its original designation, and by a strange misnomer, that

appellation was in European instruments of high importance applied exclusively to a portion of *Draavada*; a name which is not to be found in the European geography of Asia. These recollections will also enable us to comprehend how the rights of the unhappy natives of those countries were consigned to the same general oblivion; absorbed in the conflicting pretensions of foreigners, regarding the respective ranges of military command of the deputies of a deputy; or of persons who, in the disturbed state of the times, had purchased or seized their titles and authorities.

The reader will scarcely have inferred, from the technical division and subdivision of these extensive territories, on which his patience has been exercised, that they were organized and governed with the same regularity and order which they exhibit on the pages of the imperial register: the state of this fact is so ably and faithfully described by a contemporary author, that I shall anticipate the approbation of his learned translator, in transcribing, without alteration, the English translation of this very interesting sketch, as the most unaffected and intelligent picture of the times that can be offered to the public.

"The government of provinces was now held by new nobles of inferior rank, poor and rapacious, who neglected to maintain proper troops, and at the same time oppressed the people. The Zemindars would not obey Foujedars without troops, and became rebellious and remiss in their payments. As the Foujedars could not force them, they were glad to content themselves with what they could get; and in order to lead a quiet life, entered into secret agreements with them, and winked at their disobedience, which made them still more insolent.

"In the countries dependent on Hyderabad and Beejapore, which, before their conquest, maintained above two hundred thousand horse, there were not now stationed above thirty-four thousand. The Jaghirdars could not get possession of their Jaghires for want of troops; and if they did, their holding them for any time was so uncertain, that they did not consider the ease of the farmers, but oppressed them for money by every mode avarice could devise, so that they entered into combinations with the enemy. While the newly-conquered countries were thus unsettled, the ancient territories of Deckan were not less troubled by the tyranny of governors, and the frequent changes of them and the Jaghirdars; who were obliged not only to supply their own necessities, but furnish large bribes to the civil officers about the court. It was represented to the emperor, that the Zemindars were in confederacy with the enemy, upon which he ordered all their weapons of defence to be seized; and this left them an easy prey to invaders, whom at last they joined for self-security. Contributions were then collected in lieu of regular revenues, and the parties sent everywhere to collect supplies for the grand

camp, were guilty of every sort of excess. Added to this, the collectors of the *odious religious capitation* forced millions from the farmers, and accounted but for small sums with the royal treasury. *Whenever the emperor appointed a Jaghiredar, the Mahrattas appointed another to the same district, and both collected as they found opportunity; so that, in fact, every place had two masters.* The farmers, thus oppressed, left off cultivating more ground than would barely subsist them, and in their turns became plunderers for want of employment.

"The emperor having taken most of the Mahratta fortresses, they were left without any resource but plunder, out of which they paid a share to their chief, the son of Rama. Many of the powerful disaffected Zemindars joined them, so that they amounted to above one hundred thousand horse. The imperial amras, deprived of their revenues from the Jaghires, had recourse to false musters, and did not keep up above half their complements of men; so that detachments could not be sent everywhere to punish the invaders, and the grand army was always employed in sieges, which left the Mahrattas at liberty to plunder almost without molestation. But particularly during the siege of Khalneh their excesses were unbounded; they stopped every communication of supply to the imperial camp, where numbers perished by famine; and their insolence grew to such a pitch, that they once a week offered up mock prayers for the long life of Aurungzebe, whose mode of making war was so favorable to their invasions and depredations."

CHAPTER VII.

FROM 1704 TO 1751.

Canty Reva Raj son of the late Raja born deaf and dumb—succeeds to the throne—military operations—Daood Khan called from the two Carnatics—leaves Saadut Oolla Khan as his Foujedar and Dewan—his campaign in Mysoor—Death of the dumb Raja—and succession of his son Dud Kishen Raj—Saadut Oolla succeeds to the government of the two Carnatics, which he retains four years—division of this command—Sera—Arcot—Kurpa—Kurnool—Savanoor Gooti—Contest for the spoils of Mysoor—its result—Mahratta invasion of Mysoor—conquest of Maugree and Savendroog—extinction of a dynasty which had ruled two hundred years—character of this reign belongs to the ministers—contemptible conduct of the Raja—his Death—state of the administration—conditional nomination of Cham Raj as pageant king—his emancipation—new ministry—their absurd conduct—concerted revolution—and murder of the Raja—departure from all pretext to hereditary succession in the choice of the next pageant, the infant Chick Kishen Raj—Ministry—singular preparation and death of the minister Nunjeraj—unfortunate choice of a successor of the same name—Dost Aly Khan Nabob of Arcot invades Mysoor—defeat of his army—Campaign of Nunjeraj in Coimbatoor—Nasir Jung sent by his father to levy a contribution on Mysoor—"Lake of pearls"—Marriage of the pageant Raja—suspicious motives—Siege of Deonhully—first scene of Hyder's achievements—history of his family—Mohammed Behlole—his sons Mohammed Ali and Wellee—remove to Sera and thence to Colar—Futte Mohammed, son of the former—left destitute and protected by a stranger—early distinction as a soldier—his first marriage and its issue—circumstances of his second marriage—he removes to Arcot—declines the service on a point of etiquette—goes to Chittoor—death of his second wife and marriage with her sister—returns to Sera—appointed Foujedar of Colar—birth of Shabaz and Hyder—their father slain at Sera—plunder and destitute condition of the family—seek the protection of their uncle Ibrahim at Bangalore—Shabaz enters the service of the Raja of Mysoor, and is promoted—early habits of Hyder—performs his first service at Deonhully—is distinguished and promoted—Nasir Jung marches to Arcot accompanied by the troops of Mysoor—circumstances leading to this event—Saadut Oolla—Dost Aly—Sufder Ali—treacherous seizure of Trichinopoly—dangerous nomination of Chunda Saheb to be governor—desperate intrigue for his removal—Mahratta invasion—Dost Aly slain in battle—Farther intrigues of Sufder Ali—Conquest of Trichinopoly and capture of Chunda Saheb by the Mahrattas—Assassination of Sufder Ali—temporary appointment of Anwar u Deen—murder of his reputed successor the son of Sufder Ali—Release of Chunda Saheb—remarkable battle of Mycomla and its consequences—Chunda Saheb and Muzzuffer Jung with a French corps invade Arcot—battle of Amboor—death of Anwar u Deen, and escape of Mohammed Ali to Trichinopoly—approach of Nasir Jung—review of the pretensions of the four rival candidates—English and French support opposite parties—Nasir Jung arrives—dispersion of his opponents and surrender of Muzzuffer Jung—fresh exertions of the French—defeat of Mohammed Ali—conspiracy of the Patan Nabobs—attack and death of Nasir Jung—reflections on that event—Desperate fortunes of Mohammed Ali—relieved by another revolution—State of the English and French interests in India—character of their respective governors—Chunda Saheb besieges Trichinopoly—Extraordinary talents and achievements of Mr. Clive.

CANTY REVA RAJ

THE son of the late Raja was born deaf and dumb (and thence called Mook Arsoo, the dumb sovereign), an incapacity

which under a less settled government would have excluded him from the throne; but he succeeded without opposition through the influence of the minister Tremalayengar, who survived his old master no more than a year and a half. The vigour and regularity of the late long reign continued for several years to be perceptible in the administration. The Dulwoy (commander-in-chief), Canty Raj, attempted the reduction of little Balapoor, the possession of a warlike Poligar close to the hill of Nundydroog, and was killed before the place; but his son *Busoo Raj*, a man of talent and enterprize, continued the siege and reduced the Poligar to become a tributary of Mysoor: and the state of the Mohammedan government being favorable to his views, he still farther attempted to extend his exactions westward towards Mergazee and great Balipoor. During the short civil war between the competitors for the imperial crown after the death* of Aurungzebe, Daood Khan, the conqueror of Ginjee, already noticed, and now the successor of Zulfecar Khan in the government of the two Carnatics, was called to take the command of the army, which ultimately placed Shah Alum, or Behauder Shah, on the throne. He left Saadut† Oolla Khan (afterwards Nabob) as his Foujedar and Dewan to manage those possessions during his absence. Saadut Oolla having ascended to the upper country in the prosecution of what, in the English records of those days, was not improperly called a "contribution war," was opposed by the Mysoor army in a skirmishing campaign of various success in the tract of country between Bangalore and Sera, and the service terminated in the partial accomplishment of its object, namely, a very moderate contribution.‡

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* Of Daood Khan I find the following brief, homely, and very intelligible account in the Records of Madras 1709. "Very precarious in his temper when sober, free and generous when supplied with the liquors he asks, which we always take care to supply him with;" "a great favorite with the late and present king as a soldier fit for rough work." In the Records of 1701 a curious account is inserted of a dinner given to this Nabob in the Council Chamber: the number of dishes is detailed, and the toasts drank accompanied by the discharge of cannon: the Nabob pledges the governor largely in cordial waters and French brandy, and afterwards mounts his horse very steadily and returns home. A few mornings afterwards a message is brought to the governor that the Nabob *at the head of his army, to enhance the compliment*, is on his way to pay him a visit at his country house. The best possible preparations are made with great bustle, as well for the reception of the great man, as to guard against treachery; but before they are concluded, intelligence is brought that the Nabob has reeled dead drunk into a Portuguese chapel, where he has fallen asleep. His own army on the spot, and the governor and council at the house of the former, continue to wait his pleasure until four o'clock, when he awakes; and without apology or explanation marches his army about eight miles in a westerly direction, and there encamps.

† His original name was Mohammed Saeed, and his subsequent title *Saadut Oolla Khan*.

‡ The amount is not mentioned. *The Saadut Nama*, a manuscript history of Saadut Oolla Khan, states that while encamped at Deonhully wait-

DUD KISHEN RAJ

succeeded on the death of his father the dumb Raja in 1714. We have formerly noticed in some detail the extent of the different commands in the Carnatics, above and below the Ghauts, in which, according to the last distribution which we discussed, Carnatic Vijeyapoor was all Balaghaut, and Carnatic Hyderabad both Balaghaut and Payeen Ghaut. At the period at which we are now arrived, only six years from the death of *Aurungzebe*, the whole of Carnatic Hyderabad Balaghaut enlarged to the south was possessed by the Patan chief of Kurpa, and by Siddojee Gorepora the Mahratta: the latter, from the convulsions which have been described, establishing a Mahratta power at Gooti, far beyond the bounds of Maharashtra. The command of the two Carnatics therefore now consisted of Vijeyapoor Balaghaut and Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut, together with the territory of the Patan of Kurpa, who was properly subject to the authority of the officer holding this joint command, but sometimes referred directly to Hyderabad, according as the interests or influence of the several parties determined the degrees of their connexion. The three Patans of Savanore, Kurnool and Kurpa, being about this time designated *Nabobs*,* the latter might be considered as the subordinate Nabob (or deputy of a deputy's deputy) of the *Carnatic Hyderabad Balaghaut*, of which he possessed the whole excepting Gooti, and had acquired to the south more than an equivalent for that possession. Saadut Oolla Khan† retained for four years the united governments of the two Carnatics as thus described, when it was deemed expedient to appoint a separate officer, namely, *Ameen Khan*, to the government of Carnatic Vijeyapoor, and thenceforward it became more usual to designate those several officers as the Nabobs of Sera, Arcot, and Kurpa, from the names of their capitals. Saadut Oolla, aware of the riches possessed by the Raja of Mysoor, and jealous of the dismemberment of his own command, entered into a secret com-

ing for the payment of the contribution agreed upon, he received the appointment of Nabob of the two Carnatics from Nizam ul Mulk, immediately after the succession of Furruckseer, viz., 1713: the Records of Madras fix this event in the same year. Mr Orme places it in 1710.

* In the *Saadut Nama*, a Persian history of the house of Saadut Oolla Khan, they are not so designated. In relating the confederacy against Mysoor (not exactly as stated in the text,) they are called the *Foujedars and Dewans* of Kurpa, Sera and Arcot.

† This part of the detail, and that which relates to the fraud in the division of the spoil, is given to me by Budder u Zeman Khan, aged eighty-two, a connexion of the family. The appointment of Tahir Khan, a dependant of Saadut Oolla, many years afterwards, was the tardy result of his incessant endeavours directly or indirectly to recover the government of Sera. The march of the confederates, stated in the text, is related in the Saadut Nama, with no other reference to date than the third year of the king. The Mysoor manuscript of Poornia places an invasion of Saadut Oolla Khan in 1724, which being the third year of Behauder Sha, fixes the date, and identifies the events.

bination with the Patan Nabobs of Kurpa, Kurnool and Savanore, and Siddojee Gorepora the Mahratta chief of Gooti, to wrest this rich prey from Ameen Khan of Sera, to whom the tribute or plunder of Mysoor, according to the distribution of their respective commands, regularly belonged. Ameen Khan, being apprised of the design, resolved to anticipate their project: and marched with a small but select force, with which he had just attacked the army of Mysoor and sustained a slight check, when the forces of the confederates appeared. Ameen Khan, a rough and impetuous soldier, exasperated at this illiberal interference, drew out to offer them battle with about a tenth part of their numbers; but he was ultimately reconciled to the plan of a joint operation by the address of Saadut Oolla Khan, who was also nominated by the confederates to conduct the negociation, the forces of Mysoor not daring to move from the protection of the Fort of Seringapatam before so superior a force. The amount ostensibly levied was twelve lacs of Rupees for each, amounting to seventy-two lacs; a crore was the sum secretly stipulated, and afterwards discovered by the confederates: the remaining twenty-eight lacs being a simple fraud of Saadut Oolla Khan, with the secret consent of the Patan Nabobs, in return for past and expected alienations of the imperial revenue. The other confederates being deterred from attempting forcible means to exact their just proportions, Saadut Oolla with his forty lacs, and his five associates with twelve each, returned to their respective homes.

The success of this predatory expedition was but an invitation to other freebooters; and the Peshwa (the designation of a Mahratta officer or minister, who in the reign of the second only in lineal descent from Sevajee had already in a great degree usurped the powers of the government) in two years afterwards levied a contribution, the amount of which is not stated, at the gates of Seringapatam.

These drains on the treasury were in part replenished by the conquest of Maagree, under the conduct of Deo Raj, recently appointed Dulwoy.* Kempè Goud, the chief, having been so imprudent as to suffer himself to be surrounded in this weak fortress, the blockade and siege were pressed with such vigour as to compel him to surrender at discretion. The rock of Saven Droog, then justly deemed impregnable, containing the accumulated plunder of near two hundred years, fell also by this event into the hands of the victor; and the power of this formidable chief was finally extinguished in the state prison of Seringapatam.

Whatever portion of vigour or of wisdom appeared in the conduct of this reign, belonged exclusively to the ministers, who secured their own authority by appearing with affected humility to study in all things the inclinations and wishes of the Raja.

* For the origin of this family, see p. 36.

Weak and capricious in his temper, he committed the most cruel excesses on the persons and property of those who approached him, and as quickly restored them to his favor. While no opposition was made to an establishment of almost incredible absurdity, amounting to a lac of Rupees annually, for the maintenance of an alm's house to feed beasts of prey, reptiles, and insects, he believed himself to be an unlimited despot; and while amply supplied with the means of sensual pleasure, to which he devoted the largest portion of his time, he thought himself the greatest and happiest of monarchs, without understanding, or caring to understand, during a reign of nineteen years, the troublesome details through which he was supplied with all that is necessary for animal gratification.

CHAM RAJ.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat, that during the twenty-seven years which comprised the reigns of such persons as the two last Rajas, the whole power and influence of the state must necessarily have fallen into the hands of the ministers: and that they would be disposed to regulate the succession in such a manner as should secure to themselves the continuance of unlimited authority. The division of public business was distributed in the offices of Dulwoy, Serv Adikar, and Perdhan; the first of these, as the name imports, was commander-in-chief of the forces, and director of all departments connected with military operations; the second presided over revenue and finance; and the third was a sort of privy councillor placed near the person of the Raja for the general purposes of the government; but the two latter offices appear to have been frequently united, and at this period were possessed by Nunjeraj,* a man of vigour, superior talents and experience. The Dulwoy, his cousin german, Deo Raj, was of a bold and ambitious, but cool and deliberate character. He had recently succeeded to his relation Chelevica, of the house of the Wadeyar of Cullella, in which family the office of Dulwoy had become hereditary; by ancient compact, as is affirmed in the manuscripts of that house, but probably by the genius and tendency of all Hindoo institutions to render offices as well as property the objects of inheritance. In point of fact, however, the whole power of the state in all its departments was already possessed by the various branches of this family. It cannot be positively ascertained, although there is probable ground to conclude, that a nearer claimant to the throne than Cham Raj was then in existence; but it is perfectly certain that he† was nominated as a

* The uncle of Nunjeraj who undertook the expedition to Trichinopoly in 1751.

† He was of the elder branch of Hemanhully, but, as far as I can judge from a comparison of authorities, which now become exceedingly defective, more direct lineal descendants must have existed: he lived at the time in Karoogully

person supposed to be every way qualified for the office of pageant king, to which he was destined; and the usurpation of the ministers was farther secured by a previous compact, exacted before he was admitted to cross the bridge at Pechum* Wahinee, to undergo the requisite ceremony of adoption by the widow of the late Raja, binding himself to conform in all things to their counsel, and that of his adoptive mother.

The contempt of the ministers for the intellectual powers of their nominal master, who had scarcely attained his eighteenth year, rendered them careless and unsuspicious in the arrangements of the palace; and Cham Raj, little disposed to observe the compulsory conditions of his elevation, had, in three months, secretly completed all the arrangements for a new† administration, which were contrived with such skill and address, as suddenly to displace the former ministers without opposition or difficulty.

The new administration began the exercise of their authority with the unsettled mixture of rigour and moderation which usually marks a feeble character. While the former ministers were, after a short period, incautiously released, and imprudently left at large at the seat of government, the most rigid and ill-concerted economy in every department, from the measure of disbanding a large portion of the troops, and reducing the allowances of the remainder down to an inquisition into the kitchen of the dowager, created a gradual disgust, and a general disposition to regret the former liberal administration. The dowager and Deo Raj found means of communicating to each other their sentiments and views, and after the lapse of two years and a half, the plan of a counter-revolution, more fatal in its consequences than that by which they had been displaced, was completely organized.

The Jemmadars of two thousand horse, and the chiefs or ‡Naicks of six thousand peons, affecting to be disgusted with the service, demanded and received their discharge; and encamping at the distance of three miles from the fort, seemed to be making arrangements for their final departure to seek for service elsewhere; and passed without observation in small parties backwards and forwards from the camp to the town: the loose habits of the time not requiring that they should deposit their arms at the gates.

* The bridge over the little Caveri, now called the second Periapatam bridge: *Pèchum Wahinee* flowing to the west. The river at that place makes a sweep towards the west, and wherever a stream is found to run opposite to the general direction of the river, it is considered holy by the Hindoos.

† Devaia (a bramin) Dulwoy; *Veer Settee* Serv Adikaar; Gopeenaad, Perdhan.

‡ Among these I find the name of *Hyder Naik;* he was a distant relation of the celebrated person of the same name, afterwards so well known as Hyder Ally.

It was the custom of those days for the Dulwoy on every Friday to make a march of six or seven miles, accompanied by the forces which were present at the capital, as a sort of military exercise, but frequently as a mere ostentatious procession; and so complete was the extinction, not only of all suspicion, but of ordinary precaution and common prudence, that the personal guard of the Raja accompanied the Dulwoy on this occasion for the purpose of swelling a slender train reduced by the late improvident economy. Deo Raj had now obtained the long expected opportunity: the small parties which had passed as usual into the town, at an appointed signal re-united within the gate; while the main body from without, headed by Deo Raj, rushed through without opposition, disarming the guards, and proceeding direct to the palace. In the first impulse of astonishment and surprise, the unhappy Raja sent an humble message acknowledging his breach of compact, and promising a better observance if his servant and conqueror would forget the past, and accept the office of Dulwoy. Deo Raj was not to be ensnared a second time: but in the bitter remembrance of his former credulity, passed to the opposite extreme; and, after securing the signet and sword of state, seized the Raja and his wife, and dispatched them to the well known hill of *Cabal Droog* (an imprisonment at all times equivalent to sentence of death,) where the dreadful insalubrity of the climate was mercifully aided by unwholesome food to shorten the sufferings of the victims.

A younger *brother of the deposed Raja was passed over in the next succession, because possessed of promising talents; and the son of a younger and more distant branch, a child of five years old, was selected as a more safe and convenient instrument.

We may consider the lineal succession of the Rajas of Mysoor to have ceased at this period, if not in 1731; for whatever slender ground may be conjectured to exist for acceding to the regularity of the succession in the person of Cham Raj; the murder of that prince, the rejection of his lineal heir, and the election of an infant of a younger branch, extinguishes all imaginable pretext to hereditary claim in the person now elected to the rank of pageant Raja, from which he never emerged: and from this period forward, the mock successions to a faulty title determined by Hindoo and Mohammedan usurpers, will not be entitled to occupy any considerable share of our attention. The name of the infant now elevated to this dangerous and humiliating station was

* CHICK KISHEN RAJ.

The administration was replaced on its former footing, with

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* His name was *Vencat Ers* Dhermia the *old* Jain Pundit knew him well at Karonguily many years afterwards, when he was an old man, and Dhermia just rising to manhood.

* *Chick, little*, junior; the former Raja of the same name being distinguished by the prefix, *Dud great*, or senior.

the addition of Vencataputty of Caniambaddy as nominal Perdhan, on condition of being in all things subservient to the will of the Serv Adikaar Nunjeraj. This intelligent minister conducted the civil departments of the government with his usual ability during the six years which succeeded this event. He was still in the vigour of middle life, but having been reduced by a fit of sickness, and being sensible of the approach of his dissolution, he determined to adjust his worldly affairs, and, as far as he was able, the concerns of his conscience, before his departure to render a final account. He deposited in the treasury the sum which he supposed himself to have improperly acquired in the public service, amounting to about eighty thousand pounds: he had no issue, and to his wife he presented twenty thousand, the remainder of his property being distributed in rewards to his domestics, and in charitable and religious donations, with the hope of expiating his former crimes, he quietly expired at the very moment that he had finished the adjustment of his temporal concerns; his last words conveying a testamentary warning against the employment of the person who became his actual successor.

This person was his cousin-german of the same name, the younger brother of Deo Raj, and surnamed *Kerachoory, a brave, but violent, presumptuous, and improvident man of about thirty years of age. His elder brother Deo Raj being upwards of fifty, vainly expected, that in conferring upon this person an equal share of the government, he should be able to regulate his public conduct with the same facility that, in the days of childhood, he had controlled his private education. The internal quarrels or external wars of all the neighbouring powers rendered this a period of comparative tranquillity to Mysoor: and the profligacy of Nunjeraj made a shameless job of the revenue; appointing his own menial servants to the nominal office of Aumildar, and still retaining them about his person; leaving to themselves, or to the Perdhan, to provide deputies, but prodigal at once and rapacious, exacting a certain proportion of the public plunder as a joint fund for himself and his brother. The Perdhan appears to have been equally attentive to his own interests; for in ten years after the revolution we find him imprisoned in the fort of Ossoor, after refunding three lacs of Pagodas of which he had defrauded the treasury, and succeeded by a superannuated and incompetent person named Chinnapeia. It was a few years before this change in the general administration that an attack of serious and threatening aspect was rendered abortive by the skill and energy of the elder brother.

The reputed riches of the treasury of Seringapatam continued to attract the attention of the Nabobs of Arcot; and the pro-

* *Kera, the hand, Choory,* a *dagger*, or, according to the English proverbial idiom, a word and a blow.

digal conduct of Tahir Khan, the Nabob of Sera, to whose government the tribute (when he could obtain it) of Mysoor was considered to belong, left the field open for this irregular object of ambition and cupidity. Doast Aly Khan prepared a powerful and well appointed army, and selected for the posts of first and second in command two brothers, officers of courage and experience, named Kasim Khan and *Morâd Khan, who marched with the confidence of certain victory to exact the largest contribution that had ever been received from this supposed deposit of inexhaustible wealth. Deo Raj, although no longer young, possessed a vigorous constitution, mental faculties in full energy, and the perfect attachment and confidence of his army. He advanced without dismay to meet this formidable host about forty miles to the N. E. of Seringapatam. At a village named Keilenchee near Chennapatam, the light troops of the Mussulman army reported the approach of a body of the enemy towards the encampment, and the two chiefs proceeded with the usual detail of troops on duty to reconnoitre. Deo Raj had come forward for a similar purpose with a select body of horse, leaving the rest of his army prepared to follow or to encamp. A small body only was shown by Deo Raj of the strength of an ordinary reconnoitring party, and the Mussulman chiefs being induced to push forward for the purpose of examining the main body, were suddenly attacked by superior numbers, and, after a brave resistance, were both slain; the advanced troops of Deo Raj, supported by his whole army, followed up the blow; the Mussulman camp was completely surprised and overthrown; the remains of this mighty expedition fled in dismay and confusion to the lower country, and Deo Raj returned in triumph to Seringapatam.

The year 1746 was distinguished by the first military command of Nunjeraj in an expedition against the Poligars of Darapoor, in the tract now better known by the general name of the district of Coimbatore: the *Dulwoy*, his brother Deo Raj, being so far advanced in years as to yield without reluctance to his younger brother the fatigue and distinction of military operations, and to undertake, during his absence, the more sedentary occupation of the temporary direction of the revenue and finances; an arrangement which produced the confusion of authority during the quarrel and separation of these brothers, which we shall hereafter have occasion to observe. During the absence of the army in the district of Coimbatore, Nasir† Jung was

* This was the father of Budder u Zemân Khan. The Madras Records mention this defeat, and say that the army was commanded by the Nabob's sons, which B. Z. Khan considers to be a mistake.

† *Serv è Azâd*, a work composed by *Meer Gholam Ali Azâd*, a philosopher, a fakir, and a poet, the confidential friend and companion of Nasir Jung, himself a poet. The work consists in historical and biographical sketches and anecdotes of kings or rulers who were also poets, with specimens of their performances. Nizam ul Moolk, the father of Nasir Jung, has also a niche

detached by his father Nizam ul Moolk, now Soubadar of the whole Deckan and the south, to levy a contribution on the Raja of Mysoor. He advanced to the vicinity of the capital without opposition, and was met by a deputation tendering allegiance and tribute, but to what amount I have not discovered. During the period which passed in the adjustment of payment, this military expedition was converted into a party of pleasure. Nasir Jung encamped in the vicinity of the lake of Tonoor, amused himself with sailing on that clear and beautiful water, and gave it the fanciful name of Motee Talab, the "lake of pearls," which it still retains.

The service under Nunjeraj was successfully conducted, and on his return, the brothers, with the view of more effectually securing in their own family the usurpation of the throne, married the nominal Raja, who had now attained his seventeenth year, to the daughter of Nunjeraj; a connection, according to Indian habits, not altogether usual; Nunjeraj being one of the most zealous sectaries of Siva, and the family of the Raja (ostensibly at least) of the most inveterate subdivision of the followers of Vishnoo: the marriage, besides, was so late* as in itself to furnish suspicion regarding the previous views of the brothers: and the eventual use to be made of this connection will be hereafter unfolded.

In the year 1749, the ardour of Nunjeraj in his new profession required fresh employment; and he undertook the siege of Deonhully, twenty-four miles north-east from Bangalore, then considered a place of some strength, and held by a Poligar, who, partly by vigorous resistance, and partly by address, had rendered himself for many years in a great degree independent of the powers around him, and had at no period been subordinate to the house of Mysoor.

An unknown volunteer in this obscure service was destined in after times to become the head of a mighty empire; to establish a reputation in arms, which, fairly viewing the scene on which he moved, and the instruments he was able to employ, has seldom been exceeded, and to threaten with no ideal terrors the extinction of the British power in India. As no statement of tolerable accuracy has yet been presented to the public of the origin and rise of this mighty adventurer, a short account may be acceptable of the genealogy and history of the house of Hyder.†

in this elegant little temple of fame. The author relates that Nizam ul Moolk at an early period of his political life retired in disgust, and assumed the *khrka*, or habit of a derveish who has renounced the world; and that afterwards when he became reconciled to public station, he was constantly scoffed at by that fraternity, who ever afterwards continued to decline his bounty. The author may in this case be excused for a little exaggeration; he was himself a derveish, although not of the particular order which his hero had forsaken; for he acknowledges that he had personally benefitted by the munificence of Nizam ul Moolk.

* According to Indian habits.

† This account is chiefly extracted from a written memoir, prepared by

The first of the family of whom any tradition is preserved was Mohammed Bhelole, a religious person, who came from the *Punjab* to the south, accompanied by two sons, Mohammed Ali, and Mohammed Wellee, and settled at the town of Alund in the district of Calburga, about one hundred and ten miles west, and by north, from Hyderabad. He is said to have founded a small mosque, and fakir's mokan,* by charitable contributions, and to have accumulated some property by this religious speculation. He married his son Mohammed Ali to the daughter of one of the servants of the celebrated mausoleum at Calburga, and Mohammed Wellee into another family in the same neighbourhood. After some time, the expenses of this augmented family being greater than the saint was able to defray, the two sons proceeded to the south in search of any service by which they could procure a subsistence; and were engaged at Sera, in the capacity of revenue Peons, in the department of the collection of the town customs. Futtè Mohammed, the son of Mohammed Ali, and the father of Hyder, was born at Sera.

In the course of duty, or for some cause not explained, the two brothers came to Colar, where Mohammed Ali died,† and Mohammed Wellee, seizing on all the domestic property, turned Futtè Mohammed and his mother out of doors.

A Naick‡ of Peons in Colar, commiserating their destitute condition, received them into his house, brought up Futtè Mohammed, and at a proper age enrolled him as a Peon in his own command.

While Dergah§ Kooli Khan was Soubadar‖ of Sera, or af-

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the religious officers at the mosque and tomb of Futtè Mohammed, the father of Hyder, at Colar, and checked, by a variety of records and oral information. According to another statement, the father of Futtè Mohammed, here named Mohammed Ali, is called Sheickh Ali (names frequently used indifferently by the same person), and is said to have had four other sons, a descendant of one of whom was married to Tippoo Sultaun. This statement I believe to be correct; but the authors of the Manuscript scrupulously confine themselves to the facts which are authenticated by the history of the mausoleum, and it is foreign to our purpose to trace the other branches.

* Mohammedan travellers, in moderate circumstances, generally put up at such places: the fakir and his family assist them in procuring what provisions they require, of which a portion is usually allotted to the fakir, together with a small present on the departure of his guest.

† His grave is shown by the religious attendants, as the eldest of the family buried at the mausoleum.

‡ Naick, the former designation of a provincial governor, was now degraded to signify the commander of from twenty to two hundred or more Peons, or irregular soldiers, armed with matchlocks, pikes, or swords and targets: such infantry are by the Mohammedans usually named Carnatics. I have not been able to recover the name of this Naick, or the extent of his command.

§ He was appointed in 1720.

‖ We have formerly seen the designation of Souba to be an officer of extensive command, having Nabobs under him. Now that every deputy was meditating independence, every Nabob became Soubadar as the next step in the scale of usurpation.

fected to be so named, Futtè Mohammed had an opportunity of attracting his attention. The service was the siege of Ganjecottah, near to Balipoor, then the stronghold of a refractory Poligar. The troops were repulsed in a general assault, when Futtè Mohammed seized a standard, and planted it once more on the breach: the assailants rallied, and the place was taken; and the young man, who had so gallantly restored the fortune of the day, was brought before the Soubadar, and rewarded with the command of twenty Peons as a Naick.

Futtè Mohammed, now Futtè Naick, continued to distinguish himself in the service of the Soubadar, and was gradually advanced in rank and consequence. His first wife was Seydanee Saheba, the daughter of Burra Saheb, a religious person at Colar, who bore him three sons, Wellee Saheb, Ali Saheb, and Bhelole Saheb. It was on the death of this lady at an early age that he began the mausoleum, mosque, tank, and gardens, at which the authors of the manuscript, which is chiefly followed in this statement, now officiate: the buildings are said to have been finished several years afterwards, when he was appointed Foujedar of the district; but in whatever manner these dates may be arranged, the buildings themselves, although far removed from architectural grandeur, exhibit unquestionable evidence, that the founder, at the time of their erection, had attained a very respectable degree of rank, property, and consideration. Of the second marriage of Futtè Naick the following account has been communicated to me by several authorities, and confirmed by the written narrative of Budr ù Zeman Khan, for one of whose relations the lady was intended. A Nevayet* of respectable family, from the

* *Nevayet*, generally supposed to be a corruption of the Hindoostanee and Mahratta terms for *new comer*. The following account of their origin is taken from the *Saadut Nama*, and from conversations with many intelligent individuals of the two classes into which they are now found to be divided.

About the end of the first century of the Hejira, or the early part of the eighth century of the Christian era, *Hejaj Bin Yusuf*, governor of *Irak* on the part of the Khalif *Abd, al, Melik bin Merwan*, a monster abhorred for his cruelties even among Mussulmans, drove some respectable and opulent persons of the house of Hâshem to the desperate resolution of abandoning for ever their native country. Aided by the good offices of the inhabitants of Kufa, a town of celebrity in those days, situated near to the tomb of Ali, west of the Euphrates, they departed with their families, dependants, and effects, and embarked on ships prepared for their reception in the Persian Gulph. Some of these landed on that part of the western coast of India called the Concan; the others to the eastward of Cape Comorin: the descendants of the former are the Nevayets; of the latter the *Lubbè*; a name probably given to them by the natives, from that Arabic particle (a modification of of Lubbeik) corresponding with the English *here I am*, indicating attention on being spoken to. The *Lubbè* pretend to one common origin with the Nevayets, and attribute their black complexion to intermarriage with the natives; but the Nevayets affirm that the Lubbè are the descendants of their domestic slaves; and there is certainly, in the physiognomy of this very numerous class, and in their stature and form, a strong resemblance to the natives of Abyssinia. The Nevayets of the western coast preserve the purity

Concan, was travelling across the peninsula with his wife, one son (Ibrahim Saheb), and two daughters, to Arcot. At Tarrikera, near the borders of Bednore, he was robbed and murdered; and his family, in the greatest misery, begged their way to the eastward, until their arrival at Colar, where their distresses induced the widow to listen to the proposal of Futtè Naick to be united to one of her daughters. After this marriage, the rest of the family, relieved from their difficulties, proceeded to Arcot.

Derga Kooli Khan of Sera soon afterwards died, and was succeeded by his son Abdul Russool Khan. The new Soubadar or Nabob, and Futtè Naick, for some reason not mentioned, were unfavorably disposed to each other; and the Naick accordingly prepared to seek another master, the Nabob Saadut Oolla Khan, at Arcot. The terms of his service, with fifty horse and fourteen hundred Peons, by whom he was accompanied, were nearly adjusted, when a difficulty arose with regard to his being received with the *tazeem*, or the compliment of other officers rising to salute him when he approached them in the Durbar: a mark of deference which is usual towards persons of rank, but at that period was reserved for officers of horse, who, like the ancient cavaliers of Europe, looked down on the pretensions of an officer of infantry. The Naick could not procure the tazeem, and being resolved not to serve without it, departed to Chittoor, where he was better received by the Foujedar, or provincial commander, Tahir Khan.

The mother-in-law of Futtè Naick had been ill received at Arcot, on account of her connection with the Naick; and the family into which she expected to marry her other duaghter declined the alliance for the same cause. She therefore joined her son-in-law at Chittoor, and he having in the meantime lost his second wife without issue, took to himself* her younger sister as a third.

Tahir Mohammed Khan was soon afterwards recalled to court

of their original blood by systematically avoiding intermarriage with the Indians, and even with the highest Mohammedan families, for many centuries after the establishment of the Mussulman dynasties of the Deckan. Even at this time there are some Nevayets whose complexions approach the European freshness. Their adherence to each other as members of the same family preserved their respectability; and they were famed at the Mohammedan courts of the Deckan for uniting the rare qualities of the soldier, the scholar, and the gentleman. I have seen nothing in India to approach the dignified manners, the graceful, and almost affectionate politeness, of an old gentleman of this family, who resided at Avilcunda, about thirty miles north of Arcot. I became accidentally known to him at an early period of my residence in India, from having lost my way in a dark night, and wandered into a village about a mile from his habitation, whence I received an immediate invitation, conveyed by two of his sons, and a reception which might grace a castle of romance.

* This is not contrary to the Mohammedan law, and many similar examples have fallen under my own observation.

at Arcot; but the Naick, still remembering the tazeem, declined to accompany him. He negociated for the service which he had formerly rejected, and was received by Abdul Russool Khan of Sera as Foujedar or provincial commandant of Colar, with Boodicota as his Jageer, and the title of Futtè Mohammed *Khan*.

His two sons by the Nevayet lady, the younger of the sisters, were both born at Boodicota; viz., 1, Shabaz Saheb*; 2, Hyder Saheb.

When Nizam ul Moolk formed the design of establishing a separate and independent empire in the south, the removal from subordinate commands of all persons who either retained any principle of fidelity to the house of Timour, or had indulged in views of independent authority for themselves, was essential to his success. The money and influence of Saadut Oolla Khan had long been employed to obtain the office of Soubadar of Sera for a dependant of his own; and it was chiefly through his interest that Tahir Khan was appointed to that office, and aided by Saadut Oolla to fight for its possession. He found the standard of his former Naick marshalled on the side of his opponent Abdul Russool, who was slain in a well contested battle, with most of his officers of rank. Futtè Mohammed, and his son Welleе† Saheb, fell on this sanguinary field; and the bodies being removed by the pious care of their attendants, their tombs are now shown in the mausoleum of the family at Colar.

Great Balipoor was the Jageer of the deceased Abdul Russool, and previously to the battle, the families of all his principal officers, and among the rest that of Futtè Mohammed were, according to the routine of suspicion customary in similar cases, thrown into that fort.

Abbas Kooli Khan, the son of the deceased, was not disturbed in the personal Jageer of his father: maternal feeling, combined with good sense, suggested to his mother, who in a few short years had seen the mangled corpses of her husband and father-in-law, the expedient of securing the Jageer on the condition of a formal renunciation of the office of Soubadar or Nabob, and a solemn promise to exert the influence of the family at court for the confirmation of Tahir Mohammed: and Saadut Oolla Khan, who directed in all things the proceedings of Sera, readily perceived the policy of acceding to this moderate proposition.

Abbas Kooli Khan, however, did not neglect to avail himself of the circumstances in which he was placed, to plunder to the extent that he durst the families deposited in the fort; and that of Futtè Mohammed was not among those which escaped. The pretext was a balance due from the deceased while Foujedar of

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* It may be proper to state for the information of the English reader, that *Saheb* annexed to a Mohammedan name has nearly the same meaning as *Mr.* prefixed to an English one.

† He died without issue, as did his brothers Ali and Bhelole.

Colar. The sons, Shabaz Saheb, and Hyder Saheb, the former about nine, the latter seven years of age, were called upon for payment. The usual methods were resorted to and succeeded; but not before the torture, in its most cruel and ignominious forms, had been applied to both the boys, and probably to their mother. This inhuman conduct was not forgotten; and it will be seen in the sequel that Hyder, in his prosperous fortune, sought his revenge after the lapse of thirty-two years, with all the virulence belonging to the memory of a recent injury.

The family, plundered of its property, was permitted to depart, and *the mother,* after the loss of everything but her children and her honor*, proceeded to Bangalore to seek the protection of her brother Ibrahim Saheb,† who was in the service of the Killadar of that place, with a small command of Peons. When the elder brother Shabaz Saheb had attained a sufficient age, his uncle procured for him a recommendation to a Hindoo officer of rank at Seringapatam, and he was received into the service as a subordinate officer of Peons, in which situation he distinguished himself, and gradually rose to the command of two hundred horse and one thousand Peons, which he now held in the army before Deonhully. Hyder, although twenty-seven years of age, was not in the service; and as he remained through life unacquainted with the first elements of reading or writing, it may be inferred that the misfortunes of his family prevented an attention to this object during his early age, and that his subsequent temper was not found fitted to bear the control of a pedagogue. When approaching maturity of age, he had shown a greater disposition to the pursuit of pleasure and the sports of the chace than to the restraints of a military life; and would frequently absent himself for weeks together, secretly immersed in voluptuous riot, or passing with facility, as was the habit of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of abstinence and excessive exertion; wandering in the woods while pursuing, not without danger, his favorite amusements. In the siege of Deonhully he began to pay attention to the profession of arms, first appearing as a volunteer horseman in his brother's corps, and afterwards occasionally entrusted with the command of parties of infantry in the trenches. He was observed on every service of danger to lead the way and to conduct himself with a coolness and self-possession seldom found in a young soldier. This bungling and unskilful siege, directed by a man who had neither seen nor studied the profession of arms, and possessed no quality of a soldier but headlong courage, was protracted for nine months, when the Poligar consented to evacuate the place on the condition of being permitted

* The exact phrase of the original *Sultaun u Towareekh* by Tippoo Sultaun.

† The youth formerly mentioned, who was the companion of her unfortunate journey across the peninsula.

to retire unmolested with his family to his relation the Poligar of little Balipoor. In the course of this service Hyder was distinguished by the particular favor of Nunjeraj; and, at its close, was raised at once to the command of fifty horse and two hundred infantry, with orders to recruit and augment his corps, and to the charge of one of the gates of this frontier fortress.

The army had scarcely returned from this siege to the capital, when a mandate was received from Nasir Jung, as Soubadar of the Deckan, demanding the attendance of the troops of Mysoor. The arrangements for this purpose were quickly adjusted, and a body of the forces of Mysoor, consisting of five thousand horse and ten thousand Peons, in which were included the commands of Shabaz and Hyder, under the command of Berki Vencat Row, joining the army at Mudgery, accompanied the numerous host of Nasir Jung for the prosecution of his designs in the province of Arcot. For some years after the period at which we are now arrived, the transactions of the government of Mysoor are so much interwoven with the important operations of the war of Coromandel, that the narrative can scarcely be rendered intelligible without attempting a short retrospect of the circumstances which led to those events.

Saadut Oolla Khan, of the respectable race of the Nevayets, who has already been introduced to the passing notice of the reader as the Foujidar and Dewan of Daood Khan, and the successor of that officer as Nabob of Arcot, died in 1732, and was succeeded by his nephew Doast Ali Khan, according to the previous dispositions of his uncle, but without the sanction of Nizam ul Moolk, who was then the nominal Soubadar or viceroy of the south, but actually independent of the throne of Delhi, from which he affected to derive his authority.

Doast Ali had given one of his daughters in marriage to a distant relation, named Hussein Doast Khan, better known by the name of Chunda Saheb, a man of talents and military ardour, whose daughter, by a former marriage, was the wife of Gholam Hussein, the Dewan or minister assigned to Doast Ali by the dispositions of his uncle. This double connection offered to the enterprizing spirit of Chunda Saheb all the opportunities and allurements that can be presented to an ambitious mind. Under the cloak of aiding his son-in-law in the duties of a laborious office, he gradually obtained the chief direction of the civil affairs of the government, and at length the formal appointment of Dewan; and by mixing in every military expedition with the spirit of a volunteer, and the liberality of a prince, the hearts of the soldiers were entirely his own.

The Naick, or Raja, of Trichinopoly and Madura died without issue in 1732; his second and third wives burned with the body, but in conformity to the alleged desire of the deceased, communicated to his confidential minister, his first wife succeeded

to the government. Vencatraya Acharee, the commander-in-chief of the forces, supported the pretensions of a collateral male heir: he succeeded in forcibly entering the fortress, and was near destroying the Ranee (queen,) when the opposite party collected their forces and expelled him. The death of Saadut Oolla Khan, and the arrangements of the succession which happened in the same year with this event, prevented the Mussulman power from taking advantage of these confusions. The seeming submission of the late commander-in-chief produced a reconciliation, and the authority of the Ranee appeared to be fully established; but this officer, with the concealed aid of the Mahratta Raja of Tanjore, had gradually organized so powerful a party, that this unhappy lady was driven to the desperate resource of soliciting the aid of the Nabob of Arcot. An army under the command of *Sufder Ali*, the eldest son and heir apparent of the Nabob, with Chunda Saheb as his civil Dewan and military second in command, moved over the province, ostensibly for the ordinary purpose of enforcing the collections of the revenue, and approached Trichinopoly to afford the promised aid. The negociations were of course conducted by Chunda Saheb; and the daring preparations of the opposite party within the fort of Trichinopoly rendering the secret introduction of a body of auxiliary troops a measure of seeming urgency, the Ranee was induced to give her consent to this fatal proceeding, on receiving the solemn assurance of Chunda Saheb, confirmed by a false oath on a false Koran,* that the troops should be employed for no other purpose than the confirmation of her authority, after which they should be faithfully withdrawn The arrangements thus rendered necessary for the establishment of the Ranee's authority placed the actual power in the hands of the Mohammedan troops, not only at Trichinopoly, but at the principal provincial stations; and these measures being effected, Chunda Saheb threw off the mask, imprisoned the Ranee, and hoisted in the fortress the flag of Islam.

Sufder Ali soon afterwards returned to the capital, leaving under the government of Chunda Saheb this important conquest, which extended, with the single exception of Tanjore over all the provinces south of the river Cavery and east of Caroor. The office of Dewan was in consequence of this arrangement conferred on Meer Assud, the preceptor of the heir apparent, who quickly perceived the error which had been committed by his pupil, and represented to the Nabob the certain dismemberment of provinces formerly tributary, as the least dangerous consequence which could ensue from leaving a man of Chunda Saheb's principles and talents in the possession of such resources.

The Nabob, however, who at this period is represented by the government of Madras as "negligent of affairs, despised by his

* It was actually a *brick* wrapped round with the same splendid covering in which a Koran is usually enveloped

subjects, and suffering robbery, exaction, and oppression on the part of his officers in all quarters," could not be prevailed upon to risk the consequences of recalling Chunda Saheb, or to believe in the reality of his treasonable views. The new Dewan and heir apparent, who clearly perceived their danger, and the impossibility of moving the Nabob to vigorous measures, determined on averting the impending peril by a measure of dangerous policy; namely, a negociation, to be concealed from the Nabob, for the purpose of introducing a body of Mahratta* troops, ostensibly to invade the province, but actually to unite with Sufder Ali in destroying Chunda Saheb, who was of course expected to take the field in the general cause of Islam. The great body of the army under Sufder Ali was placed with this view to the southward, in the expectation that the aged Nabob would, on the approach of the Mahrattas, finding himself without sufficient force to oppose them in the field, shut himself up in Arcot or Vellore, when the Mahrattas would pass, according to previous compact, to the pretended attack of Sufder Ali and Chunda Saheb, and leave the former free to regulate his concerted plan. But the old man, roused by this imminent danger from the lethargy in which he had long reposed, resolved not to survive the disgrace of suffering the infidels to ravage without resistance the very precincts of his capital; and took the field with the handful of men which he could collect, sending orders to Chunda Saheb, and to his son, to join him without delay. Chunda Saheb obeyed the order with alacrity; and Sufder Ali, finding one part of his project defeated, had no alternative but to proceed by forced marches to join his father. Before the arrival of either, Doast Ali, who had taken a position in the gorge of the pass of Damalcherri expecting, in the prevalent but erroneous opinion that this was the only pass through that part of the range of mountains, that he should be enabled there to arrest the progress of the Mahrattas, was surrounded and defeated, himself being slain in the action, and the Dewan, Meer Assud, being made prisoner. Sufder Ali, who had advanced as far as Arcot, when he heard this intelligence, fearing with reason that the change of circumstances might alter the measures of the Mahrattas, placed his army under the protection of the fort of Vellore, negociating with them through the medium of their prisoner Meer Assud; and Chunda Saheb returned to the care of his own interests at Trichinopoly.

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The Mahrattas, as Sufder Ali foresaw, had completely changed their tone, and converted a mock invasion into that system of desolation which everywhere marks the course of these cool and insatiable robbers.* They perceived that any price might be exacted from Sufder Ali by the simple threat of selling themselves to Chunda Saheb: and the treaty was soon concluded by which they evacuated the province, on the secret condition of hereafter receiving a large portion of the provinces in the possession of Chunda Saheb as the price of his effectual removal. The Mahrattas quitted the province, the rivals were apparently reconciled, and Chunda Saheb, completely deceived by these demonstrations, sold off the provisions with which he had stored his fortress on the alarm of invasion. In December the Mahratta army, which on various pretences had proceeded no farther than Sevagunga, about 250 miles N. W. from Trichinopoly, suddenly returned and invested the place. After a gallant resistance of three months, Chunda Saheb, reduced by famine alone, surrendered at discretion; and, with his eldest son, was sent a prisoner to *Sittara*, now the declared capital of the Mahratta empire, and the prison of its prince, whose authority his minister had usurped. Morari Row was left as the Mahratta governor of the conquered province; the whole of the lower countries south of the Coleroon being thus placed under the dominion of that people.

Sufder Ali was soon after assassinated by his relation Murteza Khan,† who was compelled to fly from an insurrection of the

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army; and* Mohammed Saeed, the infant son of Sufder Ali, was announced as successor to the office of his father by Nizam ul Moolk, who, about this period, found leisure to march to Arcot. He found the province in that state which illustrates the series of Indian revolutions to which we have so often referred: the Mohammedan deputies, of every deputy's deputy, and the officer of every mud fort, or town, affected the fashionable designation of Nabob as the first step towards independence; and so many of those important personages were announced at his first public levee, that he is said to have threatened with personal flagellation his *Chobdars* (or gold sticks in waiting) if they should dare thenceforth to announce any person by the title of *Nabob*. In appointing Khajah Abdulla to be a temporary deputy, and declaring his intention of conferring the office on Mohammed Saeed when he should attain a proper age, Nizam ul Moolk recognised the principle of hereditary descent, which, however dangerous in his own subordinate officers, he was desirous of recommending to public estimation, for the purpose of strengthening and perpetuating in his own family the mighty empire which he had usurped; and having recovered Trichinopoly and its dependencies from the Mahrattas, he returned to Golconda, accompanied by Khajah Abdulla, who did not live to return to the possession of his government.

Anwar u Deen arrived at Arcot in April 1744, tainted with the suspicion of having poisoned his predecessor; and as he was the guardian of Mohammed Saeed, his reputed successor, his character did not exempt him from the imputation of being† secretly concerned in the murder of that unfortunate youth. In the same year he was confirmed as Nabob by Nizam ul Moolk, and continued for a few years to exercise the govern-

* *Mohammed Saeed*, in Orme *Seid Mohammed*: the former word *Seyed*, prefixed to a name, always indicates the person to be a descendant of the prophet, which the Nevayets are not. I observe the same error in the Records of Madras with regard to the former name of Saadut Oolla Khan, who is sometimes called *Seid Mohammed*, his real name being *Mohammed Saeed*. The words Seyed and Saeed are from different roots.

† The adherents of the family of Anwar u Deen acquit him of the murder; the Nevayets acquit both him and *Murteza Khan*, and transfer the suspicion to Mohammed Hussein Khan Tahir, and Gholam Imaum Hussein Khan. On the murder of Sufder Ali these persons are stated to have appropriated the treasure of the state at Arcot. The young man had heard this, and had been so imprudent as to hint that he would hereafter look to it. The partizans of each may be expected in all such cases to give to the transaction the colors most favorable to their own cause; but I incline to the statement of a sensible old man, with whom I lately conversed, who was present at the murder, as a personal attendant of the young prince: "People of different parties (said he) invented different tales; but according to the general opinion, those persons were engaged in the murder who were most interested in effecting it; namely, Murteza Khan, who knew that Mohammed Saeed would retaliate for the murder of his father, and Anwar u Deen, who wanted to be Nabob without a future rival."

ment without any material interruption from foreign or domestic hostility.

So long as Sufder Ali lived, his knowledge of the danger to be apprehended from the release of Chunda Saheb rendered him punctual in the regular discharge of the sum exacted by the Mahrattas, as the price of his perpetual imprisonment: but Anwar u Deen, from avarice, from confidence, or perhaps from want of means, declined to continue the accustomed payment. The celebrated Mons. Dupleix had arrived at Pondicherry soon after the capture of Chunda Saheb, and found in that fortress his wife and younger son, Reza Saheb, who had been sent thither for security on the first alarm of the Mahratta invasion. The sagacious and penetrating mind of this statesman was not slow in perceiving the advantages which he might procure for his country by the liberation of Chunda Saheb, whose relations and connexions had held under the former rule the government of most of the strong places in the province of Arcot; and were not yet dispossessed by Anwar u Deen, only because the enterprize was too dangerous to be yet undertaken. A communication was accordingly opened with the prisoner at Sattara, through the medium of his family at Pondicherry, and a negociation with the Mahrattas ensued, which terminated in the release of Chunda Saheb.

Attended by his eldest son, Aabid Saheb, and eight or ten faithful friends, who had followed his desperate fortunes, with a decent but not numerous train, he departed from Sattara early in the year 1748, and proceeded slowly to the south, waiting the communications of his friends. On his arrival at the river Kistna he was met by the Vakeels of the Poligar of Chittledroog, and the Ranee of Bednore, then engaged in open war, who severally solicited the advantage of his great name at the head of their respective troops. A Nevayet named Mohee u Deen, who commanded the forces of Bednore was considered the most proper person to direct the negociation and dictate the letter to a personage of his own tribe. The difference between "your humble" and "your most humble" servant would sound to an English ear as a most ridiculous object of political discussion; but the Nevayet knew the momentous consequences of distinctions equally futile, and fearing that the presence of Chunda Saheb would interfere with his own views, dictated the formalities of the address in a manner which he knew would give offence; and did actually determine the question in favor of the Raja of Chittledroog. A few days after the junction of Chunda Saheb, the rival armies met at Myconda, south of the Toombuddra. The contest was obstinate and sanguinary, and the troops of Bednore, being superior in numbers were gaining some ground, when the Poligar of Chittledroog ordered his elephant to be picketed on the spot, thereby indicating to his troops his fixed determination not to

retreat. Chunda Saheb directed the operations in another part of the line, having his son on the same elephant; and attempting to restore the fortune of the day by a forward movement, he encountered the elephant of the Bednore general, who did not shun the distinction of meeting him. They discharged at the same instant their respective pistols. Mohy ù Deen was killed, and Chunda Saheb, in the fall of his son Aabid by his side, felt for a moment a pang more grievous than the loss of victory; his exertions were enfeebled, and the day was lost. The Poligar was slain, surrounded by a heap of his faithful adherents, the bravest troops of the south; and Chunda Saheb was taken and conducted in triumph to Bednore. The Ranee was desirous of detaining him as a prisoner, but he was still in the custody of the Mussulman troops, to whom he had surrendered; and having opened his views to their Jemadars,* they not only resisted the orders of the Ranee, but marched off under the command of their prisoner, to whom a recent event had opened new and unexpected means of pursuing his objects at Arcot.

The death of Nizam ul Moolk,† and the battle of Myconda, happened on one and the same day; and the news of the former event was accompanied with intelligence that Hedayet Mohy ù Deen Khan, the son of his favourite daughter, strong in the possession of the celebrated fortress of Adwanee‡ (Adoni) claimed the succession to the prejudice of six legitimate sons.§ Whatever hereditary pretensions Chunda Saheb might offer were also derived from the female line, and this similarity in their fortunes determined him to seek the court of this young adventurer; to whom he explained the means of acquiring the services of a French corps, and the strength and resources which, by fixing at Arcot a Nabob entirely devoted to his service, he would acquire, in the arduous enterprize of establishing his own paramount authority in the Deckan.

The negociations with Mr. Dupleix were conducted without interruption, and a body of French troops, consisting of four hundred European and two thousand disciplined native infantry, under the command of Mons. D'Auteuil, and accompanied

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* Meer Shereef u Deen, and Nebbee Yar Khan: their whole command did not exceed one thousand five hundred horse. This transaction is differently related by Mr. Orme. The narrative stated in the text is taken from the local memoirs of Chittledroog and Bednore, from a comparison of different authorities, Hindoo and Mohammedan, and from the information of Budr u Zeman Khan, who has frequently heard Chunda Saheb relate the circumstances.

† Nizam ul Moolk died 24th March 1748: the battle of Myconda was fought on the very same day. Local memoir in the Mackenzie collection.

‡ Adoni and Rachore were his personal Jaghire.

§ First, Ghazee u Deen, who held an office at Delhi. Second, Nasir Jung, the next in succession, who obtained the treasures and commanded the army. Third, Salabut Jung. Fourth, Nizam Ali Khan. Fifth, Basalut Jung. Sixth, Moghul Ali Khan.

by Reza Saheb, the son of Chunda Saheb, were permitted, by the ignorant and unmilitary combinations of Anwar u Deen, to traverse the lower country without molestation, and join his adversary as he approached. Thus strengthened, Hedayet Mohy ù Deen Khan, who had received or assumed the title of Muzuffer Jung (victorious in war,) descended at the head of forty thousand men into the province of Arcot. Anwar u Deen with twenty thousand men had fortified a position with one flank resting on the hill fort of Amboor, and the other extending towards a hill which bounds one of the valleys or passes leading into the lower Carnatic. If this position (as is generally said) was taken up with the view of preventing the entrance of the enemy into the province, it is a strange example of military incapacity, as the position may be either turned or altogether passed to the north or the south over a country sufficiently practicable for every description of troops. It cannot be supposed that a soldier of Chunda Saheb's reputation was ignorant of this fact; but the cause in which he was engaged required a brilliant opening. The entrenchments were accordingly stormed and carried after a respectable resistance, chiefly through the aid of the French troops. Although this achievement evidently decided the fortune of the day, Anwar u Deen continued with great personal bravery to animate his troops, and was at length slain, in pushing forward his elephant to close with the standards of his rival, on the twenty-third July 1749. Of the two sons of Anwar u Deen who were in the action, the eldest, Maphuz Khan, was taken prisoner, the youngest, Mohammed Ali, saved himself by timely flight, and reached in safety the fort of Trichinopoly, of which he had been governor under his father, distant near two hundred and fifty miles from the field of battle. There he proclaimed himself the lawful Nabob, and for a time solicited in vain the assistance of the English.

Muzuffer Jung and Chunda Saheb marched without farther opposition to Arcot; where, in assuming the state, and receiving the obeisance due to their new dignities, they seem to have wasted in puerile ceremonials the precious time, which ought to have conveyed them without a halt to the gates of Trichinopoly. This childish vanity was still farther evinced in a pompous procession to Pondicherry, where Monsieur Dupleix, naturally disposed to magnificence and splendour, gratified his guests with a most ostentatious reception; but urged them to permit no object longer to delay their immediate march to Trichinopoly. The splendid ceremonials of Arcot and Pondicherry had not much replenished the military chest, and the necessity of their situation obliged them to deviate to Tanjore with the hope of levying a large contribution. Chunda Saheb pursued the means which in ordinary circumstances would have effected his purpose, but seemed from the first to have utterly forgotten the value of time,

and suffered himself to be amused before Tanjore by absurd and inefficient military measures and negociations, which the Mahratta, who knew that Nazir Jung was approaching from Golconda, and had already arrived in the territories of Mysoor, broke off, renewed, and skilfully protracted till that chief had actually entered the province of Arcot. Such was the security and improvidence of Muzuffer Jung and Chunda Saheb, that this intelligence was first conveyed to them by Monsieur Dupleix, and the contemptible proceedings before Tanjore ended in a still more disgraceful retreat towards Pondicherry.

Before we proceed to sketch the conduct of these mighty opponents, it may be useful to review the actual pretensions of the four rival candidates. The authority of the Mogul, although nominally resorted to when convenient, had positively no existence in the south. Nizam ul Moolk had been avowedly independent of the court of Delhi; neither tribute, nor obedience, were rendered by him, nor by any of the officers really or nominally dependent on him; and it was puerile to claim the exercise of power under an authority with which none of the parties had any other relation but that of rebellion. With regard to hereditary right, or a modification of that right, by the dispositions of the former possessor; where the whole was usurpation, and the line of hereditary descent had not yet begun, the pretensions on this head seemed to have as weak a foundation as the mock mandates of the Mogul. On grounds, however, such as these, Nasir Jung claimed to succeed to the general government of the Deckan, on the false pretence that his elder brother had resigned his right. Muzuffer Jung claimed the same authority on the pretended will of his rebel grandfather. Mohammed Ali claimed to the prejudice of his elder brother Maphuz Khan (the only legitimate son of Anwar u Deen,) a patrimony which had been in his family *just five years*, because Nizam ul Moolk had promised, and Nasir Jung would confirm to him, the succession. Chunda Saheb did not put hereditary right into the front of his pretensions, but rested his claims and fortunes on the authority of Muzuffer Jung. On pretensions futile and absurd as these, two enlightened European nations wasted their ingenuity in volumes of political controversy; rendering homage to virtue and justice, in respectively claiming the reputation of supporting the rightful cause; but adding to the numerous examples of failure in attempting to reconcile the discordant elements of politics and morals; without daring to avow the plain and barbarous truth, that the whole was a trial of strength among bands of foreign usurpers, in which the English and French had as much right to be principals as any one of the pageants whom they supported: but these nations were at peace, and they could only appear in the contest as the mercenary troops of these polished barbarians.

Nasir Jung having been present and without a rival when his father died at Boorhampoor in 1748, was acknowledged by the army without any opposition; obtained possession of the public treasures; and employed himself for some time in adjusting the business of revenue in these northern parts of his dominions; when a mandate from the emperor Ahmed Shaw announced the approach of the Abdalees, and summoned him to join the imperial army with his forces. He obeyed with alacrity, not for the purpose of fighting the Abdalees, but because the removal of his elder brother could only be accomplished by such an opportunity as had now presented itself. He had reached the river Nerbudda, when hearing that Hedayet Mohy u Deen Khan, whom he had hitherto treated as a childish pretender, had actually gained the battle of Amboor; he retraced his steps with speed, and descended into the plains of Arcot, attended by the forces of all the Mussulman and Hindoo officers and chiefs whose possessions were adjacent to his route. Among these were the Patan Nabobs of Savanore, Kurnool, and Kurpa, Morari Row the Mahratta chief of Gooti, and the troops of Mysoor under one of the best officers of that state, Berki Vencat Row, the whole comprising an army rated at three hundred thousand fighting men, and which might possibly have mustered near one-third of that number. On entering the province of Arcot, he summoned Mohammed Ali to join his standard, and requested the English to send him a body of Europeans. Mohammed Ali joined with a nominal six thousand horse; and six hundred English under the command of Major Lawrence repaired to his standard. The French had marshalled their own forces, and those of their allies, in an excellent position; in which there was little doubt of their repelling with heavy loss the attack which Nasir Jung had determined to risk; but a discontent among the French officers, which induced thirteen of the number to adopt the unworthy expedient of resigning their commissions in the face of an enemy, ruined for the time the cause in which their nation was engaged. Mons. D'Auteuil, justly alarmed at the consequences of a general action while his men were in the state of insubordination produced by that event, determined to march by night to Pondicherry. Muzuffer Jung, who had for some days been engaged in a secret negociation with his uncle, with a view of preparing for the worst, distinctly saw that there was not a moment to be lost; and having received the most solemn assurances of personal security, threw himself on the mercy of Nasir Jung. Chunda Saheb accompanied the French battalion to Pondicherry, and behaved with distinguished gallantry during a difficult retreat. The camp of Muzuffer Jung, deserted by its chief, was surprised, plundered, and destroyed, and on the evening of the ensuing day not a man remained in the field, of the formidable confederacy which had contended for the empire of the Dekhan.

The character of Mons. Dupleix was of that elastic frame which disaster only stimulates to increased exertion; and firm in the resources of his own mind, he immediately entered on the course of measures necessary to retrieve his affairs. An attempt at negociation, through the medium of a mission to the camp of Nasir Jung, was intended for the sole purpose of gaining intelligence, and opening a communication with the disaffected. It failed of course in its ostensible object; and Nasir Jung, impatient at being detained from the sensual delights which awaited him at Arcot, broke up his camp about the end of April, highly incensed by the conduct of Major Lawrence, who, fatigued with the duplicity which he experienced in his negociations, retired to Fort St. David in complete disgust.

About the beginning of July, Mohammed Ali obtained the permission of Nasir Jung, and the aid of some of his troops, to take the field for the purpose of defending the territories of which he was declared to be Nabob; and he received from the English the aid of a body of four hundred Europeans and one thousand five hundred Sepoys, on the express condition of punctually defraying their expenses. The experience of a single month was sufficient to show the military pretensions, as well as the punctuality, of their new ally; who, disheartened by a trifling loss, had no money to pay the English troops, unless they should consent to degrade their reputation, and sacrifice their own possessions, by marching away from the enemy to a distant part of the province: and Major Lawrence, provoked by this absurd and prevaricating conduct, ordered the troops to return to Fort St. David about the middle of August.

Mohammed Ali, with the same military inconsistency, maintained, after the departure of his allies, the ground which he had considered it necessary to desert while he possessed their aid. His forces were still four times the number of the French and their allies; and although the conduct of the latter in the attack which they made was perfectly steady and spirited, it was scarcely possible to have failed in overcoming the unsoldier-like disposition and feeble resistance of Mohammed Ali, who fled almost alone to Arcot.

Mons. Dupleix followed up the blow with his usual spirit and decision, and by a daring enterprise led by Mr. Bussy obtained possession of the stupendous rock of Ginjee, a fortress literally impregnable by the ordinary modes of attack, which is situated about forty miles N. W. from Pondicherry. This fortress was either built or improved on an old foundation of the Chola kings by the son of Vijeya Runga Naick, governor of Tanjore, an officer of the government of Vijeyanuggur in A. D. 1442; it was successively strengthened by the Mussulmans of Vijeyapoor, who possessed it from 1669 until 1677; by the Mahrattas, who held it from 1677 to 1698; by the imperial general Zulfecar Khan, and

the dynasty of his Rajpoot Killedars become Rajas; and lastly, by Saadut Oolla Khan, who, on the conquest of the place from the second Rajpoot Raja in 1715, had contributed more than any of his predecessors to render it unassailable.

Nasir Jung, roused by this event from his voluptuous slumbers at Arcot, marched exactly at the season of the year which he ought to have devoted to preparation, and was subjected to the greatest distress by the storms and floods of the monsoon, which burst upon his army before he approached Ginjee.

The brilliant exploit at Ginjee had lowered the tone of this presumptuous and incompetent chief, and he had condescended, before he left Arcot, to send deputies to Mr. Dupleix, whose intuitive knowledge of eastern character was aided by the experience and penetration of Chunda Saheb in the arduous circumstances which called for his decision. He had for about seven months carried on a secret correspondence with the Patan Nabobs of Kurpa, Kurnool and Savanore, who had obtained from former Nizams or Soubas successive grants from the imperial possessions; and who, perceiving in Nasir Jung a disposition rather to scrutinize these alienations than to comply with new and insolent demands, were consequently ready to indulge the characteristic treachery of their race in the means of effecting a revolution more favorable to their views. A select body of three thousand eight hundred men and ten field pieces, under M. de la Touche, was kept ready at Ginjee to obey at a moment's warning the summons of the insurgents; and M. Dupleix continued, without abstaining from hostilities, to negociate the terms of accommodation: leaving the ultimate question of peace or war to be determined by the conduct of his adversary, in concluding or postponing the treaty before or after the measures of the insurgents were matured. The ratification of the treaty by Nasir Jung, and the summons of the insurgents, were determined on one and the same day, but the latter arriving at Ginjee before the former had reached Pondicherry, M. de la Touche instantly marched, and before day-light the next morning, namely, the 5th of December, entered the straggling encampment of Nasir Jung, which he penetrated in firm and compact order, surrounded by hosts of enemies, advancing slowly through the reiterated but unskilful opposition which he sustained. Among the troops who remained faithful to Nasir Jung were those of Mysoor;* and Hyder was forward in an unsuccessful attempt on the flank of the French column; but the director of the elephant of Berki Vencat Row having been killed by a cannon shot, the temporary appearance of flight caused the troops to give way; and although this accident was quickly repaired, and the elephant resumed his proper place, the charge was not renewed. The insurgents drew up in order of battle; and although, ac-

* They are stated by Mr Orme to have joined the insurgents.

cording to the practice of undisciplined troops, they were not snfficiently alert in moving to the support of their friends, and thereby exposed the whole enterprise to the imminent risk of failure, there is no positive evidence that any other plan had been concerted than that of open attack, until Nasir Jung, unsuspicious of treason, directed his elephant to that part of his army with the intention of giving orders. Approaching the elephant of the Nabob of Kurpa, he anticipated his salutation by first raising his hand; it was not yet clear day-light, and thinking the Nabob did not recognize him, he raised himself up in the houda and repeated the salutation, when two carbine shots from the opposite elephant pierced his body, and he instantly expired.* The Patans cutting off the head, and fixing it on the end of a spear, exhibited to their associates in the conspiracy this ultimate

* I take this part of the narrative almost verbally from the *Serve è Azâd* (see p. 237.) The author was in the tent of Nasir Jung when the alarm was given, and assisted him to dress for the field. He relates with simplicity and truth the irregular life of Nasir Jung at Arcot, his own respectful and repeated admonitions, and the vow which his patron made after his departure from that city, and kept, until the day of his death, to renounce all practices that were inconsistent with the sacred law; that fortified with these fruits of repentance, and confident in the protection of heaven, he prepared with cheerfulness for the combat, and as he approached the mirror to adjust his dress, and perceived the reflection of his own figure, he addressed it in the following words:—"O *Meer Mohammed*," (his original name; *Nasir Jung, victorious in war*, being a title), "the Almighty is thy protector;" and proceeded to mount his elephant without being induced by the hurry of the moment to omit any one of the religious observances prescribed by the sacred law: that it was his general practice on the day of battle to be clothed in armour from head to foot, but, on this occasion, he put on a simple muslin robe; and in this state fulfilled his destiny, and attained the crown of martyrdom. This narrative discredits the published reports of Nasir Jung having deceived his nephew, who was allowed a degree of liberty, and treated with a consideration, against which the best friends of Nasir Jung strongly remonstrated, and advised his being put to death. The reason for dissenting from this advice is not stated in the Serv è Azâd, but is very generally known. When Nasir Jung several years before rebelled against his father and attempted to cut him off near Aurungzebad, the father of *Hedayet Mohy u Deen* (Muzuffer Jung) was ordered to meet the elephant of Nasir Jung, who, after the battle was lost, rushed on in a fit of desperation against the standard of his father. Nasir Jung was wounded, and his opponent was about to transfix him with a spear, when Hedayet Mohy u Deen, then a boy, who was on the elephant with his father, seized his arm, crying "spare my uncle!" and he was accordingly saved. When Nasir Jung was afterwards pressed to put him to death, on suspicion of the intrigue with M. Dupleix, he answered, "I will never take the life of the man who saved mine." The character given of him in the Serv è Azâd would justify the opinion of his being capable of such a sentiment. I add an incident relative to the battle between Nasir Jung and his father Nizam ul Mulk, as highly characteristic of the bright side of the Mussulman portrait. The latter, sitting as usual in state after the battle, announced that he would receive three successive *nezers* of congratulation, which were accordingly presented without enquiry; and at the conclusion of the ceremony he thus explained them: of these three *nezers* of congratulation, the first was intended to announce victory: the second that my son is safe: the third that he did not fly.

and direct evidence of complete success; and it is only useful to add, as a feature of the manners of the people, that after the confusion of the day, the troops reunited* the head and the trunk of the corpse, and preserving them with pious care in a chest or spacious coffin filled with *Abeer*, a powder formed of various perfumes, and the filings of odoriferous woods, dispatched these remains of their late chief to be deposited in the tomb of his ancestors. The intelligence of the death of Nasir Jung was quickly conveyed to the French column; the insurgents had taken their measures for the preservation of Muzuffer Jung, during this confusion, by confiding his guard to one of their accomplices; and by nine o'clock in the morning he was quietly acknowledged by the whole army as Soubadar of the Deckan, although four brothers of the deceased were present in the camp. Mohammed Ali, now for the third time flying singly from a field of action, reached the fort of Trichinopoly. Scenes of this nature are particularly favourable to private plunder. Hyder had already prepared the means of availing himself of such opportunities, by keeping in pay a body of three hundred select *Beder Peons*, who may well be characterized as brave and faithful thieves. In the ordinary circumstances of a campaign they more than realized the charges of their establishment by a variety of plunder and simple theft, from friends when the enemy did not offer convenient means. During the confusion of this day they mixed with the crowd near the treasure of Nasir Jung, which, as usual, the treasurer had begun to load at the first alarm; and these expert marauders, exclusively of minor thefts, separated from the crowd two camels laden with gold coins, and before the confusion had ceased, were clear of all the outposts, and well advanced on their route towards Deonhully (Hyder's fixed home and station), whither, during this service, about three hundred horses and five hundred musquets occasionally picked up upon the field, or stolen in the quiet of night, had also been conveyed. The troops of Mysoor obtained permission to return to their own country immediately after this eventful day, and a large portion of the remainder of the army moved towards Pondicherry. In the conduct of this complicated scene of diplomatic dexterity and military boldness, M. Dupleix had certainly merited every mark of gratitude that could possibly be conferred by Muzuffer Jung;

* The ferocious custom of exhibiting or insulting the heads of the slain seems to have been universal in all parts of the world. An epitaph on the last of the Seljuck dynasty slain by the king of Kharizm is nearly thus: "Yesterday his head (in imagination) touching the skies, to-day distant a league from his trunk." This, if I recollect aright, is the same king of Kharizm whose history contains internal evidence of his having extended his conquests beyond the arctic circle. To the astonishment of the true believers, the sun performed his course above the horizon; an assembly of the learned was convened to advise the king regarding the prescribed hours of prayer; and this conclave very gravely decided, that as the sun neither rose nor set, the king could perform neither morning nor evening prayer.

and he was declared governor, on the part of the Mogul, of all the provinces south of the Kistna. His address in compromising the extravagant pretensions of the insurgents entitled him to a liberal consideration in the distribution of the treasure which was saved; and the new Soubadar of the Deckan, accompanied by a select body of three hundred French and two thousand sepoys under Mr. Bussy, proceeded early in January 1751 towards Golconda by a north-western route. A great degree of obloquy has been attached to the conduct of M. Dupleix in this transaction, and much demerit may justly be imputed to this and to many other political transactions, if we examine them by the laws of private morals exclusively: nothing, however, is proved but that he had negotiated for dividing his enemy's force, and attacking him by surprise; means of hostility which are at least sanctioned by universal practice: and whatever may be the state of the other facts, it is certain that the forces under Mr. de la Touche performed a service of noble daring, and amply merited their success.

During the period that the fortunes of the French and their allies seemed to be placed above the reach of any interruption from Mohammed Ali, and he had reason to tremble for his existence in the fort of Trichinoply, he is said, with a strong degree of probability, to have finally concluded with M. Dupleix the terms of an agreement by which he was to renounce his claims on Arcot, and to be provided for by an inferior appointment; and it is affirmed that nothing remained to be adjusted but the minor arrangements for the evacuation of the fort of Trichinopoly. It is not probable that M. Dupleix would have permitted the army of Muzuffer Jung to leave the province without deciding this question by the sword, if he had not confided in the completion of the arrangement settled with Mohammed Ali. The strange error of reposing this confidence is only to be accounted for from the contempt in which Chunda Saheb held the prowess and military skill of his rival, without sufficiently appreciating his talents for dissimulation and intrigue. During the whole period of these minor discussions, Mohammed Ali was actively engaged in negotiations with the English, with Morari Row the Mahratta chief of Gooti, and with the government of Mysoor, for aid, not only to defend Trichinopoly, but to engage in offensive operations whenever the aspect of affairs should admit of his breaking off the treaty of capitulation with M. Dupleix: and with the semblance of sincerity which he could at all times assume, he had the address to protract the negotiation, feeding his own expiring hopes with the phantoms, of unknown and half-imagined events, according to the practice of fatalists,* until one of these events did actually occur.

* This seems to be universal in the east: the first and fundamental maxim in the *Pancha tantra*, probably the oldest book of apologues in the

Muzuffer Jung had only reached *Raichoutee*, or about half his journey to Golconda, when a conspiracy of the same Patan Nabobs who had effected his elevation by the death of Nasir Jung, accomplished his destruction; two of this number, the Nabobs of Kurnool and Savanore, being also slain in the contest. This new scene of confusion of blood was composed by the address of M. Bussy, whom M. Dupleix had judiciously selected for the command of the troops, and the charge of the political interests of his nation at the court of the Soubadar. Salabut Jung, the eldest of the imprisoned brothers of Nasir Jung, then in the camp, was proclaimed Soubadar by general consent, and the army continued its march.

This new revolution revived the fainting hopes of Mohammed Ali. The branch of the family by which he had been appointed Nabob of Arcot was now elevated to the Soubadaree of the Deckan, and there was reason to hope that Salabut Jung would be favourably disposed to the adherents of his deceased brother. His army was at all events far removed from the provinces, and was pursuing its march to the northward, where its presence was demanded. Mohammed Ali possessed a place of some strength, and its dependencies, if well managed, afforded considerable resources; and the local alliances in the negociation of which he was engaged were such as, if successfully effected, would enable him to contend with Chunda Saheb, at least on equal terms, for the Nabobship of Arcot.

The English interests on the coast of Coromandel had suffered material depression from the capture of Madras in 1746, when the seat of the government was removed to Fort St. David; and although its restoration in 1749, in consequence of the peace with France, had enabled the English nation to repair in a considerable degree the financial injuries which it had sustained, the affairs of the Company continued to be regulated on the principles of a commercial monopoly, while their servants viewed, with a mixture of apathy and astonishment, the mighty machinery of political intrigue and military conquest by which M. Dupleix was preparing for his nation the subjugation of all India, and the consequent expulsion of every European rival. These views were so obvious and prominent as to have excited on the part of the English some desultory attempts, which were abandoned almost as soon as undertaken; but no person seemed to have viewed the state of public affairs with a sufficient grasp of mind until the arrival of Mr. Thomas Saunders, a man inferior perhaps to M. Dupleix in splendour of talents, and in all that constitutes the decoration of character, but not yielding to that distinguished statesman in the possession of a sound and vigorou

world, inculcates the sound wisdom of procrastination, whether with or witl out a reasonable hope, in all cases of difficulty because by gaining time v gain the chance of success.

judgment, a clear and quick perception, a constancy of mind not to be disturbed by danger, and a devotion to the cause of his country no less ardent and sincere than that of M. Dupleix.

Mr. Saunders was altogether without instructions for the regulation of his conduct in so difficult an emergency, but the resources of his own judgment supplied what was defective in the views of his employers. The first object was to enable Mohammed Ali to defend Trichinopoly against any sudden attack; and the next, to prepare the means of meeting his enemies in the field. The former was effected by sending a detachment of about six hundred men to his aid early in February. Mohammed Ali possessed not a single post north of the Coleroon; and Chunda Saheb's acquisition of Madura by a dexterous intrigue, deprived him not only of the resources of that district, but, by its intermediate position between Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly, rendered the revenues of the latter unproductive, and its possession precarious. The Officer commanding the English reinforcement failed in an attempt to retake Madura; and the cause of Mohammed Ali became still more desperate from the defection of a considerable proportion of his troops in consequence of that repulse.

Chunda Sâheb, after going through the usual formalities of receiving the homage of his subjects at Arcot, had prepared for the siege of Trichinopoly: his force, besides the French battalion, consisting of twelve thousand horse and five thousand sepoys. The exertions of Mr. Saunders had not been able to oppose him to the north of the Coleroon with a larger force than six hundred Europeans and one thousand sepoys; which, added to two thousand six hundred horse, and three thousand regular and irregular foot, of Mohammed Ali, did not equal one-half of the enemy's force: and this actual inferiority was farther increased by a panic in the English ranks in one of their earliest encounters; which, although afterwards relieved by one or two examples of steady conduct, prevented their attempting anything of importance in a series of indecisive operations, which terminated in their retreating under the walls of Trichinopoly in the month of July.

Mr. Clive, born, if ever human being was born, a soldier and a statesman, had already assumed alternately the civil and military character as the interests of his country seemed to require. In the former capacity he had witnessed the discreditable retreat to Trichinopoly; in the latter, promoted to the rank of captain, he had afterwards successfully aided in conducting a reinforcement to that place from Fort St. David; and now offered with a handful of men (two hundred Europeans and three hundred native infantry) to make a diversion in favor of Trichinopoly by a direct attempt on the capital. In this he succeeded, without the necessity of executing the daring enterprise in his contem-

plation, by one of those accidents, which, outstripping the ordinary routine of Indian superstition, induced eleven hundred men to evacuate the fort of Arcot without firing a shot; because, while consulting the astrologers regarding the aspect of the celestial bodies, a report was brought that the enemy, careless of the thunder of heaven and the rage of the elements, was marching through a dreadful storm direct to his object. This diversion was attended with all the advantage which Captain Clive had foreseen, and afforded considerable relief to Trichinopoly, by compelling the enemy to detach upwards of eight thousand men to the northward for the purpose of attempting to recover the fort of Arcot. In a siege of fifty days, which terminated on the 14th November, Captain Clive, infusing his own spirit into the remnant of his little party, displayed in the defence of this place that ready perception of the best possible resources, under every varied emergency, which men of ordinary talents are contented to acquire as the result of study, long experience, and attentive observation. The aid of one thousand of the Mahrattas of Morari Row, detached from the main body which was on its march to join the army of Mysoor, and of a small detachment sent from Madras, had contributed to compel the enemy abruptly to raise the siege; and Captain Clive, thus reinforced, in a short and active course of operation, completely cleared the province of Arcot of all that had opposed him in the field, the places of strength being, however, still in the possession or in the interests of Chunda Saheb.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM 1751 TO 1754.

Mohammed Ali sends an embassador to the Raja of Mysoor—nature and result of the negociation—Army of Mysoor marches to Trichinopoly under Nunjeraj—Major Lawrence assumes the command of the British troops—relieves Trichinopoly—Talents and conduct of the opponents in this contest—Detachment under Captain Clive—its objects and consequences—Distress of the French and Chunda Saheb at Seringham—treacherous capture and murder of Chunda Saheb—Reflexions—Surrender of the French—The English discover for the first time the fraud intended by Mohammed Ali regarding Trichinopoly—subsequent negociation—English and Mohammed Ali proceed towards Arcot—Nunjeraj remains—his absurd plots for seizing Trichinopoly—French Nabobs—Military successes of Lawrence and Clive—Morari Row—Wavering conduct of Nunjeraj—The English after long indecision treat him as an enemy—disastrous commencement—Distress of Trichinopoly from a corrupt sale of its provisions—French operations in the Deckan—Coromandel—new Nabob—Ineffectual efforts of Major Lawrence—marches for the relief of Trichinopoly—unsuccessful attack on the troops in Seringham—the French largely reinforced—fearful inferiority and extraordinary victory of Major Lawrence—he moves towards Tanjore—returns with a large convoy—another victory—strange deception regarding the convoy—exertions to obtain supplies—the French powerfully reinforced—the English partially—another singular victory—Trichinopoly well stored with provisions—Major Lawrence moves into winter quarters—Attempt to carry Trichinopoly by surprise, and remarkable circumstances in its failure—Defection of the Raja of Tanjore—Total loss of a large English convoy—Incident of Heri Sing and Hyder—Maphuz Khan's appearance and views—procrastinates and deceives—Dangerous treachery of Major Lawrence's interpreter—its circumstances and result—the interpreter executed—Morari Row detached from the confederacy prepares to depart—Major Lawrence's illness—Critical action under Polier and Calliaud—The French and their allies invade Tondiman's woods—destroy the Dyke of the Caveri for the purpose of ruining Tanjore—Major Lawrence moves to that Country—Morari Row's conduct—Major Lawrence joined by the Raja's troops and a respectable English reinforcement is in a condition for offensive operations—returns to Trichinopoly—successful action in depositing his convoy—The French assume the defensive—Suspension of arms and conditional treaty—causes to be explained in the ensuing chapter.

SHESGEER PUNDIT, the embassador of Mohammed Ali to Mysoor, on his arrival at the capital towards the close of 1750 or early in 1751, found the Raja a pageant, the Dulwoy Deo Raj advanced in years and interfering but little in the active administration of public affairs, and the conduct of the government directed chiefly by Nunjeraj, the young Dulwoy, as he was usually called. Deo Raj was at first decidedly adverse to engaging in a field of action, to which they could not even bring the requisite previous information; but the Vakeel addressed himself with so much success to the inconsiderate ambition of Nunjeraj, that he was soon made to consider as already accomplished, engagements which, from their very absurdity, a man of sober thinking would have rejected without discussion. The cession of Trichinopoly

and of all its dependencies, down to Cape Comorin, constituting a dominion little inferior to that which he already possessed, was the stipulated price of his successful assistance; and as a refuge against ultimate failure, and an intermediate security for the family of Mohammed Ali, the fort and district of Ardenhully, half way between the head of the pass leading from Trichinopoly to Seringapatam, were to be assigned to him in personal Jageer. It would seem to have been the intention of Mohammed Ali to deposit his family in this place, in the desperate state of his affairs, which immediately followed the death of Nasir Jung: but this project was relinquished when the English discovered a disposition to aid in the defence of Trichinopoly. Mohammed Ali had also the address to render the important aid of Morari Row, and of course the payment of his subsidy, the immediate act of Nunjeraj. Morari Row had been practised in an extensive school of warfare; his troops were the most select, the most faithful, and the best organized of any in the south, being composed of a judicious mixture of Mohammedans, Mahrattas, and Rajpoots, with an ample accompaniment of Beder Peons already mentioned. Although expert in the national tactics of plunder, Morari Row was also a genuine soldier where the occasion demanded; and he engaged with more facility in this cause, from the hope of being able, in the course of events, to seize the place for himself and re-assert his former pretensions.

About the same time that Mr. Clive undertook the romantic enterprize against Arcot, Morari Row began his march from Gooti, and Nunjeraj from Seringapatam: the force of the former was estimated at six thousand men, and of the latter, five thousand horse and ten thousand infantry, of which the only regular troops were a small body in the corps of Hyder Naick; who, with the five hundred stand of arms acquired in the manner already noticed, and a few French sepoy deserters to drill his recruits, had assiduously attended to this object, and was much advanced in the favor of Nunjeraj by exhibiting* to him these invincibles who were to conquer Trichinopoly. The troops arrived in the district of Caroor towards the latter end of the year, and early in the next moved to form the junction. The second in command to Nunjeraj was Veerana, a man resembling himself in arrogance and military incapacity, but suspected of being destitute, in those situations which most demanded it, of the steadiness and presence of mind which Nunjeraj was generally allowed to possess. But there were not wanting in the army other officers capable of directing its operations, with the degree

* Matchlock muskets were before this period the only fire-arms used in Mysoor, and it is related, perhaps with some exaggeration, that the first exhibition was spoken of, and particularly in the Raja's palace, as a wonderful "hocus pocus," by which five hundred musquets were discharged at once by repeating certain magical words: it being ascertained by previous inspection that not one of the five hundred men was provided with a match.

of knowledge and skill then possessed by the native chiefs of India. The English had sent a detachment to join this chieftain, for the express purpose of quieting his alarms in passing a French post established to interrupt his progress; and Nunjeraj, too arrogant to be guided, and too ignorant to direct, presented the singularly ludicrous spectacle of a night march intended to be secret, guided by the lights of innumerable torches. We have formerly* adverted to an ancient practice of this nature in the armies of Mysoor; and the present exhibition may either be ascribed to that abundant source of wisdom, and equal sanction for absurdity, *the custom of his forefathers*, or to the desire of impressing his new allies with an exalted opinion of his splendour and magnificence. Fortunately, this invitation to attack was not accepted, and he arrived in safety at Trichinopoly early in February. In conformity to the uniform principle of Indian policy, as the affairs of Mohammed Ali appeared to improve, he acquired more friends. Monajee, the general of the Raja of Tanjore, with three thousand horse and two thousand foot, and the Poligar Tondiman with four hundred horse and three thousand irregular foot, soon afterwards joined him. The forces marshalled on his side became accordingly more numerous than those by which he had been for some months blockaded; but Chunda Saheb and the French, who had established themselves in several strong posts near to the fortress, were still decidedly superior in regular troops: Captain Gingen, therefore, the officer commanding, very properly resisted the repeated applications of his allies, convinced that in such a service they would unquestionably have left the English troops without support, to be crippled in the desperate attempt of forcing strong posts with inferior numbers: and knowing that a reinforcement might soon be expected from Fort St. David, he reserved his men for better purposes.

The enemy had again appeared in some force in the province of Arcot; and Captain Clive, with a body of one thousand seven hundred men against five thousand, after completely dispersing his opponents, and capturing the whole of their ordnance, consisting of twelve pieces, had now returned to Fort St. David for the purpose of taking the command of the reinforcement for Trichinopoly, which was to consist of such of the troops then under his orders as could be spared for that service. Major Lawrence, however, arrived from England on the fifteenth of March, and assumed the command of this detachment, consisting of four hundred Europeans, one thousand one hundred sepoys, and eight guns; and Captain Clive marched under his orders towards Trichinopoly by the route of Tanjore. The fate of this reinforcement was of the utmost importance, and M. Dupleix had given the most peremptory orders that it should be inter-

* Page 60.

cepted at all risks; but Mr. Law, the officer who commanded the troops before Trichinopoly, had not discovered much enterprise in the operations which he had hitherto conducted at that place; and he was now to be opposed by military talents of the highest order. He committed the great error of leaving this contest to be decided within sight, and almost within shot, of Trichinopoly; which enabled Major Lawrence to obtain reinforcements of regular troops from that place, and to arrive in safety with the valuable convoy of military stores which had accompanied him, marching clear of the injudicious position which Mr. Law had assumed, and foiling his subsequent movements and ineffectual cannonade. The troops of Mysoor and Morari Row performed no other part than that of spectators of the operations of this day, and their inaction was supposed to proceed from Morari Row's being in treaty to change sides; a fact, which, if founded, rendered the error which has been noticed still more unpardonable.

Mr. Law, after remaining for a few days in his former position south of the river, adopted the sudden and precipitate determination of abandoning his posts, and assuming a defensive position on the island of Seringham, which is formed by two branches of the Caveri opposite to Trichinopoly; leaving behind him on the south side the single untenable post of Elemiserum, which fell of course on the second day. Chunda Saheb is said to have remonstrated in the strongest terms against this feeble and most unaccountable measure; and the whole of the subsequent operations evinced a distraction of councils approaching to absolute infatuation. The Magazines which they had collected to the south of the river were lost or destroyed in the disorderly retreat of the army, which now became dependant for subsistence and stores on the country to the northward. The position which Mr. Law had assumed on the island was too strong to be attempted by main force, without battering cannon, with which Major Lawrence was not provided; while the obvious measure of acting on the enemy's communications with Pondicherry, and the country in their rear, must, if judiciously conducted, necessarily either dislodge or starve them. Captain Clive, although the junior of all the captains, was selected by the general voice of the allies to conduct this difficult service. A small but select detachment of regular troops, added to one half of the corps of Morari Row under his best general Yoonas Khan, together with one thousand Tanjore horse, were placed under his orders; and the village of Samiavernm, a forced march from the head quarters of the army, was formed into a post of support for his operations, and rendered capable of sustaining a sudden attack from the whole force of Mr. Law, if such a measure should be attempted. M. Dupleix saw, when it was too late, that he had made an unfortunate selection of an officer to co-operate with Chunda

Saheb; and M. D'Auteuil was detached from Pondicherry with six hundred and twenty men, the largest reinforcement which could be spared, with directions to throw himself into the island of Seringham, and supersede Mr. Law in the command. Considerable activity and military enterprise were displayed by M. D'Auteuil in his repeated attempts to accomplish his object; and in one of these the post of Captain Clive was completely surprised, in consequence of a mistake of one of the outposts, but instantly recovered by an exertion of that admirable spirit and presence of mind which distinguished this officer on every occasion. The efforts of the enemy were effectually foiled by the able combinations of the two English divisions, and M. D'Auteuil was at length compelled to surrender to Captain Clive.

The effects of these judicious operations soon began to unfold themselves on the island of Seringham: the scarcity of food, added to the constant annoyance sustained from the posts which the English had gradually established in all directions around, induced the greater part of the chiefs commanding the troops of Chunda Saheb to demand their dismission from his service. Despondency had succeeded to chagrin in the mind of this chief, on finding his repeated exhortations to vigorous action treated with neglect; he no longer confided in his allies or in himself; his health declined; and his bodily strength became unequal to the only determination worthy of his former character, that of cutting his way with a select body to the numerous places of safety which still remained to him: he mildly acquiesced in the demands of his officers, and apparently resigned himself to his fate. These chiefs, on receiving assurances of safe conduct, passed with facility into the service of their late enemies; and in a few days, not more than two thousand horse and three thousand foot remainded to Chunda Saheb, of the mighty host with which but a few months before he threatened the extinction of his rival. In the choice of difficulties which opposed themselves to a selection of the person among his enemies to whose faith he should confide, the national prejudice which has been ascribed to Mr. Law, in distrusting the protection of Major Lawrence, does not appear to be a liberal construction of his conduct. It is incredible that Mr. Law should have thought a British officer of high honor and established reputation capable, under any circumstances, of permitting the murder of a prisoner who should throw himself on his special mercy; but it is obvious that by surrendering his person to the English, the cause of Chunda Saheb would be more permanently and irretrievably ruined, than by an imprisonment under the capricious counsels of any other of the confederates who should consent to spare his life. Mr. Law was accordingly justified by the fairest considerations of the national interests committed to his charge, in recommending to Chunda Saheb to incur any risk rather than surrender to the English; and he

unhappily trusted to the desperate faith of a Mahratta. Monajee, the Tanjorean general, plighted the most solemn oaths to convey him in safety to one of the French settlements; but he had not reached the place appointed for his reception, when he was seized and put in irons. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to unravel the secret history of the mock conference regarding the disposal of this unhappy prisoner, held on the ensuing day, in the presence of Major Lawrence. Judging from the ordinary routine of deception in similar cases, there is reason to conclude that the native chiefs were secretly agreed, and that Major Lawrence was to be deterred from interfering by showing that he would thereby incur the resentment of all the confederates: but it is above all other conjectures most improbable, that Monajee murdered his prisoner simply for the purpose of preventing farther disputes. That he should incur the disgrace of open perfidy without an object is not very probable even in a Mahratta: but that, certain of a large reward for facilitating his escape, he should thus dispose of a valuable prisoner without securing his price is absolutely incredible. I copy literally from my manuscript in stating that Chunda Saheb "was murdered at the instigation of Mohammed Ali." It is a fact of public notoriety, that his head was immediately sent to that personage, and after being subjected to every insult, was delivered to Nunjeraj, and by him sent to Seringapatam, where it was suspended in a chowkee* over the southern or Mysoor gate to be gazed at by the multitude during three days as a public trophy of the victories in which the troops of Mysoor had certainly as yet borne no very distinguished part. The death of Chunda Saheb is hardly ever mentioned by a Mussulman without noticing as a visible manifestation of Almighty vengeance that he was treacherously murdered in the same choultry in which [illegible] years [illegible] he had profaned the holy Koran by a false and treacherous oath to the Ranee† of Trichinopoly. The [illegible] in remarkable events the immediate interposition of the Deity, appears to arise [illegible] any particular dogma of the Mohammedan faith [illegible] place a fixed [illegible] and the [illegible] of particular judgments [illegible] a Mussulman observed to me that this [illegible] has a tendency unfavourable to the cause of [illegible] temporal expectations and unsettling the [illegible] hope of future retribution.

The surrender of the French troops with fifty-two pieces of ordnance was the immediate consequence of these events and the

* A [illegible] food to preserve [illegible] Mr. Orme [illegible] Chunda Saheb [illegible]

† Page [illegible]

war seemed to be concluded. But the English, in discovering for the first time the state of the discussion between Nunjeraj and Mohammed Ali regarding the possession of Trichinopoly, had the mortification to learn that the splendour of their military achievements was associated with the cause of fraud and dishonor. The treaty, attested with all the accustomed formalities, precluded a recourse to the usual arts of prevarication; and Mohammed Ali, when pressed by Major Lawrence, plainly avowed, that he executed that solemn instrument, and confirmed it with the sanction of a religious oath, without any intention of observing its engagements. The stale pretext of the authority of the Mogul being necessary, was too ludicrous for serious discussion; but the assertion, certainly most true, that the Mysoorean *ought to have known* that Mohammed Ali could not, or would not, perform the stipulations, was the lowest point of moral degradation, and a formal avowal that he had been enabled to defraud his friend, because that friend was so weak and absurd as to trust to his honor. Such was the cause in support of which the British arms were now to be engaged; and such the disgraceful consequence of the alternative imposed by the necessity of their affairs, when they followed the example of their European opponents, and engaged as mercenaries in the service of barbarians, rather than acquiesce at once in the ruin of the national interests committed to their charge. The spirit of the negociations which ensued may be described in a few words. Mohammed Ali endeavoured to deceive Nunjeraj with new promises: and this personage, who, in addition to his other follies, had at different periods lent to his dear ally a sum now amounting to ten lacs of Pagodas, was completely undeceived; and sought, with his inferior powers of simulation, to retort the deception of a master in the art. Morari Row, as an impartial umpire, meditated to seize the object of discussion for himself. Mohammed Ali engaged anew to cede the fort and dependencies of Trichinopoly at the expiration of two months, when he should have acquired another place of safe deposit for his family; and in the mean time relinquished to Nunjeraj the revenues of the island of Seringham and of the adjacent districts, and admitted into the fort, as an acknowledgment of his right of possession, a body of seven hundred Mysooreans under Gopaul* Rauze. Each party was now perfectly aware of the insincerity of the other; and although Nunjeraj, in consequence of these concessions, engaged to march with his ally to the northward, it was perfectly understood that he had no such intention. An English garrison of two hundred Europeans, and one thousand five hundred sepoys under Captain Dalton, with a numerous rabble in the pay of Mohammed Ali, was left to guard against surprise; and the

* The father of Letchme Ammah, the venerable dowager still alive of the then nominal Raja of Mysoor.

whole force which really marched to the northward was an English corps of five hundred Europeans and two thousand five hundred native infantry, and a nominal two thousand horse with Mohammed Ali.

The Mysoreans and Mahrattas remained with great composure under the walls of Trichinopoly, and Nunjeraj was not slow in unfolding his clumsy designs. He expended large sums in gaining over one of Mohammed Ali's corps, which Captain Dalton in consequence detached to join its master to the northward. He also employed assassins to shoot Captain Dalton, and Kheir u Deen the brother-in-law of Mohammed Ali who was left to represent him at Trichinopoly; they were discovered, and condemned to be blown away from a gun, but very unaccountably pardoned at the intercession of Morari Rao. His next exploit was to send secret emissaries to corrupt the troops; openly furnished with written engagements they addressed themselves to a faithful Jemadar, were seized and privately executed, and Nunjeraj could procure no more [illegible]. He had been so impatient for the possession of Trichinopoly that all these attempts followed each other with the intermission of only a few days. The next pause was not of much longer duration. A Neapolitan named Poverio, an ensign in the service of Mohammed Ali who occasionally traded in the Mysorean camp, was next addressed, with promises of immense reward. He listened with complacency to the proposals, and the whole plan was soon fixed by which the French prisoners were to be liberated and armed, the western gate seized, and the Mysorean army admitted into the city. Poverio however had arranged all these projects in secret communication with Captain Dalton, and the garrison was perfectly prepared to inflict an easy and [illegible] punishment on this military pretender, when the [illegible] of Mohammed Ali's vicegerent [illegible]. He feared the consequences of [illegible] to reproach Nunjeraj with his treachery [illegible] the garrison was ready to receive him. Nunjeraj [illegible] after this discovery to remain [illegible] but moved three miles to the west [illegible] with [illegible] of seizing a [illegible] W[illegible]. During all this time he was Captain Dalton [illegible] daily messages of compliment with [illegible] opportunity of surprising him [illegible] expiration of two months sent a deputation [illegible] the surrender of the city. The English [illegible] ally referred him to Mohammed Ali [illegible] Kheir u Deen who [illegible] proposed the [illegible] agreement of Nunjeraj with Poverio as a [illegible] which he might otherwise advance.

In the mean while M. Dupleix, roused to fresh exertion by the disaster at Seringham, produced abundance of viceroyal mandates, which Mr. Bussy's influence with Salabut Jung had obtained, first appointing himself Nabob, and afterwards conferring the office on Reza Saheb, the son of the deceased Chunda Saheb; and these pretensions he prepared to sustain with fresh levies of troops, and new negociations with the Mysooreans and Mahrattas. His first attempts against some English detachments in the central parts of the province were successful; but being too much elated by these advantages, and deceived by a retrograde movement of Major Lawrence for the express purpose of drawing the troops to a distance from Pondicherry, the French detachment was completely defeated at Bahoor, with the loss of all its artillery and stores, at the very moment that his negociations had succeeded in detaching from the confederacy the corps of Morari Row. A detachment of that force under the command of Yoonas Khan was actually on the march to join the French; and in consequence of their defeat very gravely directed their route to the camp of Mohammed Ali; lamenting that they had not come up in time to share with him in the glories of the day! During the subsequent operations of Major Lawrence for the purpose of establishing the authority of Mohammed Ali in the centre of the province, Captain Clive reduced the posts of Covelong, and Chingleput, between thirty and forty miles south and south-west of Madras, regularly garrisoned by French troops, European and native. For the performance of this service he marched with the only troops which could be spared, consisting of two hundred raw European recruits just landed, and five hundred newly raised sepoys, with a few heavy guns; evincing, in the promptitude with which he reclaimed this disorderly rabble from a state of panic and insubordination to the character of steady and forward troops, that distinguished mental ascendancy which placed him so much above the level of ordinary men. His health, however, had been so much impaired in the course of the late services, that he was compelled to return to England for its re-establishment: and Major Lawrence, a chief worthy of such a second, had the mortification to lose his aid at the period when new and increasing perils were gathering around him.

The success of Major Lawrence at Bahoor, in the reduced state of the resources of M. Dupleix, ought to have been productive of the most extensive advantages; but the total absence of military talents or resource in Mohammed Ali, who was permitted to arrange the whole plan of the subsequent campaign, rendered all its operations spiritless, inefficient, and undecisive. Nunjeraj, on the first intelligence of the defeat at Bahoor, which occurred in August, gave up the design of executing his engagements with M. Dupleix, regarding the connexion as desperate. But the

feeble conduct of Mohammed Ali in failing to derive any material advantage from the events of the campaign, excepting those achieved at the point of the English bayonets, naturally raised the spirits of his adversaries; and on the return to monsoon quarters of the English troops in November, Nunjeraj, at the request of M. Dupleix, detached from Seringham the remainder of the Mahrattas, to be joined near Pondicherry by those under Yoonas Khan, who had obtained from Mohammed Ali permission to seek convenient cover for his own winter quarters. The Mysorean expected a body of Europeans from Pondicherry to join him at Seringham, and until their arrival he thought it expedient to veil his hostility in exaggerated professions of friendship, ascribing the march of Morari Row to a dispute which had arisen in the settlement of their accounts.

The English government had endeavoured to evade the ignominy of being associated in the fraud of Trichinopoly, by representing themselves as mere auxiliaries,* who took no part in the political direction of the war. The disgrace of acting in such a cause while the impressions were fresh had probably restrained them from an earlier determination; but the conduct of the Mysorean had changed the object of decision, and furnished them with arguments to obscure, or elude, the original question, by retorting the complaint of greater and more recent injuries. In fact, the repeated machinations of Nunjeraj, and the indirect hostility of intercepting at a distance all provisions passing towards Trichinopoly, by which that garrison was now considerably distressed, reduced the question to the simple alternative of treating him as an enemy or of placing before Mohammed Ali the option of performing his engagements, or forfeiting the English alliance, leaving as the result of either choice an open field for the designs of M. Dupleix, which were by no means doubtful. They determined in December to treat him as an enemy.

The camp of Nunjeraj was pitched to the northward of the great Pagoda of Seringham, and his own quarters were within the lofty outer wall of the temple, which was furnished with stages for musquetry, the gates being covered by temporary outworks. Captain Dalton, who commanded the garrison of Trichinopoly, on receiving the determination of his government regarding Nunjeraj, commenced his operations on the night of the 23rd of December by an attack on his camp, which, like that of most Indian armies, exhibited a motley collection of cover from the scorching sun and the dews of night, variegated according to the taste or the means of each individual, by extensive enclosures of coloured canvas surrounding superb suites of tents, by ragged cloths or blankets stretched over sticks

* N[illegible] 1752. "We wrote to the King of Mysoor that we were merchants, auxiliaries to the Circar, not principals."

or branches; palm leaves hastily spread over similar supports; handsome tents and splendid canopies; horses, oxen, elephants and camels; all intermixed without any exterior mark of order or design, except the flags of the chiefs which usually mark the centres of a congeries of these masses; the only regular part of the encampment being the streets of shops, each of which is constructed nearly in the manner of a booth at an English fair. He reached it undiscovered by a circuitous route; and, after striking the panic, and doing the degree of mischief which such attacks, without a farther object, are intended to accomplish, returned to the fort without attempting the Pagoda, or sustaining any material loss. The distress of the garrison for provisions could not, however, be effectually relieved while Nunjeraj maintained a position so near to the fort, with others at greater distances in different directions intercepting the supplies; and on the following night, Captain Dalton established a post on the island, a few paces beyond the northern bank of the Caveri, or southern branch of the river, and within thirteen hundred yards of the Pagoda, which it was intended to bombard. A second post on the southern bank commanded the passage of the river to the first; and was itself protected by the cannon of the fort. In a consultation of the officers of Nunjeraj it was determined that they must either dislodge the enemy from this post, or evacuate their own; and on the following day about noon they began to marshal their troops in their irregular way for carrying it by assault. This attempt must have been repulsed, with a severe chastisement for its rashness, if the English troops had behaved with common steadiness; for the post was nearly finished, had two field pieces mounted in a commanding situation, and was occupied by about four hundred men, of whom near one hundred were Europeans; a force abundantly sufficient for its dimensions: but one of those unaccountable panics to which the best troops are sometimes liable, said to have been occasioned by mistaking the intention of an officer who, after the repulse of one attack, was crossing the river with a message to Captain Dalton, induced the whole party suddenly to evacuate the place in the utmost confusion; and Heri Sing, a Rajepoot Jamedar of cavalry in the service of Mysoor, and the rival of Hyder for military distinction, seizing the moment of action, charged, without hesitation, among the fugitives, who were nearly all cut to pieces before they could cross the river to the intermediate post. This misfortune compelled Captain Dalton in his turn to act on the defensive. As a measure of necessary precaution, the seven hundred Mysooreans under Gopaul Rauze were turned out of the fort; but this chief was detained as a prisoner of state, under the erroneous supposition that he was the brother* of Nunjeraj. A more successful

* The natives of India employ the term "brother of attachment," where in the west we should say "particular friend," and this term probably led to

night-attack on a smaller post at Vellore merely tended to relieve the depression of the garrison. The Mysooreans in the mean while directed their whole efforts to the interception of supplies, terrifying the people of the country by cutting off the noses of all who were detected in the attempt to introduce them: in conformity to the ancient and barbarous practice of Mysoor. Nunjeraj with the same view divided his forces; assigning to Veerana the command of a large detachment which established a fortified camp on the opposite side of Trichinopoly. The blockade might be considered as complete about March 1753 and provisions of every description began to sell at an enormous price: Captain Dalton had frequently communicated with Kheir u Deen on the subject of the quantities in store, and was always assured that they were abundant; but now that these stores were to be his only resource he prudently insisted on examining them himself, and establishing such arrangements for their issue and expenditure as should satisfy his mind with regard to his actual situation, and means of sustaining the blockade. Kheir u Deen, as corrupt as he was incompetent in every part of his character, had absolutely sold the greater part of the provisions, and the examination terminated in ascertaining that the remainder in store was sufficient for the consumption of fifteen days only.* Regret at having too long postponed this essential enquiry was now unavailing, and Captain Dalton had no other resource but to communicate his critical situation by express to Major Lawrence, to whose situation in the province of Arcot it will now be necessary to revert.

The [illegible] of the former possessions of Nasir Jung, and the [illegible] of Sulabut Jung with regard to the [illegible] of the claims of Ghazee u Deen their eldest brother, were [illegible] in October 1752 by the appearance of that personage [illegible] M[illegible] at the head of a mighty army [illegible] state and [illegible] Dekan. The two competitors [illegible] Nizam ul Moolk, by different [illegible] agency [illegible] Nizam- [illegible] suspi- [illegible] dinner [illegible] Ghazee u [illegible] army. [illegible] the [illegible] Dekan, [illegible] was sufficiently

[illegible] perhaps not [illegible] years afterwards, on the [illegible] he married the [illegible]

established by the late events, and the son of his murdered brother was supported at court by a powerful party, mock missions and mandates from Delhi were again exhibited with that unblushing falsehood which is indifferent to the expectation of belief.

M. Dupleix, who, on the murder of Chunda Saheb, had first proclaimed himself, and afterwards the son of the deceased, as Nabob of Arcot, found that neither of these arrangements had supplied his most urgent political want by filling his military chest; and he had now recourse to the farther experiment of conferring the appointment on Murteza Khan of Vellore, who was supposed to possess considerable treasures. After some hesitation this new Nabob marched, under the protection of the corps of Morari Row, to Pondicherry, where he was proclaimed with the usual formalities; but, on discussing with M. Dupleix the slender resources of the province, and the means which he was expected to supply from his own treasures, together with his personal efforts in the field, he discovered, after his first advance of a lac of Pagodas, that he had made a very improvident bargain; and that his most prudent course was to secure his own person, and preserve the remainder of his wealth in his strong fortress of Vellore. The pretence of his departure was the necessity of his presence in the neighbourhood of that fortress, for the purpose of protecting and endeavouring to extend the revenue which he already possessed; and the European and Indian Nabobs parted apparently on excellent terms, but mutually dissatisfied, and perfectly understanding each other.

These unsuccessful political manœuvres did not, however, prevent M. Dupleix from directing in the meantime, with his usual energy, the resources which he actually possessed, to the extent of disbursing on the public account nearly the whole of his private fortune.

Early in January 1753 he was enabled to equip for the field a body of five hundred European infantry, and a troop of sixty horse, two thousand sepoys, and the excellent corps of four thousand horse under Morari Row. The English force under Major Lawrence consisted of seven hundred European infantry, two thousand sepoys, and fifteen hundred wretched horse belonging to Mohammed Ali. The French force was obviously superior for the general purposes of a campaign; and the troops of Morari Row distinguished themselves in a variety of small affairs. Major Lawrence felt the confidence of superiority in a close conflict, but the French were prudently directed to avoid affording him the opportunity of decisive action; because, by protracting the campaign in that part of the province, they prevented the relief of Trichinopoly, and hoped that Nunjeraj might succeed in starving it into surrender. The caution of the French was so decided as to induce them to fortify their position on the

bank of the Pennar, while Major Lawrence, harassed by the Mahratta cavalry, failing in all his attempts to draw the French from their works, and finding them too strong to be forced, was satisfied of the necessity of changing his plan of operations, and embarrassed in the selection of a better, when, on the 20th of April, the express from Captain Dalton, reporting the state of Trichinopoly determined his choice. He arrived at that place on the 6th of May, and found that Captain Dalton, by constantly disturbing the camp of Veerana during the night, and annoying it from an advanced post during the day, had been enabled to operate so effectually on the nerves of that chief, that he had suddenly evacuated his position on the 15th of April, and on the intelligence of Major Lawrence's approach, rejoined Nunjeraj at Seringham, leaving the access open to supplies from the south.

M. Dupleix, on learning the route of Major Lawrence, detached two hundred Europeans and five hundred sepoys to support Nunjeraj, and this force, commanded by M. Astruc, an officer of experience and talents, arrived by a different route at Seringham the day after Major Lawrence entered Trichinopoly.

The English force had suffered materially on the march from the desertion of foreigners, but still more from the deaths and sickness occasioned by the heat of the season, and Major Lawrence, on adding to his own corps the proportion which could be spared from the duties of the garrison, found that the whole effective force which he could muster for a general action amounted only to five hundred Europeans and two thousand sepoys; for three thousand horse in the service of Mohammed Ali, always ill paid, ill commanded, spiritless and mutinous, refused to move when they found there was to be an action. Major Lawrence determined, on the 10th of May, without their aid to cross into the island of Seringham by the south-western ford, four miles above the town, and offer the enemy battle. He commenced his march early in the morning, and at day-light crossed the river, now nearly dry, dispersed the usual guard of the ford, and began to form in order of battle on the opposite side. The firing at the ford gave the first notice to Nunjeraj of the approach of the enemy, and he had, on this occasion at least, the prudence to be guided by better talents than his own. The confusion of an Indian army hastening on an alarm through an irregular encampment to their stations furnishes the most favorable moment for attack, and in order that Major Lawrence might not avail himself of this opportunity, M. Astruc advised that his left, not yet completely formed, should be instantly charged by whatever cavalry was ready. Heeren Sing and his Rajpoots were first abroad, and made a vigorous charge fairly through the first line, but were checked by a reserve of Europeans and by the sepoys, who rallied with spirit and compelled the Rajpoots to retire.

with great loss, sustaining in their precipitate retreat the fire of ten pieces of cannon. The object, however, was gained, for time was afforded to M. Astruc to make his dispositions; his own troops were advanced to a water-course within musquet-shot of the English line, which served every purpose of a regular work, by enabling him to annoy the enemy while his own troops were under cover; and his field pieces (four only in number) were placed in an elevated and commanding situation, while those of Nunjeraj kept up a distant and ill-directed fire. The cavalry hovered on each flank, with directions to charge the instant that the English should make a forward movement; and Major Lawrence, finding such a movement to be too hazardous, placed his troops under the cover of a bank, until he should examine the means of forcing the excellent position assumed by the enemy. M. Astruc meanwhile occupied with native infantry a building which imperfectly enfiladed the left flank of the English, and compelled Major Lawrence to risk a detachment of Europeans for dislodging them: the service was performed with celerity and spirit, and the pursuit led the detachment so near to the right flank of M. Astruc, that, supposing it to be supported, and his position to be turned, he commenced his retreat to the protection of his second line, which was formed of the infantry of Mysoor. The return of the detachment undeceived him; he reoccupied the water-course, and made the requisite arrangements for the safety of his flank, which was not again attempted. The cannonade continued throughout the day; and in the evening Major Lawrence re-crossed the river, disappointed, but maintaining a countenance and order which deterred the enemy from molesting his march. All the dispositions of M. Astruc throughout the day were made with a degree of promptitude and military skill which commanded the respect of the English; and Major Lawrence, finding the attempt to force the position on the island beyond the strength which he possessed, directed his whole attention to replacing the provisions of the garrison, for which purpose he moved into the former camp of Veerana, as the most favorable position for covering supplies from the S. E., chiefly from Tanjore, and from the woods of Tondiman to the westward of that country, and south of Trichinopoly.

The Raja of Tanjore, who, in a contest which appeared so precarious, very naturally wished to avoid the resentment of the eventual conqueror, gave no public support to either party, except when induced by money or compelled by fear; but was generally disposed from national considerations to sustain the cause supported by Morari Row, with whom he always preserved a secret communication, although his territory was not always respected by his brother Mahrattas. Tondiman, from the beginning, had evinced a partiality to the English; but the unfavorable aspect of their affairs, and the threats of future vengeance

from Nunjeraj, restrained him at this time from any active assistance. Hence Major Lawrence, so far from being able to deposit a proper supply in the stores of Trichinopoly, obtained with the greatest difficulty provisions for the current use of the day, during about five weeks that he was occupied by this sole object, without attempting anything against the enemy; who, on their part, remained also on the defensive, M. Astruc having seen enough of his allies to decline offensive operations until supported by better troops.

The French troops in the province of Arcot were left, by the departure of Major Lawrence, without an opponent in that quarter, and were enabled to carry several English posts of minor importance. Morari Row on such occasions was always forward and enterprising, and at other times roamed at large over the province. Every chief at the head of a few men began, as usual in similar scenes of confusion, to strengthen himself and plunder on his own account; and even Murteza Khan of Vellore ventured abroad, and seemed to think again of his office of Nabob. M. Dupleix, however, justly considering the defeat of Major Lawrence as the primary object of the war, detached three thousand of the corps of Morari Row under Yoonas Khan, three hundred Europeans and one thousand regular sepoys, to reinforce the army at Seringham.

The decided superiority acquired by this reinforcement seemed to leave but little doubt of an early decision of the contest. For the French had now in the field, besides four hundred Europeans and one thousand five hundred sepoys of their own, eight thousand Mysoor horse, three thousand five hundred Mahrattas, one thousand two hundred Mysoor sepoys under the command of Hyder, and fifteen thousand irregular infantry: while Major Lawrence, having detached seven hundred sepoys for provisions, had no more than five hundred Europeans, one thousand three hundred sepoys, and one hundred horse, the only individuals who, of all the rabble of Mohammed Ali, consented even to encamp beyond the cover of the walls of Trichinopoly. With this immense disproportion of force the French and Nunjeraj moved to the southward of the rivers, and in a few days compelled Major Lawrence to withdraw his camp to a position rather nearer to the latter; extending themselves precisely between him and the route of his supplies so as to form an effectual blockade. Nothing now seemed to remain but to consider the terms of capitulation, and the general despondency was increased by the severe illness of Major Lawrence. He would not, however, until the last extremity quit the ground he at present occupied with his handful of men; and in order to afford some chance of obtaining supplies by night, or the opportunity for striking some unexpected blow by day, he maintained a post of two hundred sepoys on a rock nearly a mile and a half to the south-west of his camp. This in less desperate circumstances, might be censured as an improper

disposition, the post being considerably farther from his own camp than from the superior force of his enemy: but their possession of the rock would have compelled him to retire under the walls of Trichinopoly. Without great risk, and the opportunity for some extraordinary effort, he knew that he must in a few days surrender at discretion for want of food; and the wonderful achievement which followed this dangerous disposition deserves a more detailed narrative than we are accustomed to give. M. Astruc was not slow in perceiving the advantage and the necessity of forcing this post, and he attacked it on the morning of the 26th of June with a select body, supported at a distance by the whole of his force. A portion of the English sepoys had just gone into the fort to receive their rations; and when Major Lawrence perceived the attack, which he did not so soon expect, he found that leaving the requisite guard for his camp, he could muster for the support of his advanced post no more than three hundred and forty Europeans, five hundred sepoys, and eight field pieces with their complement of artillerymen; and with these he hastened at a quick pace to reach the rock before the main body of the enemy. The post made a respectable resistance; but M. Astruc perceiving this movement, made a vigorous effort, and carried it just as Major Lawrence had reached half way, and was thus in a position in which the attempt to advance or retreat was equally desperate. He instantly made the decision which was worthy of himself, and the soldiers received his orders with three cheers. The grenadiers, supported by an equal number of select sepoys, were directed to carry the rock at the point of the bayonet; and literally obeyed their orders, not firing a shot till they had reached its summit and driven its recent captors down the opposite side. Major Lawrence with the remainder of his force moved at the same time round the foot of the rock, where the main body of the French had just arrived, in the hope of being sufficiently rapid in his movement to fall upon the flank which it seemed to present to his attack. M. Astruc, however, placed the right flank of the French battalion against the rock, and quickly formed with his front towards the British column, which, equally rapid and precise in its evolution, formed in a line at the same moment within twenty yards of the enemy. M. Astruc had reckoned with confidence on the support which he had chosen for his right, and the rest of his troops were moving up to deploy and encompass this handful of men, when at the instant that the English battalion gave its first discharge in front, a heavy fire on his right flank from the troops which had carried the hill, caused his men to waver, and the instantaneous charge of the English bayonets threw them into inextricable confusion; the most gallant efforts to restore order were of no avail, and the whole hurried off in complete dismay, leaving three field pieces in the hands of the English. The cavalry of Morari

Row, with their usual gallantry, interposed to cover the retreat of the French infantry, and even made an effort to recover the field pieces, but were repulsed with severe loss; Balagi, the adopted son of Morari Row, a man of distinguished courage, being among the slain. Major Lawrence, who was determined not to relinquish the trophies of his victory, after remaining for some hours at the foot of the rock, had still the arduous service to perform of returning with them over the plain in the face of the whole body of the enemy's cavalry, which was drawn up just beyond the range of his shot ready to charge in every direction the instant he should attempt the movement. The dispositions were made with corresponding care: his little square halted and formed; and the skill and coolness of the artillery, which commenced its fire at the proper moment, and continued it with judgment and vivacity, made such havoc in this disorderly crowd, that after the apparent stupefaction of a few moments, they broke and fled in all directions, and left this little band of heroes to pursue their march without farther molestation.

The disgrace of near thirty thousand men being defeated and foiled by one thousand and forty, including two hundred who had been destroyed in the early part of the day, produced the usual effects of mutual reproach and disagreement; and in this temper the whole body was so inactive as to permit the seven hundred men on detachment to join in a few nights afterwards with a convoy of provisions sufficient for fifty days consumption for the camp and garrison. This, however, was only a temporary relief; but it was expected that the reputation acquired by the late success, if supported by the presence of the troops, might determine the choice of the Raja of Tanjore, who had throughout this campaign been equally lavish of his promises to join each party; and this movement, which would also facilitate the junction of a small reinforcement expected from the sea coast, was resolved on. The presence of Mohammed Ali was considered to be useful for the purposes of negotiation, and he prepared to move into camp from his place in the town; but the moment this intention was made known to his troops, they assembled in arms in the outer court, announcing their determination not to permit him to depart until he had paid their arrears; and it became necessary to send a company of Europeans to protect him from their threatened violence and escort him to camp. If, in the midst of more grave considerations, some ridicule has been provoked by the quick succession and unequal deportment of the French Nabobs of M. Dupleix, we cannot impartially refuse a smile to the contemplation of the English Nabob escaping to the field from his own troops under the protection of English bayonets, followed by exactly sixty horse, the rest going off in a few days afterwards to the service of the Mysorean.

To avoid the enemy's cavalry, Major Lawrence directed his

march through the woods which approach within a few miles of Trichinopoly on the S. E., and encamped about half way between that town and Tanjore (distant thirty-two miles from each other,) a position in which he was conveniently situated for all the objects of his attention. At the expiration of a month he was actually joined by the army of Tanjore, under the command of Monajee, consisting of three thousand horse and two thousand irregular infantry; and by the expected reinforcement of one hundred and seventy English, and three hundred native infantry. On his approaching Trichinopoly from the southward early in August, accompanied by a cumbrous convoy, he perceived the whole of the enemy's force drawn up on the plain to intercept him: and when arrived within a proper distance, he halted to examine their position. Weyconda, a tolerably defensible post on a rock, about two miles and a half to the west of Trichinopoly, had formerly been occupied by a detachment from the garrison; but Captain Dalton had, in the state of his force, found it prudent to withdraw this detachment and destroy the post. His mines having failed in their object, the post was now occupied and strengthened by the enemy. Two rocky eminences, each of them about the same distance as Weyconda, south of the fort, distant from each other about a mile, and the nearest of them not three miles S. E. of Weyconda, were the chief supporting points to the position of the French, now commanded by M. Brennier: a strong corps was on the westernmost of these rocks, and the main body occupied a position on and near the eastern rock; their allies to the left and N. E. of the latter formed a sweep which approached the river, and extended also to the right along the rear of the whole position. The first object of Major Lawrence was to deposit his convoy in safety; and he determined to seize the strong rocky eminence on the enemy's right, as a point which would enable him to pass round that flank without approaching too near to Weyconda. For this purpose he made a demonstration of attacking the main body near the rock on their left, while a select detachment, making a concealed and circuitous route, should carry his real object. This disposition had the intended effect of inducing M. Brennier to strengthen the point which seemed to be threatened, by withdrawing a part of the troops from his right: the rock was carried, and the army and convoy moved on. M. Brennier perceived his error when too late, and sent a detachment to preserve or recover the rock, which halted when they perceived it was lost, but being reinforced, seized an advantageous ground, and commenced a cannonade which severely annoyed the English troops, and compelled them to return it with disadvantage. The main body being still stationary, Major Lawrence conceived the idea of cutting off this detachment by the rapid movement of a body of five hundred infantry, European and native, without guns. The officer commanding

this detachment hesitated as he approached the enemy, and Major Lawrence, galloping up and dismounting, placed himself at the head of the grenadiers, and pushed under a severe fire round their left. They did not stand the charge of the bayonet; but, cut off from their main body, ran with precipitation for their post of Weyconda, leaving three field pieces behind them. Captain Dalton, who had now sallied from the fort with a small body and two field pieces, annoyed them in their retreat, and then directed his fire against the enemy's rear, particularly the cavalry of Mysoor, which was sheltering itself in large groups from the fire of the English artillery, and was driven by this fire in reverse entirely off the plain. M. Brennier moved when it was too late to sustain his party; but on seeing their precipitate flight, and the body of the English moving to support their detachment, his troops gave way before the main bodies had exchanged a shot, and retired in confusion, undisturbed by the Tanjorean horse, who had an open field in consequence of the dispersion of the enemy's cavalry. On the same night the enemy took up a position which was too strong to be attempted, under their fortified rock of Weyconda. The Tanjorean undertook and soon accomplished the reduction of Elemisuram, a post about four miles to the S. E. of Trichinopoly, which covered the communication with Tanjore; and Major Lawrence prepared to deposit in store the four thousand bullock loads provided by Mohammed Ali for the garrison of Trichinopoly, which composed this valuable convoy: but the example of Kheir u Deen had not yet taught the English the proper limits of belief. The delicacy or the credulity of Major Lawrence had restrained him from any express check over the mass of loaded cattle, public and private, which this ally was pleased to denominate the department of provisions; and he had now the mortification to learn that he had forfeited the opportunity of following up his victory, for the preservation of a convoy which, on examination, deposited in his stores just *three hundred* bullock loads of grain, not ten days' food!

During the absence of Major Lawrence from Trichinopoly, the town had been completely depopulated by the removal of the whole Wulsa* to seek for food elsewhere; and the enemy

* Illustrations of the manners and immemorial habits of a people are sometimes unexpectedly derived from a careful attention to the elements or the structure of their language. On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual man, woman, and child above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempted from the miseries of war, sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy; and if this should be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger.

had been earnestly occupied in designs for surprising the garrison. An officer, named De Cattans, had been engaged by M. Dupleix to desert to the English at Trichinopoly, and from thence to indicate to M. Brennier the proper time and place for an escalade; while the French prisoners within were to be liberated, and armed to attack the defenders in the rear. This person was suspected, but the suspicion was concealed; he was permitted to examine every thing, and prepare his report and project; which was seized on the person of his messenger. On this discovery Captain Dalton promised to intercede for his life, provided he would write in his presence another report and project for an attack on a part which he, Captain Dalton, should describe. A letter so prepared was accordingly dispatched by a native messenger; M. Brennier's answer acquiesced in the plan, and the garrison was prepared for his reception for several successive nights, but no attempt was made: Major Lawrence concluding from that circumstance that De Cattans had virtually broken the conditions on which Captain Dalton had promised his intercession, ordered him to be hanged in sight of the enemy's position.

A fortnight was employed in making arrangements to remedy the serious disappointment in the amount of expected supply, by means of a succession of smaller convoys. The enemy still remained under cover of their strong position of Weyconda, and Major Lawrence on the 23rd of August moved towards them for the purpose of examining it more closely. The object of this movement was misapprehended; a large reinforcement dispatched by M. Dupleix was expected on the next morning, and the French, supposing the dispositions of the English to be directed to intercept this body, of whose march they were really ignorant, moved off with precipitation from Weyconda, and took a strong position on the southern bank of the river. The appearance of this reinforcement on the following morning on the northern bank explained the mutual error, and increased the spirits of the allies; while it gave to the English the mortification of knowing that their inferiority of numbers was again as decided as it had been at any period of the war: for the reinforcement consisted of three thousand Mahratta horse and some infantry under Morari Row, with four hundred Europeans and two thousand native infantry with six guns under M. Astruc, who was re-

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The people of a district thus deserting their homes are called the *Wulsa* of the district. A state of habitual misery, involving precautions against incessant war, and unpitying depredations of so peculiar a description as to require in any of the languages of Europe a long circumlocution, is expressed in *all the languages of Deckan and the south of India* by *a single word.*

No proofs can be accumulated from the most profound research, which shall describe the immemorial condition of the people of India with more authentic precision than this single word.

It is a proud distinction that the *Wulsa* never departs on the approach of a British army when unaccompanied by Indian allies.

instated in his former command; while Nunjeraj was also reinforced from Mysoor by a large rabble of all descriptions. Major Lawrence, who also expected a small reinforcement, now moved to the south-eastward of the town to facilitate its junction and cover his supplies, determining to remain on the defensive until its arrival. The same reasons which induced this determination on his part, ought to have decided his opponents in making a vigorous effort against him, or his detachment, previously to the junction; but there was little harmony in their councils: and Major Lawrence, by making demonstrations which ought not to have deceived them, remained undisturbed; and on the sixteenth September the expected reinforcement, consisting of two hundred and thirty-seven Europeans and three hundred sepoys, marched without molestation into his encampment.

The disproportion was still enormous; but Major Lawrence had no further expectations, and his situation required the most daring efforts. The military dispositions of the parties were made in the converse order of their strength; the English encamped on the open field; while the French and their host of allies fortified their camp. Their position was exactly on the ground of the former action; the front only being reversed. The French troops had their right on the eastern rock; regular works for the protection of the front extended about five hundred yards in the direction of the western rock; and another line pointing southward to cover their left flank was begun at its southern extremity, but not yet connected with the western angle of the front line. To the right of the same rock the Mysorean and Mahratta infantry had extended a line of works to the east and then to the south, for the protection of their front and right. The western rock was occupied by a corps of one hundred French infantry, one hundred and fifty topasses, and six hundred sepoys, with two pieces of cannon: the space of about one thousand two hundred yards between this rock and the left of the French intrenchment, and the whole of the rear, from the Mahratta works on the right to this western rock on the left, was covered with the cavalry and irregulars in their usual disorderly mass. Colonel Lawrence drew out on the open plain on the twentieth of September to offer battle to this numerous host: but the invitation was declined, and he continued during the day to insult the encampment by a random cannonade, with the view of concealing his more serious intentions. His plan was to carry the western rock before daylight, and from thence to fall upon the unfinished left flank of the French position. The grenadiers were so fortunate as to reach the foot of the western rock before they were perceived: the surprise was perfect; and the post was carried before its defenders had time to discharge their cannon. The fugitives, while they gave the alarm, indicated also the point of attack, and compelled the French to change the disposition of their main body, and

draw up fronting the west; the finished works now serving no other purpose but that of a support to their right. Their Europeans occupied the ground from the south-west angle to the end of the unfinished work; and their left, consisting of sepoys, extended farther south. After carrying the western rock, the disposition of Major Lawrence placed his Europeans in the centre, and his sepoys on each flank; and the day began to dawn when they received the orders for the attack of the main body with a general shout, and moved on to the sound of the military music of the parade. The sepoys of the English right first reached their destination, and had caused those of the French line to waver and retreat, at the instant that the European part of the attack in three divisions approached the French infantry, whose left was thus uncovered. The officer commanding the right division of English Europeans seized the opportunity with promptitude; and by a rapid evolution turned the French left, and charging it with the bayonet drove it in confusion on their centre and right, which was at the same moment sustaining a heavy fire in front. The sepoys of the English left meantime pushed on the outside of the works, and carried the eastern rock. The disorder and panic were irretrievable; and the result was an indiscriminate flight, of which the English could not avail themselves: for although the Mahrattas of Tanjore had moved on the left of the whole attack for the express purpose of seizing such an occasion, they were deaf to all the exhortations of Major Lawrence, and could not be restrained from the national tactic of plundering the enemy's camp; while the English were collecting and arranging the trophies of their victory, consisting of eleven pieces of cannon, one hundred French prisoners, with eleven officers, among whom was M. Astruc,* with the whole of their tents and stores of every description. The killed, wounded, and stragglers afterwards taken amounted to two hundred more: while the English killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to forty only. The fugitives covering the whole plain took the route of the south-western ford to the island of Seringham; and on the same evening Major Lawrence moved to dislodge the enemy from Weyconda, which was effected in the course of a few days, although the post had been considerably strengthened.

From Weyconda Major Lawrence moved for the conveniency of supply to the south-east of the fort; and after the expiration

* The opinion of this officer's talents among the English was not uniform. Mr. Saunders and the government of Madras held them in the highest estimation. Major Lawrence gave the most decided proof of a different judgment. On the occasion of an exchange of prisoners, it happened to be optional with the English to retain or exchange M. Astruc. The government considered it an object of importance to avoid his exchange: Major Lawrence thought it deserving of no consideration; and distinctly states that he considered M. Pasco (whom I can nowhere else trace) as the most intelligent of the French officers then in Coromandel.

of a few days, provisions of every description were brought in without interruption, and in such abundance as enabled him to lay in a six months' store for the garrison.

This object being provided for, it became necessary to think of quarters for the troops during the heavy rains of the approaching monsoon, where they could be supplied without the harassing duty of constant convoys in that inclement season: and the place selected was Coilady on the frontier of Tanjore, about fifteen miles to the eastward of Trichinopoly, whither he moved, accompanied by Mohammed Ali, on the twenty-third of October; the Tanjoreans having proceeded to their capital some days before, for the purpose of celebrating the feast of the Dessera, or Maha Noumi.

In the beginning of November the French at Seringham received a farther reinforcement of three hundred Europeans, two hundred topasses, and one thousand sepoys; but continued in their quarters without even interrupting the access of supplies, in order that the garrison might be lulled into a negligence and security, favorable to their intended project, of carrying the place by a *coup de main*. This operation was attempted on the night of the twenty-seventh of November. The place selected for the main attack was one of those weak and awkward projecting works which cover the gateway of all Indian fortifications, and are by them considered to be strong in proportion to the number of traverses to be passed from the outer to the inner gate. Of these there were two; one, projecting considerably beyond the exterior line of defence, was intended to cover the gate of a sort of fausse-braye; and the other, retired from it, covered the gate of the body of the place. The outer projection of this work had, without much alteration of extent or form, been converted by the English into a tolerably strong outwork; and cut off, somewhat imperfectly, from the inner work of the same kind, which still retained its former traverses, for the purpose of communicating with the outwork. The excavation of the ditch of this outwork was imperfect in one part, where a smooth rock intervened, and now served the French to place their ladders on. The height to be ascended at this place was eighteen feet; that of the interior works was somewhat greater; but exclusively of the chance of succeeding by escalade, they expected, on carrying the first, to be able to pass through the traverses of the second, and apply a petard to the gate. Six hundred Frenchmen were appointed for the assault, the remainder, with the sepoys, were kept in reserve on the glacis, and the allies were to make false attacks in a variety of places. The long inaction of the enemy had certainly produced its effect on the garrison, for the outwork was carried by complete surprise; and if the orders prohibiting firing had been obeyed, the place must in a few minutes more have been in possession of the French. The first musquet shot, however, brought the whole

garrison to their appointed posts, and a reserve was instantly moved to sustain the point of real attack. Captain Dalton had resigned the command, and was succeeded by Captain Kilpatrick, who had been severely wounded in the late action, and was now unable to leave his bed; he, however, gave his orders to the second in command with coolness and precision; but with the requisite discretionary power to act for himself. It was now between three and four o'clock of a very dark morning; and while the French had descended from the outwork, and parties were pressing forward to escalade the inner wall, and to apply the petard to the gate, the garrison commenced a vigorous fire of musquetry on the outwork, and on every return of the traverses leading to the gate, while the cannon opened on the points of approach which they respectively flanked, and were answered by the French from the English cannon on the outwork, which they turned against the body of the place. Although nothing was seen in the traverses, the fire of the small detachments stationed for that purpose was ordered to be kept up without the least intermission, and destroyed two parties who successively attempted to apply the petard. The escalade was not more successful. An officer and one man had ascended before the point was discovered; but they were quickly disposed of, and the ladders overset; more were called for, but none could be found. In fact, they had all been broken, some in the act of being overset by the garrison, and others by the flanking fire of the cannon. The most obvious of all precautions had been omitted; that of providing the requisite means of forming a lodgment, or effecting a retreat in the event of discomfiture; for not only had the ladders with which they ascended the outwork been drawn up and sent forward, but not even a rope had been provided or reserved, nor the turband of a native, by which they might have been let down one after another to the rock in the ditch. The assailants accordingly found themselves in the singular predicament of possessing an exposed work from which they could neither advance nor retreat, nor form a lodgment. To call for quarter was unavailing amidst the roar of musquetry and cannon: and the French, as their only resource, began to conceal themselves within the embrasures of the outwork, at the foot of the inner wall, and behind every object that offered cover. Day-light, long and anxiously expected by both parties, but with feelings very dissimilar, enabled the English to comprehend that quarter was demanded; the firing of course ceased, and the prisoners were collected and secured. On the first conviction that the enterprise had failed, about one hundred men had attempted the desperate resource of leaping down to the rock in the ditch; few of them escaped without fractures or severe wounds, but they were carried off by their associates from without; and the intimations from below discouraged the rest from

repeating the experiment. The number actually found within the works was three hundred and ninty-seven Europeans, of whom one hundred and four were killed and wounded; and the whole casualties of the night may fairly be stated at five hundred Europeans; a severe loss, considering its proportion to their total strength. Nunjeraj, disappointed in all his hopes, now conceived the idea of achieving with his dismounted cavalry what the French infantry had been unable to accomplish; and on making the proposition, eight thousand volunteers were profuse in their assurances of determination to carry the place at all events. They moved across the river for that purpose on the third night after the former attempt; but finding the garrison alert, they quietly returned, without remembering the blusterings of the morning.

The firing of the first assault was heard at Coilady, and a detachment was sent to reinforce the garrison; while Major Lawrence, informed of the second project, and uneasy from his knowledge of the real weakness of the place against a judicious and determined attack, followed in a few days, and arrived at Trichinopoly on the third of December.

On the separation of the troops of Tanjore from the English for the purpose of returning into winter quarters, every engine of threats and promises, bribes and intrigues, was employed by Nunjeraj and M. Dupleix, effectually to detach the Raja from that alliance. Monajee was considered to be partial to the English, and the removal of this officer from the command of the troops was a necessary preliminary to their success. Succojee was the Raja's minister of finance; and Nunjeraj applied his gold with such effect, as to induce this person to excite the fears and suspicions of the Raja by tales of alleged intrigues and conspiracies of Monajee, to the extent of determining to remove him from the command. This was accordingly accomplished; and the Tanjoreans, under a new general named Gauderow, were preparing to change sides, and join the allies at Seringham, when the intelligence of the failure and serious loss of the French in the attempt on Trichinopoly induced the Raja to pause in his determination. After a fruitless negociation, the French found it necessary to enforce their arguments by the presence of a body of one thousand two hundred Mahrattas in Tanjore: who evaded the unskilful dispositions of Gauderow, and passed to his rear, down to the very sea coast, exercising their usual system of depredation on all that was moveable, and devoting the rest to fire and sword, with merciless indiscrimination. Instead of producing the intended effect, this outrage seemed for the moment to determine the Raja in favor of the opposite party; and he begged of the English to march to his assistance, which Major Lawrence assured him he should do as soon as the state of the roads should permit, for at this moment the whole country was inundated by the rains of the monsoon. In the meanwhile he

ventured to impute the success of the Mahrattas to the incapacity of Gauderow, and to suggest that Monajee might be restored to the command; but this suggestion only increased the Raja's suspicions; and it was not until the whole of the eastern tract was converted into a waste, that he saw the necessity of again employing that general, who gave early and decided proofs of his capacity, when seriously determined to exert himself. One of those sudden floods which sometimes fill the Caveri and Coleroon for a few days, in the north-east monsoon, had occurred, when he moved against the Mahrattas with three thousand horse. His intimate knowledge of the country enabled him to pass over to an island, between the branches of the rivers on which the Mahrattas were encamped, where their retreat was cut off by the rise of the waters; and after a gallant and obstinate defence, to destroy them to a man. His rancour was the more excited from the consideration that these cruel ravages had been committed by his countrymen, and he disgraced his victory by empaling or hanging all his prisoners.

The suspicions of the Raja, and the jealousy of his minister, had however been too deeply rooted; and it was determined to revert to the former policy of joining neither party, and giving assurances to both. On the return of Monajee, therefore, he was complimented and dismissed, and the army for the present was disbanded.

The number of French prisoners in Trichinopoly had obliged Major Lawrence to augment the garrison; and the amount of his sick was considerable. His disposable force was accordingly reduced to six hundred Europeans, including artillerymen, and one thousand eight hundred sepoys. The French, again reinforced, were exactly equal in Europeans; but they had four hundred topasses and six thousand sepoys: while the Mysoorean and Mahratta force remained unimpaired, with the exception of the late loss in Tanjore; for although Nunjeraj had, on the requisition of his brother Deo Raj, made a detachment to reinforce Seringapatam against an expected attack of the Poona Mahrattas, this decrease had been more than compensated by a reinforcement received by Morari Row. The defection of the late allies of Major Lawrence had increased all his difficulties with regard to provisions; and he was once more left to the efforts of his little corps, and the resources of his own great mind. The possession of Trichinopoly was considered by both parties as the chief object of the war; and in order to be able to maintain his position in its vicinity, he was obliged to have recourse for supplies to large and frequent convoys; some from Tanjore, but generally from Tondiman's woods, which extended to within seven miles of the camp. Several of these had arrived in safety, and one still larger was prepared to march from the country of Tanjore in the middle of February. The long inactivity of the enemy had lulled even Major Lawrence into security; and instead of moving

his whole force to cover the approach of this important supply, he made a large detachment, amounting to more than one-third of his force, consisting of one hundred and eighty-eight Europeans, eight hundred sepoys, and four pieces of cannon. The approach of the convoy was from the east, and along the river: and at the distance of from eight to eleven miles to the eastward of Trichinopoly its route passed through the skirt of Tondiman's woods, where they were sufficiently open to admit the movement of troops. The allies, apprised of these circumstances, moved on the night of the fourteenth of February a corps consisting of twelve thousand horse, Mahratta, and Mysoorean, six thousand sepoys, four hundred Europeans, and seven pieces of cannon. The infantry and guns took post in an advantageous and concealed position just to the westward of the wood: the cavalry was placed within it, in equal numbers on each side of the road; and it was concerted that they were to charge both flanks of the column of march, if a favorable opportunity should occur in the wood; and if not, that they should seize the moment of confusion on its being afterwards attacked by the infantry. In this order they waited the approach of the convoy, which appeared about an hour after day-light; but the officer commanding, considering the cavalry which he perceived in the woods to be nothing more than a party of plunderers, was negligent in his dispositions; and an accident determined that destruction in the wood, which would probably have been only protracted for a short time by passing to the plain. Herri Sing was not only the rival, but the personal enemy of Hyder; whom he considered as an upstart, indebted for his success in life more to fawning and flattery than to military merit; and would never condescend to address him, or speak of him, by any other designation than the *Naick*. The horse of Meer Aly Reza, the brother-in-law of Hyder, happened to be restive, and on being corrected, became unmanageable, and ran off at speed towards the enemy's ranks. Herri Sing, seeing through the openings of the wood the brother-in-law of Hyder precipitate himself towards the enemy, concluded that he was followed by his troops; and calling out that the Naick would have the credit of the day, gave the word and the example to charge. A shot had not yet been fired, when the shout of the Rajpoots was heard, and the troops on both sides of the road, depending on the judgment of Herri Sing, who was deemed their best officer, charged at the same instant in all directions, and the English troops marching in platoons, without any expectation of such an attack, were cut down before they could make a second discharge. When the hurry of the action was over, Hyder, always attended by his Beder peons, was found to be in possession of all the guns and tumbrils and Herri Sing, who now understood the nature of his first error, claimed them as his own right from having actually carried them, and such was the state of the

fact. The honor of the day properly belonged to Herri Sing, but the guns were in possession of his rival; and after a long discussion, he was obliged to compound for one, and to leave the remaining three to Hyder, as the substantial trophies of a victory which he had not gained. The French troops came up in time to save the lives of a few of the English. Of a hundred and eighty-eight, thirty-eight were without wounds, fifty were killed, and one hundred desperately wounded. The whole of those invaluable grenadiers who had on all occasions led the way in the extraordinary victories which had been achieved, were unfortunately included in this disaster, the most serious which the English had sustained in the whole course of the war.

Mr. Saunders made the best efforts in his power to remedy this misfortune, by sending from Madras all the Europeans he could possibly spare, amounting to a hundred and eighty men, by sea to Devicota, there to wait for an opportunity to join: but Major Lawrence, convinced that the French were now commanded by a man (M. Maissin) who would lose no favorable opportunity of attacking his detachments, or attempting the garrison in his absence, was particularly anxious that a body of horse should, if possible, be obtained to accompany this small reinforcement in its approach; and some hope seemed to present itself by the appearance of Mahphuz Khan at the head of two thousand horse, and the same number of irregular infantry, in the north-western frontier of the province of Arcot; ostensibly to support his brother. This man, the eldest and only legitimate son of Anwar u Deen, had been taken prisoner at the battle of Amboor in 1749, and carried to Pondicherry: and Mohammed Ali, alarmed lest the French in the course of events might select him as their Nabob, had prevailed on Nasir Jung, when negociating with M. Dupleix in 1750, to request the release of Mahphuz Khan, which was granted as a matter of courtesy. He remained with that army throughout the revolutions which caused the successive deaths of Nasir Jung and Muzuffer Jung, and the accession of Salabut Jung, until its arrival at Hyderabad, where he lived for some time, supported by a pension from that prince; but was unable, from the ascendancy of M. Bussy, to disturb the arrangement then established in favor of Chunda Saheb. Tired of a fruitless attendance at Hyderabad, he went to reside with the Nabob of Kurpa, with whom he had made acquaintance; and was now privately encouraged by him, and furnished with the means of trying his fortune among the rival Nabob-makers. Mohammed Ali, who did not misapprehend the views of Mahphuz Khan, made great efforts to embark him in hostility with the French, and thus increase the difficulties of a communication which he dreaded. Mahphuz Khan had reasons equally strong for procrastination; and at every successive march was unable to move without fresh pecuniary supplies;

giving little hope that he should ever be moved so far south as the Coleroon. Major Lawrence, though almost despairing, as his letters evince, of the cause of his country, and oppressed with serious illness, which compelled him to make frequent applications to be relieved by an officer capable of assuming the command, was induced, by the urgent solicitations of his government, to continue his valuable services with the fearfully-insufficient means which he possessed.

It was now impracticable to risk distant convoys, and the woods of Tondiman were his only resource. His small convoys were generally commanded by Mohammed Issoof; a man who had entered the English service as a Soubadar under Mr. Clive, and was a worthy disciple of the school in which he was reared. His perfect fidelity, intelligence, and military talents, had deservedly obtained the confidence of Major Lawrence, and he was promoted to the rank of Commandant of all the English sepoys, and continued to perform the service of the convoys with admirable vigilance and address. Major Lawrence had no European officer capable of filling the office of interpreter in his communications with the natives; and this duty was performed by a bramin named Poniapa, who was necessarily admitted to a large portion of his confidence in all that related to those communications. This wretch, tired of the dangers of a military life, despairing of the English cause and desirous of partaking of the inexhaustible treasures of Nunjeraj, suggested to him, by a secret message, to demand of Major Lawrence that Poniapa should be sent to Seringham, to hear some proposals which he had to make for the termination of the war. This was accordingly done, and, on his return, he made to Major Lawrence a plausible report of the substance of the conference; which had actually terminated in his engaging, on the promise of a large reward, to betray the cause of the English. He accordingly revealed to Nunjeraj the actual state of their provisions, and the whole detail of their arrangements for procuring supplies. The accidental confinement of the secret messenger of Poniapa caused some delay in their subsequent communications, but his next message suggested, that nothing could be done towards starving Trichinopoly without the removal of Mohammed Issoof, who was the only person in the army capable of conducting the convoys, that his vigilance might render it difficult to cut him off, but that the same end might be accomplished by means of a letter to be intercepted addressed by Nunjeraj to Mohammed Issoof. Poniapa had in this plot a double object: if the English should be betrayed, he secured his reward from Nunjeraj: if they should ultimately surmount the difficulties with which they were surrounded, he would have removed a rival of whose influence he was jealous, and whose extensive trust in the department of supply interfered with his own plans of embezzlement. The let-

bed. A detachment marched under Captain Calliaud, accompanied by Mohammed Issoof, on the morning of the 12th, consisting of a hundred and twenty Europeans, five hundred sepoys, and two field pieces, with the intention of proceeding about two miles to the southward of the rocks, which were the scene of the late actions, to a post affording some cover, consisting of the excavation and bank of an old reservoir, where the convoy was appointed to meet him. Nunjeraj obtained intelligence of this design, and of the illness of Major Lawrence; and, on communicating with M. Maissin, the opportunity was judged to be favorable for striking a decisive blow. A detachment was accordingly made, consisting of two hundred and fifty Europeans, one thousand sepoys, four thousand select horse of Mysoor, and four field pieces; who moved by a circuitous route at an earlier hour, and occupied the post to which Captain Calliaud was marching. Mohammed Issoof reconnoitring in front ascertained the fact; and it was determined that it was most safe, whatever was their force, instantly to attack them before the day should dawn and discover their own. The alarm was taken on both sides; a mere demonstration was made of a scattered fire in front, while the English party in separate divisions fell on both flanks with perfect spirit, and fairly dislodged them with considerable loss: but they quickly rallied, and when the day appeared, commenced a cannonade, which was answered with the disparity of two to four. Captain Polier, who commanded in camp, no sooner heard the firing than he marched with his remaining force to their support. The remainder of the confederates had also crossed the river ready to act as circumstances should require; and, on perceiving this movement, marched to intercept it: but no time had been lost, and the junction was formed. The united force of the English now consisted of three hundred and sixty Europeans, and fifteen hundred sepoys, eleven troopers, and three field pieces: but the confederates drew up determined to intercept their return to the garrison, with seven hundred Europeans, fifty dragoons, five thousand sepoys, ten thousand Mysoorean horse, and seven guns. The English corps moved for about a mile with great steadiness, but considerable loss, under a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and took post at another bank and excavation of the same kind. Captain Polier had received two wounds, and the command devolved on Captain Calliaud, who now perceived the enemy making a disposition for a general and close assault. He judiciously turned his whole attention to the French battalion, which, in advancing, received a quick and well-directed fire of grape from the three field pieces on the flanks of the English, which materially thinned their ranks: he perceived them to waver, rushed forward, and, when close to their bayonets, poured in a volley of musketry, which threw them into a disorder that all the efforts of

their officers could not remedy. The sepoys and Mysooreans followed the example; and Captain Calliaud was happy to pursue his march without farther molestation, with the loss of six officers out of nine, fifty-five soldiers, and a hundred and fifty sepoys killed and wounded: the enemy's casualties amounting to about double that number. The convoy, which, on the first alarm, had retreated into the woods, on receiving information of this event, proceeded on the same night, and arrived without interruption.

Nunjeraj and M. Maissin, irritated by this fresh disgrace, resolved to pursue another plan of operations, and destroy the country from which the supplies were received: for which purpose they moved with the whole of the Europeans and the greater part of the French sepoys and Mysoorean horse. Tondiman had made his previous dispositions for such a visit; and on the approach of the confederates, three nights afterwards, his cordon of matchlocks gave the alarm: the inhabitants quitting their villages, and driving off their cattle to the depth of the woods, left the roofs of their houses, composed of bamboo and dry grass, to be burned by the enemy: the only injury (easily replaced in a single day) which they effected in this expedition, besides the destruction of a few bags of rice in the English depôt. Before their return, however, they determined to wreak their vengeance on the Raja of Tanjore.

The river Caveri is separated into two branches by what is usually named the Island of Seringham, opposite to Trichinopoly. About thirteen miles to the eastward of the point of separation the branches again approach; but the northern branch has at this place obtained a level about twenty feet lower than the southern. The northern branch, named the Coleroon, is permitted to run waste and unproductive to the sea; but the southern, which retains the name of the Caveri, has been led in a variety of channels by the skill and industry of the early Hindoos to irrigate the whole province of Tanjore, and is the cause of its extraordinary fertility. At the point of approach of the two branches, which has been described, the floods had, at some remote period, burst through the narrow intervening neck; and it had become necessary to construct a mound of masonry, of considerable dimensions, to prevent the Caveri, during the annual floods, from descending into the Coleroon, and to preserve it in its higher level to fertilize the province of Tanjore. The exploit of the confederates was the destruction of this mound; an operation which could, by no construction, be considered to have a military object, and must therefore be exclusively referred to political views. But if the destruction of a whole unarmed and unoffending people for the purpose of changing the political conduct of its prince be really authorised by the rules of war, it is time for every soldier to be heartily ashamed of his trade; and we should be disposed to hope, for the

honor of civilized nations, that M. Maissin was not implicated in this act of his ally, if the supposition could be reconciled with the fact of the workmen subsequently employed in the repair of the dyke having been cannonaded by the French troops.

Major Lawrence prepared to avail himself of the impression which would probably be made on the Raja's mind by this disgraceful outrage: and marched on the 23d in the direction of Tanjore, having previously withdrawn all the distant outposts for the reinforcement of the garrison of Trichinopoly. He was met on the second day by the faithful Tondiman, who was received with suitable demonstrations of respect: and on the same day by letters from the Raja, full of gratitude for his prompt assistance. Meanwhile Gauderow had been despatched with fifteen hundred horse to prevent, as far as possible, the extension of the enemy's ravages. The French and Mysooreans had returned to Seringham; but Morari Row, meditating the means of getting money from all parties before his departure, saw, in the approach of this corps, the prospect of at once promoting that object, and revenging the late destruction of his detachment in Tanjore. He accordingly crossed the rivers by night, with double the number of Gauderow's troops; and at day-light destroyed his whole detachment, with the exception of three hundred, who, with their general, saved themselves by a timely flight. Two days after this defeat Major Lawrence arrived at Tanjore, and was joined by the expected reinforcement from the coast, consisting of a hundred and fifty Europeans and five hundred sepoys. Major Lawrence was too much indisposed to attend personally the negociation with the Raja; but it terminated favorably in the appointment of Monajee to the double post of commander-in-chief and minister of finance, with authority to prepare the troops for immediate service. Mr. Saunders had equipped a separate corps to accompany Mahphuz Khan, who after some timid skirmishing with the French parties about Ginjee, and abundant prevarication, had actually been moved by the force of money and reinforcements as far south as Fort St. David, where he made a stand for more money. The levy of the Tanjoreans proceeded but slowly; the conduct of Mahphuz Khan had shown that he was entitled to little respect as a friend or as an enemy, and that it was a hopeless waste of time to wait his arrival. Major Lawrence accordingly ordered the English detachment to move without him, and they joined him on the 14th of August. Thus reinforced, he found himself at the head of twelve hundred English and topasses; three thousand English sepoys, and fourteen field pieces; two thousand five hundred Tanjorean cavalry, and three thousand infantry; and the fifty horse of Mohammed Ali. The confederates at Seringham now consisted of the French reinforced by two hundred Europeans, and the Mysooreans at their former strength; for they had finally

lost the services of Morari Row, who (allowing for the exhausted finances of the contending parties) had levied a tolerably successful contribution previously to his departure. After the affair of Gauderow he wrote to Mohammed Ali, that on receiving good security for three lacs of Rupees, he was willing to depart, never again to return to the Payeen ghaut. Mohammed Ali had neither money nor credit; but the Raja of Tanjore had both: and was finally prevailed on to furnish the sum by instalments; viz., half a lac on the arrival of Morari Row, two marches north of Trichinopoly; a lac on his ascending the ghauts; and the remaining lac and a half on his arrival at Gooti. As soon as he found that this project would succeed, he unfolded the state of the negociation, with an air of entire frankness, but suitable exaggeration, to Nunjeraj; professing his regret that the necessity of his affairs required that he should raise money by whatever means; and offering to break off the negociation, and return to Nunjeraj, on a fair adjustment of his balance by instalments. The terms were soon concluded; and the first instalment of Nunjeraj, consisting of half a lac, had no sooner reached his camp, than he marched to receive the first instalment of the other party; and moving at his ease over the province, levying contributions without the appearance of direct hostility, he finally ascended the ghauts about the beginning of July.

Major Lawrence entered the plains of Trichinopoly on the 17th of August, accompanied by a considerable convoy; and found the confederates in motion to interrupt his approach. Observing that the French had neglected to occupy a water-course and bank in the direct route, which would have compelled him to engage at a disadvantage, or make a considerable detour, he moved directly to his object, securing the bank as he approached. The enemy formed in order of battle to the left of his principal column of march; and as he did not think proper to refuse the invitation, he wheeled into line and made his dispositions for their reception. They advanced deliberately, and at first with a good countenance; but the number of the English artillery was now superior, and before they had arrived at the proper distance for musketry, the French went suddenly about, with the appearance at first of some confusion, but afterwards retreated in good order towards their camp. This retrograde movement was in reality a feint. Hyder, at the head of a select body of Mysooreans, had engaged to fall upon the baggage and provisions, protected by the Tanjoreans and the usual English guard, as soon as he should perceive Major Lawrence to advance in pursuit of the French infantry. This attack of the convoy it was expected would either be completely successful, or if Major Lawrence should return for its support, the French were prepared to fall on his rear; while a reserve from the island was to cross and cover Hyder's retreat with his booty. But

Hyder moved too soon; Major Lawrence was actually preparing for the pursuit, when he received the report of an attack on the baggage and convoy, which the English detachment, forming the usual guard, had very improperly left, without orders, for the purpose of partaking in the business of the advance. The best dispositions were immediately ordered by Major Lawrence: a sally from the garrison compelled the reserve from the island to return; and Hyder had only time to secure about thirty-five carts laden, some with public, and some with private stores, which he carried off to the island. The English casualties on this day were trifling: but M. Maissin had lost one hundred Europeans in performing a feint which failed in its object.

After depositing his provisions in the stores of the garrison, Major Lawrence prepared to force the enemy to a decisive action; but their movements being entirely defensive, nothing serious occurred: and he placed his army in cantonments, preparatory to the rains, on the 23d of September; detaching, according to his promise, the troops of Tanjore, accompanied by a small English corps, to protect the workmen employed in the repairs of the embankment. The English and French had at this time respectively received large reinforcements from Europe; and the former would have taken the field in the ensuing campaign with equal numbers and more sanguine hopes, but on the 11th of October a suspension of arms for three months terminated in a conditional treaty.

The extraordinary character of the war of Coromandel, in which the operations of a handful of troops assumed the political importance, and outstripped the military glory, of the mightiest armies, has imperceptibly led to a more detached* description than belongs to the general purpose of this work; and it appeared to be most convenient to continue until this period, without interruption from other matter, the narrative of military operations in which the troops of Mysoor were engaged. But it will now be necessary to revert to the circumstances which led to the cessation of arms between the European nations who have necessarily occupied the foreground† in that narrative, and which occasioned the return of Nunjeraj to Mysoor.

* The reader who desires to examine them in greater detail may consult with advantage the justly esteemed work of Mr. Orme. Having diligently examined the records of Fort St George for the purpose of verifying facts and dates, I am enabled to add my humble testimony to the extreme accuracy of that author in describing the events recorded in this chapter: and from his authority, where it applies, I have seldom ventured to dissent, except on the ground of information to which he had no access.

† A general letter from Madras, dated the 29th October 1753, discusses the merits of the native allies. The troops of Morari Row are placed first, next to them the Tanjoreans. The letter thus proceeds, "Those of the Nabob (Mohammed Ali) and the king of Mysoor, fill a large space of ground, but it must be to their future courage that they will owe anything that can be said in their favor."

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1754 TO 1758.

Military operations in the province of Arcot—in Deckan—Distinguished talents of M. Bussy—Character of Salabut Jung—Cession to the French of the northern Circars—Views of M. Dupleix—Negociation with the English—broken off—Nunjeraj also negociates with the English—examination of the terms which they propose—Of the nature of Indian tribute—unjustifiable concealment of the terms from Mohammed Ali—M. Dupleix superseded by M. Godeheu in consequence of negociations in Europe—Cessation of arms—Conditional treaty—its nugatory conditions—Nunjeraj offended—but recalled by Deo Raj on the invasion of Mysoor by Salabut Jung, accompanied by M. Bussy—embarrassment of that officer in discriminating friends and enemies—besieges Seringapatam—tribute exacted—hostages—application of these facts to the previous description of tribute—Nunjeraj arrives too late—reduction of his army—acquisition of Dindigul—Hyder appointed Foujedar—his proceedings become more interesting from this period—his system of warfare and plunder—Kundè Row—Hyder's conduct in his new government—ludicrous deceptions—address and talents—affairs at the capital—abortive designs of the pageant Raja—plan for removing him by poison—Dissension of the usurpers Deo Raj and Nunjeraj—outrageous conduct of the latter—secession and departure of Deo Raj—his appropriation of the revenues allotted to Hyder—Balajee Row besieges Seringapatam—compromise by the pledge of territory—evaded by the advice of Hyder—his negociation with Deo Raj—facilitated by the result of a late invasion of Malabar—Hyder returns to Dindigul—invades the province of Madura—is defeated and retires—intention of returning to Madura prevented by the necessity of proceeding to the capital.

THE military efforts of the French and English and their respective allies in the province of Arcot had produced no decided advantage to either party; and the surplus revenues received by Mahommed Ali, after the defalcations and prodigal incapacity of his brother Abd-ul-Wahab at Arcot, and his other representatives, were stated to be little more than sufficient to defray his personal expenses. But during four campaigns, in which the superior numbers of the French and Mysooreans to the south of the Coleroon so little corresponded with the energy of their cabinet, the operations of the French in the Deckan were directed by a man whose military talents and political address were fitted to execute, and even to outmarch, the gigantic schemes of M. Dupleix.

Salabut Jung, the Soubadar of the Deckan created by M. Bussy on the fall of Muzuffer Jung in 1751, would, in common life, have been reckoned a man of moderate talents; but he wanted the firmness, as well as the grasp of mind, which were necessary in the situation to which he was elevated: sometimes treating M. Bussy with the gratitude and consideration due to the author of his political existence, at others, suspecting him of direct intentions to usurp his authority. The latter sentiment was inflamed by a numerous party at his court, whose views were

obstructed by the personal influence of M. Bussy, and by the essential services successively performed by the corps under his command. In the various political machinations which ensued, that officer evinced a sagacity and address which foiled the most experienced adepts in oriental intrigue, and a boldness which commanded their respect. The existence of the French corps was, however, held by a precarious tenure, so long as its resources of every description depended on the punctuality of an Indian court; and M. Bussy had found it necessary to insist on a permanent appropriation of territorial revenue, by the absolute cession of the whole of those provinces now denominated the northern Circars: which not only afforded the requisite pecuniary resources, but furnished the convenient means of receiving reinforcements of men and military stores from Pondicherry and Mauritius; and thus enabled him to extend his political views to the indirect or absolute empire of all Deckan and the south. The cession of these provinces was concluded in November 1753; and M. Dupleix, who was probably aware that the tendency of opinion in France was unfavorable, not to the extent, but to the practicability of his plans, was desirous of trying the effect of negociation with these powerful means of deterring Mr. Saunders from a continuation of the war. In January 1754, the deputies appointed by both parties met at the intermediate and neutral Dutch settlement of Sadras. The discussions commenced with unfolding their mutual projects: the English contending for the acknowledgment of Mohammed Ali as Nabob of Arcot, and the guarantee of the Raja of Tanjore: and the French, for the acknowledgment of Salabut Jung as Soubadar of the Deckan, and the rejection of Mohammed Ali as Nabob of Arcot. It was plain from this commencement, that the views of the parties could never be brought to coincide; but they began most gravely to discuss the legal titles of their several Soubadars and Nabobs on which these respective projects were founded, and to produce the authenticated instruments of investiture; all of them supported, as usual, by the mandates of the Mogul. Public discussion could scarcely have assumed more ludicrous shapes than arose from the scrutiny of seals, official forms, signatures and dates, and reciprocal accusations of forgery: and the conferences broke up in eleven days from their commencement, after the expenditure of much paper, infinite rancour, and very distinguished ingenuity on both sides.

During these discussions between the English and French, Nunjeraj thought proper to open a separate negociation with the English, for the purpose of inducing them to withdraw their sanction from the fraudulent detention of Trichinopoly. Vencat Row Berkie, the officer who had formerly commanded the troops of Mysoor in the campaign of Nasir Jung, was selected for this purpose, from his having formed, during the service against

Chunda Saheb, a particular intimacy with an English officer,* whose introduction and aid at Madras were expected to be useful.

The Company's commercial concerns had been thrown into the greatest embarrassment by a war, supported almost exclusively from their own treasury, which had already cost them thirty-five lacs of Pagodas for Trichinopoly only: and in whatever manner the political questions might be disposed of, the relief from this embarrassment appeared to Mr. Saunders to be of paramount consideration. After a variety of discussions, the propositions stated in the following abstract appeared to approach sufficiently near to the views of both parties, to be submitted to Nunjeraj as the basis of adjustment.

1—The Raja of Mysoor shall renounce the French connexion, and aid in the establishment of Mohammed Ali. 2—He shall induce Morari Row to do the same. 3—Until Mohammed Ali be established, Nunjeraj shall defray the expenses of his own army, and that of Morari Row. 4—He shall give soucar security for the whole amount expended by the Company in the war of Trichinopoly, to be paid on the actual delivery of that place; which, however, shall pay the *usual tribute* to the Carnatic. 5—He shall pay ten lacs to Mohammed Ali, and shall cede to him a district and fort in Mysoor equal to two lacs a year. It does not appear whether these ten lacs were intended for the extinction of the debt due by Mohammed Ali to Nunjeraj, or as a farther payment. The other articles relate to exclusive trade with Mysoor; the time of delivering the fort of Trichinopoly;† the arrangements regarding stores, &c.; an eventual invitation to the Raja of Tanjore to accede; and a reciprocal guarantee of the two Rajas, the English, and Mohammed Ali. It also appears in the course of the discussion, that Nunjeraj expected the English to assist him in the *conquest* of Madura, Tinnevelly, and the southern dependencies; an obligation which would have involved them in a long, unprofitable, and sanguinary warfare. But the article which would seem to have been least considered, was the payment of the *usual* tribute, without fixing a specific sum.

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* The Hindoos distort our names as much as we do theirs, and I cannot conjecture that which is intended by *Klees* (it cannot be Clive, for he was in England,) as it is written in Poornia's MSS. from domestic memoranda in the family of Vencat Row. I cannot ascertain the date of his arrival at Madras. In the discussions between the French and English deputies, the former accuse Mr. Saunders of forcibly detaining Vencat Row, and Nunjeraj makes the same representation to Major Lawrence, who repeats it to the governor. The fact, as will be supposed, was absolutely unfounded, and was a simple *invention* of Nunjeraj to justify his disavowing the acts of his agent.

† It was to remain in possession of the English until all the other articles should be fulfilled: and for the purpose of qualifying this detention to Nunjeraj, the government suggested to Major Lawrence to admit a certain proportion of Mysoorean troops. His answer to this unmilitary proposition is somewhat abrupt. "Give me leave to tell you the proposal is absurd and impracticable." Letter, May 15, 1754.

When an Indian conqueror leaves to a chief of any considerable power the interior management of his country on the condition of paying an annual sum as tribute, it is tolerably well understood by the parties that it will not be paid without, at least, the presence of an army to demand it; which usually occurs after an interval of some years. Exclusively of the habit and the views to farther power and independence which such a dependant generally entertains as a point of honor, and in some degree as a religious injunction,* he would be unwise to make regular payments, because they would be considered as evidence of treasures worth plundering. The army accordingly arrives. It is perhaps repelled; or a stout resistance is made; or efforts more feeble; and the operation terminates either in receiving nothing, or a sum as arrears of tribute calculated at an annual value, greater or less than the last amount paid, to which the expenses of the expedition real or pretended are or are not added, according to the degrees of success or of failure. In all questions of tribute, therefore, the party of whom it is demanded, if he acknowledge the claim at all, rates it at the lowest, and the party demanding, at the highest sum, which has ever been paid. This claim the parties in this case (as in all Indian negociations without exception) would for these very reasons severally desire to leave as indefinite as possible, or exactly in the manner stated in these propositions; which would have been to the English, as guarantees, a source of endless embarrassment.

It was supposed that the negociation could best be conducted by Major Lawrence; but he excused himself on the plea of ill-health: in some of his letters appearing to hesitate in his opinion, and in others to disapprove the proposed conditions, but uniformly expressing his regret "that the attempt had been made to keep Trichinopoly after promising to cede it." My materials do not enable me to trace with precision the future progress of this negociation. Nunjeraj and Vencat Row Berkie both returned to Mysoor, without anything having been accomplished; and I can only find that in February 1756 the directors of the Company in England ordered the government of Madras to renew the agitation of a treaty on the basis above explained; and farther directed that Mr. Orme (the historian,) then a member of council, should be employed to conduct the negociation. The proposals had been communicated to Mohammed Ali in 1754, and the belief that this communication had occasioned their failure, had probably suggested to the directors in England an injunction of secrecy on the present occasion; for the government of Madras in replying to the letter from England observe, that they deem it imprudent to make any *public* advances to the Raja of Mysoor, because of the alarm it might unavoidably give to Mohammed Ali and the Raja of Tanjore; but they invested Mr. Orme with

* See note to p. 16.

the prescribed authority. A correspondence ensued between that gentleman and Vencat Row; and the negociation* appears to have been secretly continued by him, and successively reported by the government at different periods, until October 1758, after which time I find on the records no farther mention of these transactions.

Viewing the general objects of these propositions, if they had been made and enforced at the period when the shameful fraud practised on Nunjeraj was first discovered, the act would have claimed our admiration, as the indignant resolve of a generous people, who acknowledged " justice" alone " as the standing policy of nations," and spurned at association with dishonor. But after carrying on a long and sanguinary war ostensibly as auxiliaries in defence of that breach of treaty, to make these propositions as principals without the concurrence or the knowledge of Mohammed Ali, materially changes the color of the transaction; the slender praise of tardy conviction is not even claimed upon the record, and the whole is referred to that commanding plea of necessity and self-preservation, which so often overrules whatever of morals is mixed with political discussion.

The apprehensions of a change of politics in Europe, which had induced M. Dupleix to try the effect of negociation in January, were verified on the second of August by the arrival of M. Godeheu to supersede his authority.

The directors of the English East India Company had in the preceding year made urgent representations to their ministry, regarding the ruinous war in which, during a period of profound tranquillity in Europe, they were involved with the French in India, as ostensible auxiliaries to native chiefs; and demanded either that national support, which they represented the French company to receive; or the interposition of their government with that of France, to put an end to the war. The British ministry accordingly began a negociation on that subject, and supported their arguments by dispatching the reinforcements of troops, whose arrival we have noticed, and preparing farther succours. The discussion terminated in Europe in the appointment of commissioners, empowered to investigate in India the state of public affairs; and to adjust a conditional treaty to be ratified in Europe, on grounds of perfect equality, without reference to the advantages which either party might have acquired

* Notices of these negociations are to be found in the general letters from Madras, 20th November 1756; 28th February and 10th November 1757; and 13th March and 10th October 1758. References are made in these letters to the proceedings of what are named " private committees," not one of which has been preserved either at Madras or the India House in London, although the other records of the same period are tolerably complete, particularly at Madras. I can trace no notice direct or indirect of these transactions in the work of Mr. Orme, which is brought down three years later than the date of these records.

The French were aware that M. Dupleix, the author of the policy which had produced these hostilities, would be objected to as their commissioner; and considering his schemes to be more visionary and impracticable than perhaps they really were, spontaneously superseded him by the appointment of M. Godehue, with absolute powers over all their possessions in India. Mr. Saunders (aided by certain members of his council) was named on the part of the English: and they entered on the duties of their appointment with mutual demonstrations of good will, without relaxing in their efforts for the prosecution of the war while the negociations were pending. But after the arrival of the reinforcements, Mr. Godehue pressed the necessity of suspending farther hostility, and Mr. Saunders consented to the cessation of arms for three months, from the eleventh of October, which has already been mentioned.

The object of the conditional treaty appears to have been the conclusion of hostilities in the Carnatic (Drauveda) alone; for in no other respect was the basis of *perfect equality* at all perceptible. It stipulated that the two companies should for ever renounce all Moorish government and dignity, and should never interfere in any differences that might arise between the princes of the country, while M. Bussy continued to fight the battles of Salabut Jung against the powers of the country of every description; and to possess the substantial Moorish government and dignity of the extensive and valuable provinces of the northern Circars, not noticed in the treaty. The possessions to be held in the Carnatic (Drauveda) by the parties, during the reference to Europe, and the establishment of their several factories, were equitably fixed as far as regarded those exclusive objects. During the interval, neither party was to procure new cessions, and in all other respects the principle of uti possidetis was recognized until a definitive treaty should be adjusted in Europe. A cartel was established, which left a balance of six hundred and fifty French prisoners in the English prisons: and finally, the allies of each were included in a truce corresponding with the conditions of the provisional treaty, and if they should attempt to break it, were to be coerced by both parties.

The terms of this truce were published on the eleventh of January 1755; but Nunjeraj did not recognize the right of the French to make a treaty for him, or to prevent his committing hostilities against the English and their allies. He requested that the French might be pleased to retire with their troops to Pondicherry, if they, like Mohammed Ali, and the English thought proper to recede from the obligations of their alliance. He pompously declared, that whether with them or without them he was determined never to leave the lower country until he should take Trichinopoly; and accordingly recommenced his blundering operations for endeavouring to obtain possession of

it by treachery, which were continued until the fourteenth of April; when the positive injunctions of his brother Deo Raj, founded on the most imminent domestic danger, induced him to depart, probably without much regret, at the necessity of relinquishing a service which had become absolutely hopeless; since, according to his own statements, he had long since discovered the determination of the French to keep the place for themselves if they should succeed in its conquest.

On the departure of Nunjeraj from a scene in which he had only covered himself with ridicule and disgrace, the French detachment was left in possession of the island of Seringham, the revenues of which, it will be recollected, had been formally given up by Mohammed Ali to Nunjeraj.

The danger which called for the return of the troops under Nunjeraj was the approach of Salabut Jung with a large army, accompanied by the efficient corps of M. Bussy, to exact, as Soubadar of the Deckan, the arrears of tribute due by Mysoor; a demand which Deo Raj had absolutely no means of paying, and therefore determined to resist. The French were by treaty in strict alliance with Mysoor; but they were also bound by treaty to fight all the battles of Salabut Jung, and consequently to treat as enemies their allies of Mysoor. The embarrassment was felt by M. Bussy, and he used all his influence to prevent hostility; but finding his efforts unavailing, he determined to execute the treaty which he himself had concluded. Few of the fortresses of Mysoor which they passed in their approach attempted to resist; among those which were so imprudent was the weak fort of Koongul, fifty-four miles north by east from Seringapatam, which stood the assault of the French troops, and suffered severely for its rashness. On their arrival before Seringapatam, Deo Raj quickly found that he had miscalculated in supposing that he could hold out until the arrival of his brother. The operations were carried on with a rapidity of which he had formed no previous conception, by regular approaches against the north-eastern angle, which would in a few days have brought the contest to the issue of an assault. M. Bussy repeated his admonitions and entreaties that this crisis should be averted; and, among other arguments, represented the approach of the Poona Mahrattas under Balajee Row, who would plunder the open country if Deo Raj should continue to occupy the army of Salabut Jung before Seringapatam; whereas if he would submit to the terms prescribed, M. Bussy engaged by negociation, or force, to avert the Mahratta invasion. The sum finally adjusted was fifty-six lacs of Rupees; but the treasury was entirely exhausted by the enormous expenses of the long service at Trichinopoly, aggravated by the subsidy paid during most of that period to Morari Row, and by the loss of ten lacs of Pagodas lent to Mohammed Ali. The revenues had also been diminished

in the preceding year by the contributions levied by Balajee Row in his route from a campaign in the Deckan along the northern borders of Mysoor: and it was necessary to devise some extraordinary means of paying, or satisfying, Salabut Jung and M. Bussy. In this extremity the whole of the plate and jewels belonging to the Hindoo temples in the town were put in requisition, together with the jewels and precious metals, constituting the immediate property or personal ornaments of the Raja and his family: but the total sum which could thus be realized amounted to no more than one-third of what was stipulated. For the remainder Deo Raj prevailed on the Soucars, or bankers, of the capital to give security, and to deliver as hostages their principal Gomashtas, or confidential agents: but as he was never afterwards enabled to satisfy the Soucars, they left the Gomashtas to their fate: and of the two-thirds for which security was given, not one Rupee was ever realized. Of the unhappy hostages some died in prison, others escaped, and after a period the remainder were released.

Before dismissing this transaction, it may gratify the curiosity of some of my readers to examine it in reference to the practical description of Indian tribute which has already been offered. We have the authority of a formal public instrument,* to which the court of Hyderabad was a party, for stating, that the annual sum received, or estimated to be received, as revenue, or tribute, or both, from *Carnatic Balaghaut Vijeyapoor*, was, "seven lacs of Rupees, including durbar charges." Estimating Mysoor in 1755 at one-half of Carnatic Balaghaut Vijeyapoor, which is considerably more than its actual value, its annual payment would be three lacs and a half. The last tribute formally exacted was by Nasir Jung in 1746: but on settling for the services of the corps which attended that prince in the expedition which terminated his life, the Mysooreans would claim to have liquidated the demand up to the year 1750 inclusive. If this claim were admitted, the whole demand would be fourteen lacs; if it were even totally rejected, the whole of the arrears would be twenty-eight lacs; the sum adjusted was fifty-six lacs.

Nunjeraj, proceeding by forced marches for the relief of the capital, received intelligence of this arrangement while he was ascending the ghaut; and halted at the distance of twenty-five miles to the south of Seringapatam, for the purpose of reducing the disposable army to the scale of the actual finances of the State by discharging one-third of its number: an operation which was accomplished with the utmost difficulty from the necessity of paying their arrears.

The course of our narrative has not rendered it necessary, until now, to advert to an acquisition which had been made by the State of Mysoor, ten years before the period at which we are

* Tenth article of the treaty of 1768.

now arrived. The fort of Dindigul, about sixty-five miles south-east of Trichinopoly, and forty-seven miles north by west of Madura, is situated on a strong rock in the midst of a plain, or rather valley, which forms its district, bounded to the west by the great range of mountains which separates it from the coast of Malabar, and on the east by a lower range which runs between it and the province of Madura. During the period that Chunda Saheb possessed Trichinopoly and its dependencies, he had placed his brother Sadick Saheb in Dindigul, as one of the most important of his possessions. Nizam ul Moolk obtained Trichinopoly and its dependencies from Morari Row in August 1744, and shortly afterwards left the lower countries. The revolutions which succeeded have been already explained; and during the confusion and interregnum which ensued before the arrival of Anwar u Deen in April 1745, Ram Naick, the insignificant Poligar of Ootem Palliam, had found means to surprise the fort of Dindigul; and the ministry of Mysoor seeing no symptoms of a regular government, sent a respectable force under Vencat Row Berkie, which added this fort and district to their former possessions in that quarter. During the short government of Anwar u Deen, he had never found himself sufficiently unoccupied to attend to this object: and when Mohammed Ali, in 1751, applied to Mysoor for aid, there was no question made regarding the possession of Dindigul, since Trichinopoly and all its dependencies were to be ceded to that power: and Mohammed Ali did not think proper, in the courre of subsequent discussions, to agitate a question of right, which would retort so severely on himself. But at this time the presence of an English force on some magnitude in that vicinity, for the purpose of establishing the authority of Mohammed Ali in the districts of Madura and Tinnevelly, rendered it necessary to look with a jealous eye towards Dindigul. The Poligars, also, of that neighbourhood, headed by those of Pylny and Veerapatchy, situated on the skirts of the western hills between Dindigul and the former possessions of Mysoor, had formed a confederacy to resist the payment of tribute. These united considerations rendered it necessary to appoint a respectable force for the service of that quarter; and Hyder, who had continued to recommend himself to the increasing favor of Nunjeraj, was selected for the command. This may, perhaps, be considered as the epoch at which the germ of that ambition began to unfold which terminated in Hyder's usurpation of the government of Mysoor; and it will accordingly be necessary that we should henceforth trace with more attention the proceedings of this extraordinary man.

In the course of the operations before Trichinopoly, the Beder peons, in the service of Hyder, were gradually augmented, and exercised their usual industry; and a body of select Pindaries, or Beid, was also gradually raised for similar purposes. This de-

scription of horse receive no pay in the service of many of the States of India, but live on the devastation of the enemy's country. Hyder, on his first nomination to a command, had engaged in his service a bramin mutteseddy named Kundè Row, who will occupy a prominent place in our future narrative. To the cool and calculating mind of a bramin accountant, this man added great sagacity and original thinking; a boldness which did not hesitate regarding means; and a combination of ideas which enabled him to convert the unprofitable business of war into a regular system of finance. Hyder, who could neither read nor write, remedied this defect of education by trusting to a most extraordinary memory; and valued himself, at this early period of his political life, on going through arithmetical calculations of some length, with equal accuracy, and more quickness, than the most expert accountant. The consultations of these two persons produced a system, regularly organized, by which the plunderers received, besides their direct pay, one-half of the booty which was realized: the other half was appropriated by Hyder, under a combination of checks which rendered it nearly impossible to secrete any portion of the plunder. Moveable property of every description was their object; and, as already noticed, they did not hesitate to acquire it by simple theft from friends, when that could be done without suspicion, and with more convenience than from enemies. Nothing was unseasonable or unacceptable; from convoys of grain, down to the clothes, turbands, and earrings, of travellers, or villagers, whether men, women, or children. Cattle and sheep were among the most profitable heads of plunder: muskets and horses were sometimes obtained in booty, sometimes by purchase. The numbers under his command increased with his resources; and before he left Trichinopoly, besides the usual appendages of a chief of rank, in elephants, camels, tents, and magnificent appointments, he was rated on the returns and received pay for one thousand five hundred horse, three thousand regular infantry, two thousand peons, and four guns, with their equipments. Of the horses, five hundred were his own property; and the difference between the sum allowed by government, and that disbursed in the pay of the man, and the provender of the horse, was Hyder's profit. In consideration of his furnishing the cannon and their draught, the muskets and accoutrements of regular infantry, he was allowed a certain sum for each gun with its equipments, and for every hundred men; and was permitted to make his own agreements with the individuals at inferior rates; they also, as well as the rest of his troops, regularly accounting for one-half of the plunder they acquired. Some portion of this description belongs to the system of most native armies, and would enter into the history of most successful Indian chiefs, but none ever combined with so much skill the perfect attachment of his men, with the conversion to his own

use of so large a portion of what was issued for their payment: and Sèvajee alone could be brought into competition with Hyder for the regular organization of a system of plunder.

The designation of Hyder's new appointment was that of Foujedar of Dindigul; and having recruited his corps with the most select of the men discharged by Nunjeraj, he marched at the head of five thousand regular infantry, two thousand five hundred horse, two thousand peons, and six guns. The department of accounts under Kundè Row had necessarily been augmented, and furnished employment for several clerks, who were well versed in his system; and on the departure of Hyder to a distant station, it was considered expedient that his confidential friend and servant Kundè Row should remain at court, to watch over his interests. On approaching Pylney and Veerapatchey, he lulled those Poligars* into security by offering to exert his influence at court to obtain a remission of their tribute, on condition of their consenting to serve with his army; and was thus permitted to pursue his route as a friend until he had reached the proper position; when, the distribution of troops being previously made, he swept off the whole of the cattle of the open country, and drove them rapidly to Darapoor; where they were divided according to compact, and sold at high prices, generally to their former proprietors. He now commenced his operations against the Poligars, in which, after an obstinate and protracted contest, he was ultimately successful. Among the deceptions which he practised on the government in the course of this service, some were so ludicrously gross that I should hesitate to state them, if they had not been related to me by more than one eye-witness. Nunjeraj on the receipt of Hyder's dispatches with a long list of killed and wounded, sent a special commissioner with rich presents for Hyder and the officers who were represented to have distinguished themselves, and Zuckhum puttee for the wounded. This officer was soon made to understand his business. Zuckhum puttee is an allowance to wounded men, as some compensation for their sufferings, and for the purpose of enabling them to defray the expenses of their cure; for an Indian army has neither hospitals, nor surgeons, provided by the State. The allowance on this occasion was fourteen Rupees a month, until the cure should be completed. Hyder marshalled his wounded men, to be inspected by the commissioner: sixty-seven was the true number; but about seven hundred had their legs or arms bound up with yellow† bandages, and acted their parts with entire success. The money was paid to Hyder according to the muster, and to the probable time of cure reported by the attending surgeons, at the rate of fourteen Rupees per man per month.

* These are among the *Telinga* Poligars formerly noticed, as I know from personal communication.

† Turmeric is an invariable ingredient in all their surgical applications.

To the really wounded he gave seven: and of the presents brought for the officers of the army he made a distribution equally skilful, while each officer was made to believe that he was the person most particularly favored by Hyder. During these operations Kundè Row was perpetually sounding the exploits of his master to Nunjeraj; exaggerating the disturbed state of the country, and the necessity of augmenting the forces; which was accordingly authorized from time to time, and assignments on the revenues of other districts were added for that purpose to his other resources. Special commissioners were always deputed to muster the new levies; and on one occasion, Jehan Khan saw exhibited the manœuvre which he calls a *circular muster*, by which ten thousand men were counted and passed as eighteen thousand.

In the interior management of the district committed to his charge, Hyder evinced the same penetration and skill which distinguished him on all occasions; and, in a short time, could vie with the most experienced Aumildar in valuing the resources of a village, in detecting the misstatements of a fraudulent account, from merely hearing it read; and in devising the best means of increasing the revenue. It was at Dindigul that he also first obtained from Seringham, Trichinopoly, and Pondicherry, skilful artificers, directed by French masters, and began to organize a regular artillery, arsenal, and laboratory. Meanwhile the care of Kundè Row preserved the ascendancy which Hyder had gained over the mind of Nunjeraj; and while claiming merit for public economy in being able to defray the expense of the augmented forces from the allotted funds, he was, in fact, accumulating an immense treasure.

The operations necessary for the complete establishment of Hyder's authority in the province of Dindigul occupied the greatest portion of the years 1755 and 1756: and, in the meanwhile, the affairs of the general government were conducted as usual by the brothers Deo Raj and Nunjeraj: whose usurpation, although complete in everything essential, left to the pageant Raja a considerable share of the exterior appendages of royalty. This young man had now attained the age of twenty-seven years; and had manifested on some occasions symptoms of impatience at the ignominious thraldom in which he was kept: but he had been too much secluded from the world to be capable of forming a skilful plan for his emancipation, and some of his attendants, who were equally incapable of giving proper counsel, had suggested to him the project of seizing and confining the usurpers. The conferences on this subject were regularly reported to the brothers, and at the suggestion of Deo Raj a mild message was sent, remonstrating against these designs and requesting that the evil counsellors might be dismissed from his presence. The Raja, instead of dissembling his intentions indulged in a burst of resentment and indignation, and returned a harsh and con-

temptuous answer. He had already gained the ordinary guard of the palace; and his adherents gradually obtained fled and introduced additional numbers of troops.

It will be recollected that the daughter of Nunjeraj had been given in marriage to the pageant Raja. This lady had been brought up in the house of her uncle Deo Raj: she was pregnant of her first child at this period; and the usual Hindoo ceremonials required that she should, on her pregnançy being ascertained, pass a certain time under the paternal roof. Deo Raj continued to send conciliatory messages to the Raja, which were answered by outrages and puerile threats: and it was proposed in consultation, that instead of open violence, this lady should be induced to remove him by poison, on the condition that the throne should descend to her future offspring, his posthumous issue, under her own guardianship. The particulars of this negociation cannot be positively ascertained: some accounts state that Deo Raj united with his brother in making this proposition, but the progress of these transactions seems to disprove that opinion: the fate of the last Raja hung heavy on his mind, and his subsequent conduct seems to evince that he had determined not to incur the guilt of a second murder. It is also stated in some accounts, that the proposition extended only to making the Raja a close prisoner; but this statement refutes itself, because it was obviously unnecessary to consult the lady on a plan which in no respect required her concurrence. Whatever the propositions were, it is universally admitted that she received them with abhorrence; and that, during her subsequent detention, she refused to partake of food until restored to the dwelling of her husband.

The brothers were entirely disagreed in the measures to be pursued regarding the Raja. Deo Raj argued, that his whole project and the councils by which it was guided were puerile, and the means which he could possibly command undeserving of serious alarm; that on proper precautions being adopted, a few days must convince the projectors themselves of their inability even to obtain the requisite provisions for the palace; and that measures of violence were equally unnecessary and disreputable. Nunjeraj was of a different opinion; and having arranged his plan, moved a column of troops, attended by four guns, to the exterior gate of the palace, accompanied by Veerana, his second in command, who had the reputation of instigating upon all occasions the violent proceedings of his principal. All the avenues were barricaded, and the walls lined with troops; and Nunjeraj wished, before proceeding farther, to commence a parley. This, however, was rejected; and on a declaration of his intention to employ force, a heavy fire was opened from the palace which did considerable execution: but the guns having by this time been brought up near to the gate, it was quickly

blown open; and the defenders, on finding that the column was rushing in, at once abandoned the walls, and fled for concealment to the courts of the women's apartments. Nunjeraj, leaving Veerana with a portion of the troops in charge of the gate, proceeded with the requisite attendants into the interior of the palace. The Raja was requested to seat himself in the usual hall of audience, while all the apartments were searched, and every male produced. A certain number, on whose disposal he had not determined, were put in irons; and all the remainder had their noses and ears cut off in the Raja's presence, and in this state were turned out into the street. The creatures in his own pay, destined to replace the former attendants of the Raja, were then presented to him with an insulting mockery of respect: and after placing guards of his most confidential troops in the usual stations, he departed from the hall of audience, making the customary obeisance to the Raja, who had witnessed this extraordinary scene in an agony of silent terror and astonishment.

Deo Raj, who had protested in the most solemn and impressive manner against this outrageous proceeding, was so deeply offended at this open contempt of his admonitions, that he determined to renounce all future intercourse with his brother. It is difficult to ascertain the precise motives or ultimate object of his present conduct: but apparently not choosing to enter into a direct contest, and desirous of retiring from so disgusting a scene, he actually departed from Seringapatam in February 1757, accompanied by his whole family and personal adherents, with one thousand horse, and two thousand peons; and descending the pass of Gujjelhutty, fixed his residence at Sattimungul, on the bank of the river Bhavany. For his support, however, and that of his military escort, he had need of funds, and sent orders to the Aumils of several districts on which Hyder had assignments, revoking that appropriation of the revenues, and ordering them to be paid to himself. Kunde Row could readily have procured from Nunjeraj a repetition of the assignments, but in the distraction of authority caused by the separation of the brothers, the Aumils, on receiving contradictory orders, would of course have refused to pay to either: or if a preference should be given, it would certainly be in favor of Deo Raj. Under these circumstances, he recommended to Hyder to try the effect of his personal appearance at Seringapatam, for which he accordingly prepared, attended merely by his ordinary retinue, but before his arrival, a new danger had threatened the capital, and had been averted by fresh sacrifices.

Balajee Row unexpectedly entered Mysoor in March 1757; and appeared in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam demanding a contribution. Nunjeraj in vain represented his absolute inability: the demand was peremptory, and the place was besieged. Nunjeraj made a spirited defence, and led in person several

sallies upon the enemy's trenches; but their artillery being respectable, and the operations of the siege directed by Europeans, the place was reduced to extremity; and Nunjeraj was compelled to make a hasty compromise for thirty-two lacs of Rupees. The cash and jewels which could be produced amounted to no more than five lacs: and for the liquidation of the remainder, he was compelled to surrender in pledge a large and valuable extent of territory.*

These transactions had been completed, and the Mahrattas had departed, after leaving their agents for the collection of revenue, and a body of six thousand horse in the pledged districts, before Hyder's arrival at Seringapatam: when, on inspecting, in company with Nunjeraj, the approaches and batteries of the Mahrattas, he ventured to remonstrate against the omission of not ordering up the troops of Dindigul on so great an emergency: intimating, perhaps truly, that if they had been present, the service would have terminated in a very different manner. He strongly recommended to Nunjeraj to cause the revenues to be withheld from the Mahratta agents, and to expel their troops on the approach of the rains; at which period the swell of the rivers would secure the country against Mahratta invasion for another season, when he hoped his services would be called for: and this advice was accordingly followed.

Hyder's consultations with Nunjeraj regarding the resumed revenues ended in his determining to wait on Deo Raj at Sattimungul; but as he had no personal influence over the elder brother, Kundè Row accompanied him for the purpose of aiding in the negociation. Before Hyder's departure from Dindigul, he had received a deputation from the Nair Raja of Palghaut, situated on the eastern frontier of Malabar, opposite to the great chasm in the range of western mountains, which leaves a communication between the two coasts of the peninsula, covered only with forests of the stately teak, without the intervention of a hill. This chief was at war with the Rajas of Cochin and Calicut; and being hard-pressed by his enemies, the object of his deputation was to desire succour from Hyder, who, at the time of his journey to the capital, had detached his brother-in-law Muckhdoom Saheb with two thousand horse, five thousand infantry, and five guns (the first Mohammedan corps that had ever entered Malabar) to his assistance. This chief, in conjunction with the Nairs of Palghaut, carried his arms to the sea coast; and the enemy finding resistance to be unavailing, had compromised for the restitution of their conquests from Palghaut, and a military contribution of twelve lacs of Rupees to be paid by instalments: but finding the presence of the strangers while waiting

* The districts pledged were Nagamungul, Beloor, Kickery, Chenroypatam. Cudoor, Banaver, Harunhully, Honavelly, Toorikera, Kundikera, Ch naickanhully, Kurb, Culloor, and Hoolioordroog.

for the money to be burdensome, and meditating to evade the payment altogether, they had now sent secret agents to Deo Raj, offering to pay the money to him, provided he would rid them of the Mussulman troops of Hyder, and send Hindoos to receive it. This transaction furnished the means of arranging the negociation between Deo Raj and Hyder The resumed revenues were restored to him, together with Soucar security for three lacs as a reimbursement of extraordinary expenses incurred in the expedition to Malabar; and on these conditions Muckhdoom was recalled Hyder relinquished his claim to the military contribution of twelve lacs; and the Rajpoot corps of Herri Sing, the most zealous adherent of Deo Raj, was sent to receive it.

These arrangements being completed, Hyder returned to Dindigul, and his troops being now unoccupied, an opportunity seemed to present itself of employing them to advantage. Mahphuz Khan, whom we left at Fort St David in August 1754, had, on the cessation of hostilities between the French and English in the following October, compromised with his younger brother Mohammed Ali for the government of the southern provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly, with the view of there establishing for himself an independent kingdom The English and French were now at open war; their troops were abundantly occupied in all directions Hyder had received repeated invitations from the French and Mahphuz Khan to aid in expelling the English altogether from these provinces, and the distractions occasioned by Mahphuz Khan's incapacity seemed to afford a favorable opportunity of seizing the Fort and district of Madura for himself

He commenced his operations by seizing the post of Sholavanden situated in the pass between Dindigul and Madura; and marched without opposition to the vicinty of the latter place which on examining he did not think proper to attempt by a *coup de main*, but confined himself for the present to sweeping off the whole of the cattle and moveables of the country and despatching them to Dindigul He was farther induced to suspend any serious operations against the fort of Madura from knowing that Mohammed Issoof, the commandant of English sepoys was on his march towards that place from Tinnevelly with a small but veteran corps This force was very much inferior in numbers to that of Hyder, who on its approach was guilty of the mistake of taking post in the mouth of the narrow pass of Natam, and thus rendering his superior numbers of no avail against Mohammed Issoof. This excellent officer was not slow in perceiving the advantage thus offered to him and made a vigorous and determined attack with the whole of his little corps by which Hyder was completely routed He retired without farther effort to Dindigul in November; meditating however, to return reinforced

by a body of French troops. The corps at Seringham, which was most conveniently placed for the purpose, could not be diminished without danger from the garrison of Trichinopoly: and the difficulty of finding troops for a great variety of services prevented M. Soupire, who now directed the French operations, from sending from Pondicherry more than three hundred sepoys and seventy-five Europeans; who arrived at Dindigul in January 1758, under the command of M. Astruc. The smallness of this force would alone have determined Hyder to evade the proposed service, but other considerations of real moment demanded his presence at the capital. He accordingly made the requisite explanations of the necessity for his immediate departure, and excused himself to M. Astruc, who shortly afterwards returned to Seringham.

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1758 TO 1760.

Mutiny of the Army at the capital—Hyder proceeds thither accompanied by Deo Raj—Reconciliation of the brothers and the Raja—Hyder's address and popularity—pays the arrears—Massacre of Herri Sing—Hyder receives a Jageer and assignment of territory—Mahratta invasion—capture of Cenaputam—Hyder appointed to command the field army—re-capture of Cenaputam—Military operations—Terms of adjustment give the pledged districts to Hyder—Title of Behauder—Plot for compelling the retirement of Nunjeraj—its singular progress and result—Further assignments to Hyder—Situation of Kundé Row—Nunjeraj departs to Mysore—is besieged there—result—Raja's second marriage—Still further assignments to Hyder—A French agent obtains the aid of troops—Retrospect—M. Bussy with Salabut Jung besieges Suravore—adjustment through Morari Row—made the pretext for supplanting him—Views of the different powers of the south—M. Bussy departs—pursued by Salabut Jung—takes post at Hyderabad—is reinforced—and restored to favor—Situation of Nizam Ali—and Basalut Jung—Dangerous intrigues—suppressed by M. Bussy—who seizes the fort of Doulutabad—Murder of Hyder Jung, M. Bussy's Dewan, by Nizam Ali—Shah Nawaz Khan slain—order restored by M. Bussy—whose situation becomes perfectly secure and formidable—this prosperity subverted by the arrogance of M. Lally—who orders M. Bussy to march to Pondicherry—Evacuation of Doulutabad—Departure of M. Bussy—astonishment and grief of Salabut Jung—Minor operations in Coromandel—Mohammed Ali's three brothers in open or concealed hostility—French interests improve—Character of M. Lally—creates universal disgust—Siege and capture of Fort St. David—of Tanjore—effects of petulance and mismanagement—the siege raised—M. Bussy precedes his troops—who also arrive—Nujeeb Oolla—Tripetty—Abd-ul-Wahab—Siege of Madras raised—Important consequences of M. Bussy's recal from the Dekhan—Capture of Masulipatam by Colonel Forde—his treaty with Salabut Jung—Nizam Ali supplants Basalut Jung, who moves to the south, accompanied by a French corps—his views and connections—with Sunput Row—Mahphuz Khan—Poligars of Calastri and Vencatijherry—Negociations with Nizam Ali—and M. Bussy.

IN consequence of the public misfortunes and errors which have been related, the troops at Seringapatam had fallen into a long arrear of pay, and they had now mutinied to obtain it, proceeding, according to the custom of India, not only to the ceremony of interdicting their chief by religious execrations from meat and drink until the arrear should be paid, a process which is usually called sitting in *Dherna*; but to the secular operation of preventing any water or provisions being carried into his house. In this extremity Nunjeraj was under the necessity of selling the provision stores of the capital, for the purpose of appeasing, not satisfying, the demands of the mutineers.

Hyder, on receiving this information, desired Kundé Row again to meet him at Sattimungul, and proceeded with the whole of his disposable troops in the same direction. He had written to Deo Raj before his departure from Dindigul, and went for-

ward unattended to represent to him personally the evils arising from the disunion of the brothers, and the absolute necessity of a reconciliation to prevent the entire dissolution of the government. The personal influence of Kundè Row, added to the arguments of Hyder, prevailed on Deo Raj, although much indisposed, to accompany them; and they ascended the pass of Gujjelhutty in the month of March. On their arrival at Hurdanhully, the increased indisposition of Deo Raj compelled them to halt for fifteen days, after which they proceeded to Mysoor; where Deo Raj remained, while Hyder and Kundè Row proceeded to Seringapatam. Deo Raj insisted, as a preliminary to all terms of reconciliation with his brother, that he should make atonement for the violation of public decorum in his conduct at the palace; and the terms being easily adjusted by Kundè Row, Nunjeraj, on the 23rd of April, made his humiliations to the Raja, whom he had not visited since the former outrage; and a salute was fired from all the guns of the garrison to announce the Raja's forgiveness and favor.

The next object was the public reconciliation of the brothers. Nunjeraj and Hyder, accompanied by all the chiefs, public officers, and principal inhabitants of the capital, went in procession to conduct Deo Raj from Mysoor. On the meeting of the brothers, Nunjeraj made the most abject apologies, and Deo Raj consented to be conducted to Seringapatam; where he died on the 19th of June, six days after his arrival. His death was, as usual, ascribed by the vulgar to poison, and the crime was attributed to his brother; but, exclusively of the absence of any adequate motive, I am satisfied, from the examination of persons who saw him about this period, that fatal symptoms of dropsy had appeared before his departure from Sattimungul.

The army was still clamorous for the remaining arrears; and Nunjeraj, who had been disgusted with the difficulties and insults which he had experienced in the adjustment of their former claims, and was now unaffectedly depressed in spirits by the death of his brother, requested of Kundè Row and Hyder to take the troublesome charge of making the best arrangement in their power.

Hyder throughout all these transactions had been enabled to assume the character of a general benefactor. The gratitude of Nunjeraj was due for his conduct in effecting the reconciliation, and for the zeal and exertion which relieved him from much embarrassment: the troops considered him as their only hope for a liquidation of arrears; the Raja beheld as yet only his preserver and protector from the violence of Nunjeraj; and all orders of men began to look up to Hyder for the restoration of public prosperity. He proceeded, with constant demonstrations of deference to the Raja's orders, to distribute, in lieu of money, all public property that could be so applied, down to the elephants

and horses of the Raja's retinue; and knowing from his own experience the probable amount of imposition in the charges of arrears, seized on all the accountants, and by threats and torture compelled them to produce the true accounts. By these means he was enabled in the course of a few days to discharge four thousand horse, and a large amount of other rabble.

The confusion, clamour, and irregularity which such a process necessarily created in a populous town, rendered it expedient that the well-paid and obedient troops of Hyder should take all the guards of the gates and interior of the fort; an arrangement involving the possession of actual power, which might have suggested ambitious views to a mind less aspiring; but the present moment was obviously premature, and the opportunity was not embraced. The operation respecting the mutineers was not yet finished; for as the details of the adjustment, added to Hyder's previous acquaintance, enabled him to judge who were the most wealthy among the chiefs, he caused all but the most extravagant and indigent to be seized after their departure as the ringleaders of the late mutiny, and plundered of all their property as a forfeiture to the State.

Herri Sing, who had been sent to receive the military contribution of Malabar, found himself unable to realize any part of it; and on hearing of the death of his patron Deo Raj, marched, during the torrents of the S. W. monsoon, to the province of Coimbatore; where a distance of scarcely thirty miles from the periodical rains of Malabar always presents fair weather and the most striking change of climate. In this province he encamped at the village of Aounassee, ostensibly to refresh his troops, but in reality negociating for the service of the Raja of Tanjore.

Herri Sing, whose personal enmity to Hyder we have already had occasion to notice, had been particularly protected by Deo Raj, as Hyder had been by Nunjeraj; and was, next to Hyder, the most opulent partizan in the service of the State of Mysoor. Deo Raj had always opposed his brother's rapid advancement of Hyder, adopting the opinion of Herri Sing and all the old chiefs, who attributed that advancement more to his intrigues as a courtier, than his merit as a soldier. Herri Sing, in particular, made no scruple of avowing on all occasions his contempt for the Naick. Their hatred, in short, was mutual and open, and the time had now arrived when Hyder was enabled to take a complete revenge.

On the pretence of returning a portion of his troops to Dindigul, he detached Muckhdoom Saheb with one thousand horse, and two thousand infantry, by whom Herri Sing, carelessly encamped at Aounassee giving repose to his men, naturally unsuspicious as he was brave, and ignorant even of the movement of this detachment, was surprized and massacred in the dead of the night, together with a large portion of his troops.

Among the plunder acquired by this infamous exploit were three hundred horses, one thousand muskets, and three guns, which were brought in triumph to the capital. To the Raja, Hyder presented in form the three guns for the service of the State, and fifteen beautiful horses for the royal stables: the remainder of the horses and military stores, together with the money and property, found their accustomed appropriation.

During the absence of the force under Muckhdoom Saheb, Hyder revived the subject of the Soucar security for three lacs, which had been given by the late Deo Raj. The claim was recognized without difficulty by Nunjeraj, and approved by the Raja; and an assignment on the revenues of Coimbatore was appropriated for its liquidation. It was also proper and decorous to reward by some public mark of confidence and distinction the fidelity and zeal of so excellent a servant; and the fort and district of Bangalore were conferred on him as a personal jageer.

The Mahrattas, as had been foreseen, did not tamely accede to the expulsion of their troops and agents from the pledged districts; and early in 1759 a large force under Gopaul Heri and Anund Row Rastea invaded Mysoor. They began with resuming the possession of all the pledged districts, and then passed to the northward of Savendy Droog, as if they had some farther object in view to the N. E. of Mysoor: but on arriving near to Bangalore they invested that place, and sent back a detachment, consisting of their best infantry, who, by a concealed march through the thick intervening woods to the westward, surprized and took the fort of Cenapatam, situated thirty-five miles from Bangalore and forty from Seringapatam, where the woods cease and an open plain commences.

The arrangements which had lately been made for paying and dismissing the most mutinous of the troops had left some arrears still due to those who remained in the service; which had generally been adjusted by prevailing on the chiefs to make advances from their own funds: and on orders of march being issued for the purpose of opposing this danger, most of the chiefs of rank made excuses of inability without a previous liquidation of arrears. Hyder volunteered the service, and offered his personal responsibility for any arrears due to the *men*, of which he knew there was little; but the offer increased his popularity, and he was appointed to the chief command of the field army; on which occasion many of the most ancient military servants of the State resigned, rather than serve under the Naick. Hyder's first care was to place respectable detachments at the intermediate forts of Madoor and Malavilly; places situated on the two principal approaches to the capital, at the distance of twenty-seven and twenty-two miles, and distant from each other about seventeen. That at Malavilly was under his maternal uncle Meer Ibrahim.

Madoor was committed to Lutf Ali Beg, who had orders, if he should find the project feasible, to attempt the recovery of Cenapatam by surprize, the distance being only thirteen miles. That officer, a gallant and hardy Mogul, prepared for the enterprise by shutting up his troops in the fort of Madoor, with every demonstration of being himself in expectation of attack, and suffering the Mahratta horse even to insult his outguards with impunity. His spies having brought him satisfactory intelligence of the dispositions of the enemy, he moved by a circuitous route, and carried the place by escalade just before daylight, without any heavy loss on either side.

Hyder, on receiving this intelligence, marched without a moment's delay, and concentrated his force near to Cenapatam: and Gopaul Heri, on his part, raised the blockade of Bangalore, and marched with a very superior force to oppose him.

All eyes were fixed on the conduct of Hyder in his present important charge: his friends anticipating complete success from his eminent talents, and his rivals predicting that he would now evince the military incapacity which they had always ascribed to him. He commenced with frequently practising on Gopaul Heri the lessons which he had learned at Trichinopoly, of the advantages of a well-ordered night attack against an irregular enemy. His own camp was generally fortified; and as he hardly ever made a movement by day, his intentions could seldom be conjectured. At the expiration of a various warfare of three months, in which his incessant activity and unexpected attacks foiled and embarrassed all the projects of the Mahratta, straitened his supplies, and, what was more important, intercepted his plunder, Gopaul Heri, wearied with an unprofitable contest, in which he was generally worsted, proposed a negociation, which terminated in the following arrangement:— 1. That the Mahrattas should relinquish their claim on the districts formerly ceded in pledge to Balajee Row; and 2. That in full of all demands, past and present, thirty-two lacs should now be paid. Hyder, in communicating the substance of this agreement, urged the necessity of making every possible exertion to raise the money; and the exhausted public treasury was recruited on this occasion by a nezerana (a forced payment under the name of a free gift) on all the principal public servants and monied inhabitants. Kundè Row, who was charged with the whole of these arrangements, realized the sum of sixteen lacs, with which he proceeded to camp, authorized to approve, in the name of the Raja and Nunjeraj, the means of liquidating the balance, which had previously been concerted between him and his principal. Such was Hyder's influence and credit, that he was enabled to make an arrangement with the Soucars (or bankers) of the enemy's camp, by which, on taking his personal security, they rendered themselves responsible for the remainder,

on an understanding between all the parties interested in the transaction that Hyder was to have the direct management of the pledged districts, as the fund from which that remainder was to be liquidated. He accordingly despatched without delay his own agents and aumildars to these restored districts: and after concluding the requisite arrangements for their future management, and seeing the Mahrattas in full march for their own country, he returned in triumph to Seringapatam, where the Raja received him in the most splendid Durbar which had been held since the days of Chick Deo Raj; and on his approach welcomed him by the name of *Futtè Hyder Behauder*,* a title which Hyder had long affected, and henceforth received from all descriptions of persons. Nunjeraj, who was of course present on the occasion, paid him the novel compliment of rising on his approach, and embracing him; apparently proud of this public justification of his own discernment in the elevation of Hyder.

The large appropriation of revenue for liquidating the Mahratta debt, added to the previous assignments in the hands of Hyder for the payment of his own corps, and the discharge of the bonds of Deo Raj, left but slender means for the other expenses of the State; and in a few months considerable arrears were again due to the army. Hyder, from the course of events which has been described, had become commander-in-chief. Nunjeraj exercised the whole power of the State, without any farther control than the mere show of royalty, which it had been concerted to allow to the Raja. He had hitherto seen in Hyder an obedient and zealous adherent; and in his rise, the acquisition of a powerful instrument, of which he held in his own hand the exclusive direction. He was now to view him in another character.

It will readily be imagined that the remembrance of the injuries and personal insults which the Raja had suffered from Nunjeraj, was too deeply impressed to admit of sincere reconciliation. Late events had given to Kundè Row a more frequent access to the palace; where the old dowager of the late Dud Deo Raj seems to have been the only person of sufficient capacity and knowledge to communicate with him on so delicate a subject

* Nunjeraj and Deo Raj had been in the habit of addressing Hyder in public Durbar, by the name of *Naick*, *Bennee Naick rè; come hither Naick.* As Hyder's fortunes began to unfold, he thought this appellation not sufficiently respectful; and by means of a third person, prevailed on *Nunjeraj* to address him by the name of *Bahauder: Bennee Bahauder; come hither Hero.* For many years afterwards *Deo Raj* continued the appellation of Naick: and Hyder, when accompanying him from Sattimungul, remonstrated in a friendly manner. *Deo Raj* excused himself by pretending that the mistake was of habit and not of intention; and gave orders in *Hyder's* presence that all letters to him should be in future addressed Bahauder. Hyder was always more gratified by the single appellation of Bahauder than by any other title. His original signet was *Futtè Hyder*, the former being the name of his father; and this he never changed, except on those extraordinary occasions which required the great official seal.

as the feelings and wishes of the family: and by her means it was soon concerted that the liquidation of the arrears of the troops was to be made the means of compelling Nunjeraj to retire from public life. Some confidential chiefs of the troops were accordingly instructed by Kundè Row in the part which they were to perform, without being aware of its ultimate object. They came to the quarters of Hyder, demanding, in a moderate tone, the payment of their arrears. He represented, in terms equally mild, that his own corps, for the payment of which he possessed fixed resources, was regularly paid, but that funds for the payment of the rest of the army were not under his direction. The troops then demanded that he should obtain payment from the person who had their direction, namely, Nunjeraj; and he promised to use his best offices. These visits were daily repeated, and with additional urgency; until the troops at length positively insisted on Hyder's going at their head to sit in *Dherna* at the gate of Nunjeraj; and this was done, with every demonstration on the part of Hyder of compulsion and repugnance. Nunjeraj had received some oblique intimations of the subject of the dowager's private conversations with Kundè Row; the terrors of the former *Dherna* were still fresh in his recollection; and perceiving by Hyder's presence the full extent of the plot, he made his decision, and prepared to put the best face he could on his retirement from public life. After a separate interview with Hyder, in which the preliminaries were adjusted, he came out to the gate, and represented to the troops that the misfortunes of his administration had determined him to bow to the decrees of fate; and that the Raja had accordingly assumed the principal direction of his own affairs, with the express view of permitting him to retire; that all his arrangements were made for rendering his accounts and resigning his office; and that under these circumstances, it was unjust to hold him responsible for their arrears. This contingency had also been provided for; a few soldiers called out to remove the *Dherna* to the gate of the Raja; the measure was approved by general acclamation, and Hyder was again compelled to lead them to the palace.

As this measure had been expressly preconcerted, it occasioned no alarm, and a messenger came out to desire that Kundè Row might be sent to communicate with the Raja. Kundè Row returned, after a short interval, with a demand from the Raja that Hyder should take a solemn oath in the presence of the troops to obey his orders, and renounce his connexion with the usurper Nunjeraj, for whose retirement a munificent provision should be made and on these conditions the Raja intimated that he would find means of satisfying the demand of the troops. Hyder took the oath, with suitable demonstrations of reluctance; was summoned to the palace, and returned to inform the troops that the arrangements ordered by the Raja would require a few

days to be completed; and that in the meantime he rendered himself personally responsible for the liquidation of their arrears: an assurance which was received with confidence and satisfaction.

For the purpose of enabling Hyder to discharge the arrears, and provide in future for the regular pay of the troops, an addition was made to his assignments of revenue, which caused the districts in his direct possession to exceed one-half of the Raja's whole territory. Kundè Row received from the Raja the formal appointment of *Predaun*, or *Dewan*, as he was more generally called (for the nominal title of Serv Adikar was reserved to Nunjeraj;) and in his double capacity of Dewan to the Raja and to Hyder he exercised the revenue administration of the whole country; with the single exception of the provision settled for Nunjeraj, which was a jageer producing three lacs of Pagodas. From this sum Nunjeraj was to maintain for the service of the State one thousand horse, and three thousand infantry, regular, and irregular, but was exempted from personal service, and permitted to retire altogether to his jageer; an arrangement which, according to the pay of those times, and supposing the troops to be actually maintained, would leave a surplus of about one lac of Pagodas for his personal expenses. He accordingly departed from the capital in June 1759, with the whole of his family, adherents, and troops, with the professed intention of first paying his devotions at the great temple of Nunjendgode, twenty-five miles south of Seringapatam; but on the first day affected to be taken ill at Mysoor. It is not quite certain whether a residence at this place had been stipulated in the terms; but at the expiration of a few months, it was discovered to be extremely indecorous that a servant of the State should fix his abode at the seat of the ancient government, from which the whole country took its name; and unsafe to permit such a person as Nunjeraj to be strengthening himself, as he really was, at the distance of only nine miles from the capital. It was accordingly resolved, in conformity to the calculation above adverted to, that districts to the amount of two lacs should be resumed from his jageer and added to the assignments of Hyder, which were still found to be too small; that he should be absolved from the maintenance of the troops, and be compelled to depart from Mysoor. The districts were accordingly resumed; and a letter was written intimating the pleasure of the Raja, that he should fix his residence at some other place. The answer of Nunjeraj to Hyder was in the following terms:—"I have made you what you are, and now you refuse me a place in which to hide my head. Do what you please; or what you can. I move not from Mysoor." Hyder was accordingly *ordered* in due form to enforce the Raja's commands, and sat down to the regular siege of Mysoor. The troops which had accompanied Nunjeraj to that place were some of the best in the service; but Hyder

commanded the whole resources of the capital. Few of the natives of India sufficiently understand the principles on which the operations of a siege are conducted to be able to relate them intelligibly; but if I have comprehended aright the description which has been given to me on the spot of the operations of Hyder, they do little credit to the benefit which at that time he had derived from experience in that particular branch of the military profession; and may perhaps be attributed to an underplot, of protracting the siege, with the view of rendering it, as he afterwards did, the ground of farther encroachment. However this may be, at the expiration of three months a negociation was opened, and Nunjeraj capitulated on the conditions originally prescribed. He was permitted to select the districts composing his personal jageer which were situated near the western frontier, and his residence was fixed at Cunnoor, about twenty-five miles west from Mysoor.

For the purpose of deluding the Raja and the public with the short-lived stage-trick of a happy change in his situation, he was invited by Hyder to visit, for the first time in his life, the residence of the ancient Rajas; and he inspected the approaches and batteries, which were reserved entire for that purpose, in order that he might be suitably impressed with the skill and prowess of his nominal servant, and real master.

Shortly before this period, namely, February 1760, the Raja's wife, the daughter of Nunjeraj, died, having borne him two sons, named Nunjeraj and Cham Raj: and he now espoused two wives at once; one of whom, Lechmee (the daughter of Gopaul Raj, formerly nominated Killedar of Trichinopoly), has survived the whole of the subsequent revolutions, and in August 1808 was in the perfect possession of her faculties; a sensible and amiable old lady, whose observations on the incidents of her eventful life are highly interesting and intelligent.

Hyder, not satisfied with actually possessing considerably more than one-half of the dominions of the State, took advantage of the expenses incurred in the siege of Mysoor, and in the augmentation of the troops for the purpose of being prepared for external enemies, to represent the necessity of a farther assignment of revenue. Kundè Row strenuously opposed this indecent demand, which ultimately, however, he found himself unable to resist, and four districts selected by Hyder were added to his former possessions. But the discussions which preceded this arrangement produced a considerable degree of irritation between Hyder and Kundè Row, and left on the mind of the latter an impression of permanent disgust.

A French emissary arrived about this period at Seringapatam, with proposals which induced Hyder to detach a respectable corps for the purpose of co-operating with that nation against the English in the province of Arcot: these proposals arose from

events which had occurred since the conclusion of the convention of January 1755; and although it does not enter into the design of this work to relate those operations in detail, a brief retrospect will enable us better to comprehend the general state of Deckan and the south, and to proceed with greater clearness in the more immediate purpose of our narrative.

Both parties seem to have distinctly understood that the convention of January 1755 was a mere truce, and both proposed to themselves separate advantages from acceding to it. The French expected the consolidation of the power which they had acquired in the Deckan, exclusively of the alleged equality in the province of Arcot. The English hoped, without a rupture of the truce, to confirm the power of their Nabob in the province of Arcot, and to extend it over Tinnevelly and Madura.

The course of our narrative has enabled the reader to perceive that whatever of military operations should be required to establish the nominal power of Mohammed Ali, must be performed by English troops, or not performed at all; for although a large rabble was maintained for the purpose of enforcing the collection of revenue, and aiding, as far as such troops could aid, in the general scope of military operation; the whole circle of his family and adherents during the fourteen years of revolutionary war which terminated in 1763 had not produced a single man fit to command an army or govern a province. The auxiliary operations of the English troops were accordingly complained of, and retaliated by the French, who put their troops in motion to prevent the important measure of the reduction of Vellore. The correspondence on these subjects unfolded to both parties what it would have been more convenient to discover at an earlier period; namely, that the conditions of the armistice and conditional treaty were absolutely nugatory. The governor of Madras, in defending the aid afforded to Mohammed Ali, reproached the French for the expedition of M. Bussy to Mysoor, and distinguished the cases by affirming that " he had never opposed the French in collecting tribute from Poligars, Killedars, and others of their dependance." M. Deleyrit the French governor seized on the contradiction, by referring to the acknowledged dependance of Mysoor on Salabut Jung, and affirmed, " that it was not stipulated by treaty that the troops of M. Bussy should be withdrawn;" but in the triumph of superiority incautiously ran on to observe that the " principal view of the treaty was to re-establish a state of tranquillity in the province of Arcot." This concession was assumed by the government of Madras as a plain avowal that the convention was not considered to apply to the operations of M. Bussy in the Deckan, and justified the project of counteracting them from the side of Bombay; and the indirect warfare of Coromandel would necessarily have terminated in more open measures, if the parties had not been relieved from

all doubt regarding their future proceedings by the direct declaration of national war in 1756.

The successors of M. Dupleix continued to M. Bussy the same large powers and unlimited confidence which his conduct had so amply deserved. Early in 1756 he marched with Salabut Jung to enforce the tribute due from the Patan Nabob of Savanore; a country situated between the rivers Toombuddra and Malpurba, in the direct route of all Mahratta armies proceeding to the countries of Mysoor or Arcot. Too weak to resist the Mahrattas, the local position of this chief led him to adopt the policy of aiding them, on the condition of being supported against the Soubadar of the Deckan, who claimed his submission as an officer of the former State of Vijeyapoor. Morari Row, when negociating with Nizam ul Moolk previously to the evacuation of Trichinopoly in 1744, had obtained his recognition of the State of Gooti as a dependency of the Soubadars of the Deckan; and when called on for tribute from Poona, evaded the demand under that pretext: the Mussulman thus sheltered himself behind the Hindoo, and the Hindoo behind the Mussulman. But Salabut Jung and Balajee Row had now severally agreed to withhold their support from the dependants of the other, and to unite in enforcing their obedience: and for this purpose moved from their respective capitals to commence with the siege of Savanore. The pressure of a common danger united the councils of the two chiefs to be attacked, and Morari Row, with a select body of his own troops, had thrown himself into Savanore. But he was quickly convinced of his error in supposing the place to be tenable against the skill and science of M. Bussy. During the war of Coromandel, when detached from Nunjeraj to Pondicherry, a debt of some magnitude had been contracted for the payment of his troops, which M. Dupleix, unable to discharge in money, had acknowledged in a public bond of the government of Pondicherry; Morari Row availed himself of this instrument in opening a negociation with M. Bussy, and offered to cancel the bond on condition that his good offices should be successful in the adjustment of the double demand which has been explained. M. Bussy, who, exclusively of the liquidation of the debt, attached some importance to the future enmity or friendship of this enterprising chief, undertook the office of mediator: a reconciliation was effected on moderate terms, and the respective armies prepared to depart. But the party in the court of Salabut Jung which systematically opposed the introduction of foreign influence into his councils, did not pass over so fair an opportunity of exciting his jealousy. Shahnowaz Khan, who had been removed from the office of Dewan by the influence of M. Bussy, and had been restored on the promise of co-operating in his views, was secretly the chief of this party, and communicated his projects to Balajee Row, who from different motives, was

equally anxious for the expulsion of M. Bussy. Deprived of the aid of his regular troops, Salabut Jung could oppose but a feeble resistance to the designs of Balajee Row, who meditated the entire conquest of the Deckan, and was making advances to M. Bussy, with promises of a magnificent establishment, if he would leave Salabut Jung and enter the Mahratta service: and was negociating also with the English for a corps to aid in the expulsion of the French from the Deckan. The suggestions of Shahnowaz Khan appeared to open a less expensive project for obtaining their services or their removal; and the discovery of M. Bussy's motives for mediation was easily converted into a charge of treachery to the interests of his principal, Salabut Jung. It does not appear whether M. Bussy was charged with concealing from Salabut Jung the transaction of cancelling the French bond; but it was sufficient for all the purposes of the party to prove, or attempt to prove, that the exertion of his usual skill and energy would have carried the fort of Savanore in half the time that the united armies had been before it if his own national objects had not interposed. Salabut Jung was accordingly induced to issue explicit orders, dismissing M. Bussy and his corps from the service of the State, and directing them to retire from his territory without delay; but adding a condition which was not intended to be kept, that he should receive no molestation if he refrained from hostility in his retreat. The party was well aware that such a man as M. Bussy, at the head of two hundred European cavalry, six hundred European infantry, five thousand regular sepoys, and an excellent train of artillery, must be expelled by other instruments than the broad seal of the Soubadar of the Deckan: and an embassy, preceded by urgent letters, was immediately dispatched to Madras, demanding the services of an English corps to aid in the expulsion of the French.

M. Bussy, at a distance from all his fixed resources, perceived that the confederacy was too strong to be openly resisted; and determined to move in the direction of the ceded provinces, and be governed by events; despatching at the same time to Pondicherry urgent demands for every possible reinforcement to be sent to Masulipatam. He quitted the army of Salabut Jung late in the month of May, without any demonstrations of resentment, and with the appearance of being disgusted with a scene, from which he was finally to retire, and to embark at Masulipatam.

Balajee Row, aware of the demand for English troops, perceived that all his objects would be equally thwarted by their presence as by the continuance of the French; and on the day of M. Bussy's separation sent an ambassador to renew his proposals for the service of that corps; or if that object could not be effected, the ambassador was followed by a body of select cavalry,

who were directed to accompany and protect M. Bussy so long as he should deem their services to be necessary: for if an English corps should engage in the service of Salabut Jung, Balajee Row's negociation for a similar purpose must necessarily fail, and he would in that case have need of M. Bussy, whose efforts from the ceded provinces he knew that a sense of common interest would ensure, whenever he might find it convenient to attack Salabut Jung and his English auxiliaries. M. Bussy, perceiving no symptoms of hostility, dismissed his Mahratta friends at an earlier period than might have been expected from his accustomed penetration; and immediately after their departure found the whole country instructed to treat him as an enemy, and the advanced guard of Salabut Jung's army in full pursuit. Sickness among the Europeans, desertion of the sepoys, and a scarcity of food and stores, compelled M. Bussy to halt at Hyderabad, where his influence still enabled him to command resources; and although the annual swell of the waters had fortunately interposed for a time the river Kistna between him and the great body of his enemies, the arrangements for placing his corps in a condition to pursue its march were not completed before he found himself encompassed by the whole army of Salabut Jung. To retreat under such circumstances a distance of two hundred miles to Masulipatam, presented, as its most favorable consequences, the desertion of a large portion of the sepoys, the loss of his sick, and the escape of a shattered remnant of his corps within the walls of Masulipatam; while a pursuing enemy would be destroying all his resources. He determined to take post where he was, and to abide the result of his military efforts, his intrigues among the chiefs, and the reinforcements expected from Pondicherry. These reinforcements enabled M. Moracin, the French chief at Masulipatam, to equip a force of nearly five hundred Europeans, eleven hundred sepoys, and eleven field pieces, which marched for Hyderabad under the orders of Mr. Law. Great efforts were made to cut off this detachment: and although M. Bussy had purchased the inaction of some of the chiefs sent against it, the difficulties which opposed its progress were such as could only have been surmounted by the utmost coolness, determination, and military skill; and if this be the same Mr. Law who commanded the French troops at Seringham in 1753, it is just to his character to conclude, that his conduct on that service must have been governed by circumstances which he had not the power to control. The able dispositions of M. Bussy kept the great body of Salabut Jung's army in his own presence, while he made a small but efficient detachment to aid this reinforcement on its near approach, when the enemy's efforts became most serious, so that Mr. Law formed the junction, with considerable loss it is true, but much less than might have been expected from the service performed, and with all his

equipments in a perfect state of efficiency. The party at court was appalled by this unexpected success; and the junction was scarcely formed, when a messenger arrived from Salabut Jung proposing a reconciliation. M. Bussy was too prudent to be difficult in his terms, and on the 20th of August, not three months after his expulsion, he was received by Salabut Jung in public Durbar with all the marks of distinction and confidence that he had formerly enjoyed.

In the meanwhile, the troops which had been sent from England for the purpose of uniting with Balajee Row in the expulsion of the French from the Deckan had arrived at Bombay; and while waiting the result of his double negociations, that chief had the address to procure their employment in the destruction of the piratical state of Angria, on the coast of Malabar; a service certainly of some utility to both parties, but altogether foreign to the great national object for which these troops had been sent to India; of which, from the loss of some despatches, the Indian governments seem not to have been apprized in sufficient time; and afterwards they disagreed in their opinion of the expediency and justice of the measure.* The operations against Angria employed the troops until the approach of the south-west monsoon, when the expulsion of M. Bussy and Salabut Jung's embassy to Madras left Balajee Row still more undecided in his views.†

The propositions of Salabut Jung opened to the government of Madras the most favorable prospect of accomplishing all their objects in Deckan and the south; and, as Balajee Row had foreseen, completely changed their policy with regard to a connection with the Mahrattas. The relative force of the French and English in Coromandel was so nearly equal as to justify their making a detachment, which was accordingly prepared, when misfortunes of the greatest urgency required the service of every disposable soldier in a distant quarter. The loss of Calcutta, aggravated by the horrible massacre of the black hole, demanded every effort that national indignation could suggest; and it was

* The plan of sending out these troops was formed in England while the Directors were still ignorant of the truce and conditional treaty. On their arrival, the governments of Madras and Bombay discussed the possibility of employing them consistently with the terms of those public instruments. On the avowal of Mr. Deleyrit, mentioned in p. 234, the government of Madras decided that they ought, and that of Bombay that they ought not, to be employed. It does not appear that the specific plan of employing them in the Deckan was ever proposed to Balajee Row: but the general object of obtaining the aid of an English corps was in his direct contemplation, and he made an earnest request to that effect when approaching Savanore, before it was certain that he would be joined by Salabut Jung and Bussy.

† His real views in the late service had, however, been entirely frustrated. He expected the whole of Angria's wealth, the accumulated plunder of a length of years; and, in a letter to Madras, complains grievously that his good friends had taken the prize to themselves as the real captors.

accordingly determined to apply to that purpose the troops which had been destined for the Deckan. M. Bussy's reconciliation with Salabut Jung had been entirely matured before these reinforcements could be ready for their new destination; and he considered his interests at court to be sufficiently confirmed to admit of his proceeding with the greater part of his force to regulate the ceded districts; leaving with Salabut Jung, who proceeded to Aurungabad, a guard of no more than two hundred select Europeans and five hundred sepoys.

Nizam Ali Khan, and Basalut Jung, the younger brothers of Salabut, were thought to possess some talents, and abundant ambition. According to the usual policy of eastern courts, they had been kept about the person of their elder brother without any employment, until the departure of the French troops at Savanore, at which period they had respectively attained the ages of twenty-two and twenty-three years. Where the sword is not only in practice, but in grave theory, the arbiter of political right, persons so circumstanced always find a party attached to their fortunes; and on this occasion, Shahnowaz Khan had found it expedient to secure these parties by yielding to the solicitations of the young men for a suitable establishment. Nizam Ali Khan was accordingly entrusted with the government of Berar; and Basalut Jung with that of Adwanee (Adoni) and Rachore, with suitable personal jageers; and the old statesman was supposed to have the farther view of affording an opportunity for the display of their respective talents, for the purpose of enabling him to make a proper selection of a successor to Salabut Jung, who had too much and too little capacity to be a vigorous master, or a pageant entirely passive.

It is difficult to trace, and for our immediate purpose it is not of much importance to ascertain, the secret history of the combination between this minister and the younger brothers, by which a mutiny of the troops at Aurungabad in 1757 was rendered the pretext of confiding the seal of State to Basalut Jung; according to some accounts, before the arrival of Nizam Ali, who afterwards obtained it; and according to other statements, first to Nizam Ali, who resigned it under a secret compact to his brother: and it is equally difficult to extract anything distinct or intelligible from the history of mock or real hostility and pacification with Balajee Row, about the same time. The confusion seemed to be distinctly aimed at the life of Salabut Jung, which was probably saved by the presence of the French guard alone: and M. Bussy, on receiving the intelligence, marched with the whole of his troops for Aurungabad, where he arrived early in February 1758, and found the armies encamped without any symptoms of actual or recent hostility: Balajee Row at the head of the Mahrattas, Nizam Ali commanding not only the troops of Berar but the army of the Soubadar; and Basalut Jung the

troops of Adwanee. The presence of M. Bussy's army, and his personal influence and address, fixed his wavering friends, and deterred his enemies from executing the plan of revolution which had unquestionably been formed; but the danger to which his interests had now for a second time been exposed from the defective arrangement of hazarding a corps in the midst of open or concealed enemies, without a depôt or point of support within the distance of four hundred miles, suggested to him the necessity of possessing some place of strength in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, which Salabut Jung seems at this time to have intended as his principal residence. He fixed on the impregnable rock of Dowlutabad; and having bought the place from the governor, it was concerted that it should appear to be taken by surprise, while M. Bussy, attended by a strong guard of Europeans (which the known projects of treachery had rendered not unusual at that period), should be on a visit to the governor at the summit of the rock; and the object was accomplished with little bloodshed, and without the loss of a single Frenchman. The Killedar or governor was a dependant of Shahnowaz Khan; the garrison was in his immediate pay; and according to the usual custom, the fortress was considered to belong more to the chief whose troops possessed it, than to the State of which he was the servant. This was consequently an unpardonable insult to Shahnowaz Khan; and as his removal from office was indispensable to the plan of administration in M. Bussy's contemplation, he was arrested* in camp by the troops of Salabut Jung, who was privy to the whole transaction, at the same time that M. Bussy seized the fortress. Until this period Nizam Ali continued to be refractory, and to express his open discontent at the arrangement suggested by M. Bussy, and announced by Salabut Jung, of removing him from Berar to the less extensive government of Hyderabad; but these decisive measures, of which he did not clearly perceive the ultimate object, induced him to dissemble compliance, and he prepared to depart with apparent good will to his new government.

M. Bussy had selected for his Dewan a person named Hyder Jung, who had first recommended himself to notice by his zeal and intelligence as an officer of sepoys. Being a man of education and good connections, of great sagacity and excellent address, and possessing a subtlety of character which naturally fitted him for intrigues, he became the confidential agent of M. Bussy in all the secret machinations which he was obliged to adopt, and was in consequence elevated to high dignities and suitable jageers by M. Bussy's influence, for the purpose of facilitating his access in every direction. Shahnowaz Khan and Nizam Ali, whose interests the course of events had entirely

* These arrests, usually named *nezerbundee*, do not in common remove the ordinary guards by which a chief is surrounded.

united, determined that his removal was an essential preliminary to the accomplishment of their own views. The day on which Salabut Jung was to pay his devotions at the tomb of his father, some miles from Aurungabad, was fixed on by Nizam Ali for holding a public levee, to receive the compliments of the principal officers of the government, previously to his departure; and Hyder Jung, who was invited to a private audience in a separate tent, on the pretext of soliciting his protection for the friends of Nizam Ali at court, was there murdered by his direction. M. Bussy saw at once the probable extent of the plot; and on the first alarm, sent a strong detachment to secure the return of Salabut Jung, and another to remove Shahnowaz Khan to the fort of Dowlutabad. This prisoner, supposing his death to be intended, made a desperate resistance, and was killed with most of his adherents; and Nizam Ali, who expected a different result from the confusion of the day, fled on the same night, attended by a small escort, and did not stop till he arrived at Burhanpoor, on the Tapti, a distance of about one hundred and sixty miles, about the middle of May.

Salabut Jung prepared to pursue, and made a few marches for that purpose to the northward; but as Nizam Ali would necessarily retire as he should advance, the pursuit of an unincumbered fugitive was given up from a conviction of its inutility; and the army returned by easy stages and a winding route to the eastward of Aurungabad, for the purpose of establishing the authority of the government. M. Bussy's endeavours to attach Basalut Jung to the interests of his elder brother seemed to be successful, and a [illegible] of order and satisfaction began to appear in every department of the State.

The ceded provinces yielded abundant resources for the payment of M. Bussy's troops. He had secured, by the possession of Dowlutabad, a place of security for the person whom he supported, and an important [illegible] operations to any extent that [illegible]. He had [illegible] the interests of his nation [illegible] a foundation not to be shaken by any ordinary [illegible]; when the [illegible] rance and [illegible] by a single dash of the pen, all that [illegible] M. Dupleix, and the consummate genius of M. Bussy had laboured for many years to advance [illegible] this state [illegible].

M. Lally had arrived [illegible] the French [illegible] in India, and his orders directing M. Bussy [illegible] that could be spared from the [illegible] to proceed without delay to Pondicherry, were received [illegible] the true spirit of a soldier, who [illegible]. The expectation of these orders [illegible] M. Bussy [illegible] Salabut Jung towards [illegible] Dowlutabad was withdrawn, and on the 18th of July Salabut Jung, who was unable to com-

prehend these strange orders, took his last leave of M. Bussy in an agony of the deepest grief, astonishment, and despair. With the departure of M. Bussy our retrospect must return to Coromandel.

The year 1757, although full of minor incidents, produced no event in Coromandel that had any decisive influence on the fate of the war. In the centre of the province the chief strength of the French and English troops manœuvred in each other's presence, without coming to serious action; and M. D'Autueil, by a well-concerted movement to the south, attempted to acquire Trichinopoly, which was weakly garrisoned, while the English troops were engaged in distant operations in Tinnevelly. In this he was foiled by the superior address of Captain Calliaud, who, with a small corps, of whose approach M. D'Autueil was perfectly apprised, threw himself into the place, in the face of numbers which he was unable to meet in action, and compelled the French force to retire to Pondicherry without a farther effort.

In the northern and southern extremities of the province, two brothers of Mohammed Ali, Nejeeb Oolla at Vellore, and Mahphuz Khan in Tinnevelly, were in open hostility. Nejeeb Oolla, in close alliance with the French at Masulipatam, kept a respectful distance from Nellore, his own capital, when an armament sent under Colonel Forde besieged the place, and was repulsed by the officer left in command. Mahphuz Khan, sometimes affecting obedience, at others avowing hostility, was alternately a puppet in the hands of his own officers, or of the Poligars, who sheltered their own views of independence under the pretext of adherence to his cause; and this capricious and incompetent man was one day elated with dreams of sovereignty, and on the next reduced to the want of the common necessaries of life. In the centre, in the meantime, the improvidence and profligacy of another brother, Abdul Wahab Khan, when a friend, was equivalent in its consequences to the presence of another enemy; a character which for some time he also assumed. The English officer commanding the garrison of Arcot had imprudently manifested some suspicions, which his government seems to have considered groundless: but they had induced Abdul Wahab to fly in the night to Chittoor, from whence he seized and improved Chandergherry, the ancient capital of the fugitive kings of Carnatic, a citadel built on the summit of a stupendous rock, with a fortified town at its foot, which he intended to render the seat of a separate government. The French had acquired Chittapet and other less important places, and on the whole, their interests in the centre of the province had been materially improved.

On the 28th of April 1758, M. Lally arrived with a powerful armament, which rendered the French force so decidedly superior to that of the English, as to leave little doubt of the success

of their future operations; and the instructions from France prescribed their commencing with the siege of Fort St. David. M. Lally was an officer of some experience and ardent courage, and perfectly versed in all that may be considered as the mechanical part of the military profession. He had lived much in courts, and to the exterior manners of the best society added a quickness, point, and facility of expression; and when offended, a virulence and asperity of remark which amounted to wit or was mistaken for it. But defective in temper and good disposition, these superficial accomplishments rendered him insolent and vain; and while arrogating, from his experience and knowledge of the world, a superiority over all mankind, he was absolutely destitute of the reach of mind necessary for comprehending or directing great affairs. The practice of European warfare was with him the bed of Procrustes, to which all Indian habits and prejudices must be forcibly accommodated; and the connexions with Indian States, and that of M. Bussy in particular he treated as visionary jobs puffed into importance by the interests of those who framed them. On the very evening of the day on which M. Lally arrived at Pondicherry one thousand Europeans and as many sepoys marched for Fort St. David. Preparation was a mere pretext of Indian apathy, and he would teach another tactic. They marched without proper guides, and after wandering in the dark, arrived before Fort St. David soon after daylight, hungry and without provisions, which did not leave Pondicherry until the following day; and the men straggling and wandering in quest of food, might have been cut off in detail if the English garrison had been directed by a proper degree of intelligence and vigour. No useful energy was omitted in seconding the impracticable orders of M. Lally, but the government of Pondicherry did not possess a train of ordnance carts, the [illegible] and equipments for the [illegible] could not be moved by [illegible]; and the whole of the [illegible] march with [illegible] It was [illegible] avail for the expense [illegible] and military [illegible] that the [illegible] was a violation of all [illegible] [illegible] of a [illegible] to the [illegible] who had never [illegible] of the Indian [illegible] Fort St. David was [illegible] far [illegible].

For the [illegible] M. Lally [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible] to a detachment of [illegible]

troops sent from Dindigul in May 1758. But the vigour and decision of Captain Calliaud's operations, the instant that the French troops had departed, induced the Mysooreans to abandon it precipitately on the same night; leaving behind some valuable military stores, and eight pieces of French artillery.

The English, concluding from the superior force of M. Lally, that his next operation would be the siege of Madras, which had lately undergone some reforms, and was in a weak and unfinished state, had been early in their arrangements for withdrawing all their stores and troops from the central stations of Carangooly, Chingleput, Conjeveram, and Arcot, which were consigned to the charge of a provincial rabble, for the purpose of strengthening the garrison of Madras: adverting to the condition of that place, it might be doubted whether M. Lally ought not to have attacked it in its dismantled state with his actual force, rather than wait for reinforcements, and thus give time for completing the unfinished works and augmenting the garrison: but the opposite opinion prevailed: the troops of M. Bussy had not yet arrived, and M. Lally had the choice of two intermediate operations until he should be in strength to undertake the siege of Madras. The whole centre and west of the province was at his mercy, and its conquest would enlarge his fixed resources: but he was in want of large and immediate supplies of money. The general detestation which his conduct had excited in all descriptions of men, European and native, deprived him of the resources of public or personal credit, which better measures would have insured; and in concurrence with the advice of his council he marched against Tanjore. When the Raja of that place was besieged in 1750 by Muzuffer Jung and Chunda Saheb, he amused them by various pretences for the purpose of protracting their operations, in the expectation of the arrival of Nasir Jung; and, among other means, had executed a bond to Chunda Saheb for fifty-six lacs of Rupees, which remained in the possession of the government of Pondicherry. A competitor for the Raj of Tanjore, who had been supported by the English in 1749, had also been found at Fort St. David, and the apprehension of being supplanted by this person might add to the other fears of the Raja.

About the middle of June the army marched towards Tanjore; but such was the abhorrence of the natives for M. Lally, that few could be induced to engage with draught or carriage cattle for the service of the army. The only routine of supply which experience had shown to be practicable was still held in contempt; and the soldiers, hungry, indignant, and scrambling for a precarious supply in the villages, marched one hundred miles to Karical, whither supplies and stores had been sent by sea, before they obtained a regular meal; and the number of sick was proportionably increased by these wanton and unnecessary priva-

tions. On advancing from hence, M. Lally found at Trivaloor abundance of paddy, or rice in the husk; but from the total want of followers it could not be deprived of its husks, by which operation alone it can be rendered fit for human food. Contracts for the plunder and ransom of towns, and sweeping off the cattle to be sold on the sea-coast, caused his march to resemble an Indian predatory expedition rather than the warfare of a civilized people. The Pagodas were violated to search for imaginary idols of gold, and six unfortunate bramins, who returned to linger about the temples of their religion, were blown away as spies from the muzzles of his cannon. On his arrival before Tanjore, with a train and equipment insufficient from the want of conveyance, the Raja negociated, and seemed disposed at one time to compromise with M. Lally; but on the mean threat, if he did not immediately comply, of being carried with his family as slaves to the island of Mauritius, he determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Captain Caillaud at Trichinopoly, who, on the movement of M. Lally to the south, had been joined by the corps of Mohammed Issoof from Tinnevelly, was cautious in his aid to the Raja of Tanjore so long as any probability appeared of his treating with the French to proceed, according to M. Lally's plan, to the siege of Trichinopoly; but as soon as he was satisfied from his intelligence that the Raja's indignation would hold him steady to his resolve, he was more liberal and efficient in his reinforcements. In the meanwhile the French and English squadrons had fought two naval actions, indecisive with regard to captures, but honourable, if not advantageous, to the latter; and M. Lally, when the operations of the siege were drawing to a crisis, and his ammunition to a close, received intelligence that the English squadron, after the second action, had appeared before Karical and threatened a descent.

The plunder of the country, instead of ensuring plenty, had produced [illegible] every description of [illegible] in the camp; a council of war [illegible] Karical by [illegible] and the expedition terminated [illegible] the latter- [illegible] than a few [illegible] which the [illegible] ex- [illegible] by the [illegible] of Karical.

[illegible] M. Lally had [illegible] by [illegible] The troops [illegible] from [illegible] to occupy [illegible] with equal [illegible] [illegible]

M. L[illegible] his attention to the [illegible] by the English, and

in September was joined at Wandiwash by M. Bussy, who had left the command of the troops to M. Moracin, and proceeded without an escort under the safeguard of a passport, which, in respect for his personal character, had been readily granted by the government of Madras. On the 4th of October, M. Lally's public entry into Arcot, the capital of the province, was announced by salutes from all the French garrisons, and he now only waited the arrival of the northern troops; but neglecting the capture of Chingleput, reinforcements from England enabled the government of Madras to re-occupy that important post, in such a manner as to place it beyond his reach without the delays of a regular siege.

M. Moracin on passing Vellore was joined by Nejeeb Oolla and his troops; and leaving on his left the eastern range of hills which approach the sea near to Paliacate, proceeded through the valley of Calastri and Tripeti, and was met at the latter place, which is only ten miles from Chandergherry, by Abdul Wahab. The Pagoda of Tripeti, the resort of pilgrims from the farthest limits of the Hindoo religion, is situated in an elevated bason surrounded by a circular crest of hills; and during the successive revolutions of the country, these sacred precincts, guarded by four Poligars, or Cawilkars, who are its hereditary watchmen, had not only never been profaned by Mohammedan or Christian feet, but even the exterior of the temple has never been seen* by any but a genuine Hindoo. The reciprocal interests of the bramins and the successive governments had compromised this forbearance by the payment of a large revenue, which the bramins exacted from the pilgrims; and at this time the stipulated annual snm paid to the government was thirty thousand pounds. As this was a certain source of revenue, generally collected without trouble, and conveniently situated for the purposes of Abdul Wahab, he strenuously urged its being ceded to him as the price of uniting permanently with the French, against the English and his brother: but M. Moracin, who was instructed to realize as much money as possible, rented out the collections of the Pagoda for the current year on receiving a considerable portion in advance; and Abdul Wahab, disappointed in this object, left the French on the next day's march, and made a merit of this defection in negociating a reconciliation with Mohammed Ali.

M. Lally, on receiving all the reinforcements that he expected, moved against Madras, where he arrived on the 14th of December, and broke ground against the place on the 17th. The relative numbers of the besiegers and besieged were pretty nearly proportioned to their respective situations; but M. Lally's

* The author was formerly on duty for eighteen months in the woods of that neighbourhood, and frequently climbed to the summits of the neighbouring hills without being able to get even a distant glimpse of the Pagoda.

means of conveyance for the immense quantity of stores required for a regular siege continued to be defective. The English garrison was composed of select officers and excellent troops. The forms of the company's government at that time required that the civil governor should exercise the chief command; but fortunately, Mr Pigot possessed all the zeal and much of the knowledge, required in that arduous situation; and all the operations were in effect conducted by his second Colonel Lawrence, one of the best soldiers of his age. The precaution had been taken of ordering Mohammed Esoof with the regular troops of his command, and as many more as he could raise, to move from the southward; and he was joined by a small detachment from Chinglepat under Captain Preston, by a body of horse procured by Captain Calliaud in Tanjore, and by Abdul Wahab with one thousand horse. This corps acted with some success on the line of the enemy's communications with Pondicherry and the countries from which they obtain their supplies, and materially increased the difficulties of the siege, which, after the most vigorous and skilful efforts on both sides, was raised on the 17th of February 1759, exactly two months from the day of breaking ground; M. Lally leaving behind him twenty-three pieces of battering cannon, and nineteen of smaller calibre. Mohammed Ali had taken up his residence in the fort on the approach of the besiegers, but being of no use, and much encumbrance, was sent off by sea to the southern coast, from whence he proceeded to Trichinopoly. The slender services of Abdul Wahab were rewarded by a confirmation of his possessions at Chandergherry and [illegible]. Nejeeb Oolla had accompanied the French army to Madras, but the operations of a siege were not suited to his taste, and as soon as he began to suspect that Madras might not be taken he departed with the entire [illegible] of M. Lally, who [illegible] him and his troops [illegible]. The [illegible] of the [illegible] in their [illegible] him to [illegible] a preliminary [illegible] which [illegible] his final [illegible] accepted.

The English army [illegible] the field from Madras [illegible] after [illegible] very [illegible] withdrawn [illegible] M. Bussy from [illegible]. The English [illegible] their [illegible] the French [illegible] under [illegible] French [illegible] M. [illegible] before Masulipatam [illegible] various [illegible] to march to the relief of the French and on his

approach Colonel Forde achieved, on the seventh of April, the capture of Masulipatam by the daring enterprize of storming in the night a breach scarcely practicable, and across a ditch fordable with difficulty at ebb tide, defended by a garrison more numerous than the assailants, and possessing one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon. This brilliant exploit, and the advance towards Hyderabad of Nizam Ali, who had collected an army to supplant his brother, or, in the Indian phrase, "to regulate the affairs of the State," induced Salabut Jung to negociate with Colonel Forde. The treaty executed in consequence was entirely in favor of the English, without any reciprocal obligation. A territory was ceded of the annual value of four lacs of Rupees. The French were to be entirely expelled from the Deckan,* and each party was merely not to support the enemies or refractory subjects of the other.

This instrument was scarcely executed, when Salabut Jung was urgent for the aid of Colonel Forde against Nizam Ali: an object which might probably have been secured, if he had rendered it a condition of the treaty. But Colonel Forde was still more anxious for the destruction of a French corps of observation which had kept the field, and was now under the declared protection of Basalut Jung. Each considered his own object to be of primary importance; neither would yield; and Salabut Jung, accompanied by the French corps which he had agreed to expel, marched towards Hyderabad. When arrived near to that city, a negociation ensued, which replaced Nizam Ali in the exact position from which he had been removed in the preceding year by the address of M. Bussy; and Basalut Jung, who in his office of Dewan had really exercised the chief power of the State, finding himself thus supplanted in the Deckan, marched for the establishment of an empire of his own in the south, accompanied by the French corps of observation, in which were two hundred Europeans only, and which, added to his own troops, formed a body of about two thousand horse, and eight thousand infantry, with a tolerably good train of artillery. He gave out that he was merely proceeding to his government at Adwanee, but soon directed his march to the south-east, levying contributions as he proceeded; and in the month of July approached Nellore, from whence Nejeeb Oolla, full of terror and conscious guilt, sent incessant dispatches to Madras supplicating assistance: but Basalut Jung was satisfied with a contribution, and crossed the river Pennar to the westward of that town. He now publicly gave out that he was on his march to join the French in the province of Arcot; but in the uncertainty of the times he did not neglect to provide himself with eventual resources, if their cause should become desperate.

* This treaty defines the Deckan to be bounded on the south by the Kistna, according to the popular acceptation which has been noticed.

A Hindoo named Sunput Row had been the Dewan or minister of finance of Anwar u Deen: and as, during his life-time, he had shown a disposition to support the views of the elder and only legitimate son, Mahphuz Khan, he had been discarded by Mohammed Ali, and continued to preserve a secret correspondence with Mahphuz Khan; but had not yet considered the prospects of that chief sufficiently promising, to justify the risk of the great wealth which he possessed by openly espousing his cause. He was now, for the purpose of escaping observation, residing at Calastri; and opened a negociation with Basalut Jung, who saw in Mahphuz Khan a pageant sufficiently apt to be employed under any circumstances which might occur, as a French or an English Nabob: for the last of the French Nabobs, Murteza Khan, seemed to have tacitly relinquished his appointment.

The letters of Basalut Jung to Mahphuz Khan, assenting to the plans communicated through Sunput Row, found him in his accustomed state of sordid splendour, but under difficulty to obtain the ordinary meal of the day; and the hopes which had so often been crushed were once more revived, previously to their entire extinction. Sunput Row opened his own treasures, and prevailed on the Poligars of Calastri and Vencatigerri to assist with money and troops; and Basalut Jung was equally, but with different views, solicited by the French, and by the party of Mahphuz Khan, to advance into the centre of the province: while Nizam Ali, who dreaded in his connexion with the French the return of M. Bussy to the Deckan, and was desirous of inducing him to relinquish every plan of ambition, and return to a private station at his jageer, had sent an agent to his camp, who was profuse in his offers of additional grants of territory to obtain a reconciliation. Basalut Jung was thus equally ready to side with either of the parties in the province of Arcot, against that which should prove to be the weakest: or to return to his jageer, if the course of events should render that the most prudent measure. An English corps of observation which had been sent to act upon his rear if he should determine to advance was now in the neighbourhood of Calastri: and M. Bussy was in motion with a French corps, which, according to calculation, and repeated assurances, ought long since to have joined him. But an alarming mutiny of the French troops for want of pay had delayed M. Bussy's advance, and Basalut Jung, who had now obtained from Sunput Row and the Poligars all the money that he expected, and did not like the vicinity of the English troops, on receiving accounts of the disorderly state of the French army, struck off to the west on the nineteenth of October and crossing the hills, entered the country of Kurpa, still accompanied by the French corps and by Sunput Row.

As soon as the agitation of the French troops had subsided,

M. Bussy pursued his march by a different route, and arrived at Kurpa on the tenth of November. Basalut Jung, who foresaw the fate that awaited his elder brother, in all his negociations with M. Bussy stipulated for the aid of French troops against Nizam Ali; and distinctly unfolded the extent of his own views, and of those which Sunput Row continued to indulge. He demanded "that he should be recognized by the French as sovereign of the whole Carnatic, meaning thereby all the countries south of the Kistna: that the government of the province of Arcot should be regulated in whatever manner he should hereafter determine, without any interference of the French, who should give up whatever territory they possessed, and receive from him a pecuniary remuneration equal to one-third of the revenues; and that their auxiliary troops, which he might require in offensive or defensive war with Nizam Ali, should be entirely paid by himself: on the adjustment of which conditions, and the advance of four lacs of Rupees for his troops, he would instantly accompany M. Bussy to Arcot." These were rather the terms of an established sovereign, than of a person subsisting from day to day: but in the judgment of Sunput Row, they were the only conditions on which he could safely break altogether with Nizam Ali, or form a reasonable hope of establishing a real sovereignty independant of European control. The negociation accordingly broke off; but he gratified M. Bussy with an instrument which it seemed of little utility to solicit, namely, a sunnud, enjoining all officers in the province of Arcot to pay obedience to M. Lally, who had lately, of his own authority, made a fifth change since the beginning of the war, in the office of French Nabob, by the re-appointment of Reza Saheb. M. Bussy found the French corps with Salabut Jung in distress, even for their daily food; but his personal credit everywhere commanded money, of which he raised at Kurpa enough, not only to satisfy the immediate want of these troops, whom he now incorporated with his own, but to engage a body of four hundred good horse, with which on the tenth of December he returned to Arcot.

CHAPTER XI.

Retrospect continued—Appointment and character of Colonel Coote—his capture of Wandiwash—Adverse opinions of M. Lally and M. Bussy regarding the plan of the Campaign—Siege of Wandiwash—raised by a splendid victory—M. Lally, pressed by the rigorous operations of Colonel Coote, applies to Mysoor, as has been related—A detachment of Hyder under Muckhdoom was in the intermediate and recently conquered country of Baramahal—and is ordered to Pondicherry—terms of his service—occupation of Thiagar—he defeats an English detachment—Hyder elated with this success re-enforces Muckhdoom—Plan of the Dowager, the Raja, and Kundè Row, for Hyder's destruction—singular result—flies in the night and deserts his family—arrives at Bangalore—recals Muckhdoom—Accession of Fuzzul Oolla—who is defeated in attempting to join Muckhdoom—Desperate state of Hyder's affairs—relieved by an event which he could not comprehend—its explanation—once more takes the field—is defeated by Kundè Row—Effrontery of Hyder's application to Nunjeraj—who is deceived, and unites with him—Stratagem practised on Kundè Row—and consequent dispersion of his army—Hyder descends to Coimbatore—and after recovering that province returns to Seringapatam—another stratagem completely deceive Despair of Kundè Row and the Raja—Negociation—terminates in Hyder's final usurpation of the government—Deception regarding the fate of Kundè Row—Hyder proceeds to Bangalore.

THE French and English governments had, after the truce of 1755, been competitors for the fame of impolicy and injustice, in superseding two such men as M. Bussy and Colonel Lawrence. Five French officers of superior rank had done still greater honor to themselves than to M. Bussy, in signing a request to M. Lally that he might be placed above them. Colonel Lawrence had in 1757 given his services as a volunteer to the second officer by whom he had been superseded, but the recal of Colonel Adlercorn left him in command of the troops which defended Madras. The fatigues of that trying service had again impaired his health, and he had lately carried with him to England the affectionate regret of all his countrymen, and the general respect of the natives of India. Colonel Brereton, on whom the command devolved, conducted the operations of the campaign of 1759, in the centre of the province, with intelligence and vigour; but naturally wishing to achieve some distinguished exploit before the arrival of his successor, had in September failed with great loss in an attempt on Wandiwash; and the English government had now redeemed all their errors, by the appointment of Colonel Coote to the command of the army of Madras. He arrived on the twenty-seventh of October; and joined the head quarters of the troops cantoned for the rains at Conjeveram on the twenty-first of November 1759.

The earliest measures of this officer seemed to infuse new intelligence and decision into all the operations of the troops. Nature had given to Colonel Coote all that nature can confer in the formation of a soldier, and the regular study of every branch

of his profession, and experience in most of them, had formed an accomplished officer. A bodily frame of unusual vigour and activity, and mental energy always awake, were restrained from excessive action by a patience and temper which never allowed the spirit of enterprize to outmarch the dictates of prudence. Daring valour and cool reflexion strove for the mastery in the composition of this great man. The conception and execution of his designs equally commanded the confidence of his officers; and a master at once of human nature, and of the science of war, his rigid discipline was tempered with an unaffected kindness, and consideration for the wants and even the prejudices of those whom he commanded, which won the affections of the European soldiers, and rendered him the idol* of the native troops.

His first act was to assemble a council of war, for the purpose of hearing and discussing the opinions of his principal officers regarding the operations of the ensuing campaign. A detachment of the French army had re-occupied Seringham, and other divisions were employed in distant parts of the province: it was accordingly resolved to open the campaign by attacking Wandiwash. The first movements were ostensibly directed against Arcot; but the preparations were so skilfully combined, that Wandiwash was carried on the twenty-ninth of November before it was possible for the French to move a sufficient body of troops for its relief: and Carangooly was reduced in a few days afterwards. The distant detachments made by M. Lally were partly occasioned by the urgency of his affairs; but the loss of these two places showed him the necessity of concentrating his force. The two armies arrived in each other's presence in the neighbourhood of Arcot early in January 1760. Colonel Coote's inferiority in cavalry determined him to avoid a general action under any circumstances of disadvantage. M. Bussy's conception of the campaign was to make use of this superiority, to act on the communications of the English army, and thus compel it to fight at a disadvantage, or retire to Madras for supplies; and in either case the recovery of Wandiwash and Carangooly would be easy and certain. M. Lally was of a different opinion, and expected to be able, under circumstances entirely dissimilar, to re-take Wandiwash, with a select corps, while the rest of his army should occupy the attention of the English. Colonel Coote was not to be so amused, but approached within two easy marches of Wandiwash: and M. Lally, finding his original intention frustrated, was also obliged to concentrate his force. Colonel Coote had entire confidence in the garrison; they reciprocally trusted to the wisdom and energy of his measures, and prepared to sustain the attack with perfect coolness and decision; he

* His portrait is hung up in the exchange at Madras; and no sepoy who has served under him ever enters the room without making his obeisance to *Coote Bahauder*.

therefore determined to leave M. Lally to waste his strength in an unprofitable siege, until the breach should be practicable, when he hoped to relieve the place by striking a decisive blow either at the trenches and batteries, or the army which protected them, according to the opportunity which might be afforded by the manœuvres of the enemy. On the twentieth of January the report of the officer commanding in Wandiwash determined him to move; and on the twenty-second he obtained a decisive victory over M. Lally's army, which retreated with the loss of upwards of one fourth of his European troops, twenty-four pieces of cannon, and all its equipments and military stores. M. Lally had committed great errors in the plan of his campaign; and in the early operations of the twenty-second had been completely out-manœuvred by Colonel Coote; who, by a most judicious movement, had placed his little army in a position where he had a free communication with the fort, and a flank protected by its fire; with the advantageous choice of attacking the batteries and trenches, or the French camp. Although M. Lally did not penetrate in sufficient time to prevent it, the intention of this able movement, it must be admitted that he exerted himself with judgment and skill to remedy the oversight: but the superior mind of Colonel Coote, who provided with caution against every contingency, restrained his troops until he saw the opportunity of turning a flank, and deciding by corresponding efforts the fortune of the day. M. Bussy was among the prisoners; and Colonel Coote did homage to his character, by immediately complying with his request for a passport to Pondicherry. The judgment of Colonel Coote, in availing himself of the consequences of this brilliant victory, was, if possible, more conspicuous than the skill by which he had achieved it. M. Lally in his retreat committed the farther error of not re-inforcing Chittapet, which was taken on the twenty-ninth; on the tenth of February the capital was once more in possession of the English; and the indefatigable activity of Colonel Coote left scarcely a day of the ensuing campaign without some acquisition. A body of three thousand horse of Morari Row, who had served with M. Lally, left him on the reverse of his fortunes; the consequent superiority of the English cavalry enabled them to improve every advantage, and by daily circumscribing more and more the resources of the French, to look with some distant hope to the capture of Pondicherry. Under these circumstances M. Lally was induced to turn his attention towards Mysoor, with a view of obtaining the co-operation of that power. The negociation was opened by a church militant priest of doubtful history, who called himself the bishop of Halicarnassus; and on his report, two officers of rank were sent to settle the terms with Hyder, who protracted the final adjustment, and detached his brother-in-law Muckhdoom Ali, with power to conclude the treaty.

Muckhdoom Ali was already in the field, for the conquest of the Baramahal; a province situated on an intermediate level, between the first and second ranges of hills which separate the higher from the lower countries, and taking its name from the twelve fortresses built chiefly on rocky summits, which protected an equal number of subordinate divisions. This province, formerly part of the domain of the celebrated Jug Deo, had been conquered from Mysoor by the Patan Nabob of Kurpa; but in the year 1758 Kurpa was invaded by the Mahrattas, and reduced to the necessity of ceding one-half of its possessions. Assud Khan Mehteree, governor of the Baramahal on the part of Kurpa, a brave but improvident man, was superseded about this time by another officer; and came over to Hyder, representing the facility of seizing the province, and offering the aid of his own local information. This advantage, and the reduced strength of Kurpa, induced Hyder to undertake the conquest of Baramahal; but it was first expedient to reduce the intermediate fort and country of the Poligar of Anicul, situated on the eastern verge of the tract of woody hills extending from Savendy Droog to the Caveri, twenty-three miles south of Bangalore, and in the most direct road from Seringapatam to Baramahal; through which province also runs the best and most direct road to Pondicherry. Hyder had received a mission of similar import from Pondicherry in March 1759: and he availed himself of the first convenient opportunity to occupy those intermediate territories; and thus obtained a safe and uninterrupted communication with the centre of the province of Arcot.

As soon as Muckhdoom had accomplished these two objects, he proceeded, in conformity to Hyder's orders, to Pondicherry. The following were the general objects of the treaty which Muckhdoom was empowered to ratify. "That a corps of three thousand select horse and five thousand sepoys, with a due proportion of artillery, should be furnished by Hyder to serve with the French, and to be paid by them in the war of Coromandel: and that the fort of Thiagar, which had been taken by the French in September, should be permanently ceded to Mysoor, as a post of deposit and communication." This place is most commodiously situated for the purposes which have been stated; being about twenty miles from Ahtoor, which commands the pass leading from the districts of Salem and Shenkerrydroog, long in the possession of Mysoor; thirty-five miles from the gorge of the pass of Tingrecota, or Changama;* an easy and convenient access from the recent acquisition of Baramahal, and about fifty miles E. S. E. from

* Towns situated at the western and eastern extremities of the pass, which in Baramahal is named the pass of Tingrecota, and in Arcot the pass of Changama. Most passes in India take their names from the towns at their entrance, and are thus differently called by the people at their different extremities.

Pondicherry. "On the favorable conclusion of the war of Arcot, Trichinopoly,* Madura, and Tinnevelly, were to be ceded to Mysoor; and the French agreed to assist in their reduction. In the meanwhile the Mysooreans were to retain whatever they should themselves conquer in Arcot, but return these conquests, on the possession of equivalent territory in Madura or Tinnevelly."

Muckhdoom arrived at Thiagar with the first division of his troops on the 4th of June 1760; and soon after at Pondicherry, where he ratified the treaty on the 27th; and evading the English troops, returned on the following day to bring up the remainder of his corps, and a convoy of provisions, for the supply of which he made a most profitable contract.

Colonel Coote had by this time captured every French post of importance in the province, Thiagar and Ginjee excepted; and had circumscribed their force within the limits of a few miles round Pondicherry. For the purpose of confronting this new danger, he detached a corps under Major Moore, to which, holding too cheaply the military prowess of the Mysooreans, he appointed no more than one hundred and eighty European infantry, thirty Abyssinians, fifty hussars, eleven hundred sepoys, and sixteen hundred irregular horse. This corps was met on the 17th of July near to Trivadi by the whole body of Mysooreans proceeding to Pondicherry, and completely routed: the native horse and foot were entirely dispersed; the European troops escaped into Trivadi; the infantry, with the loss of one-third, and the cavalry, of one-half of their numbers. Hyder was much elated with the intelligence of this success; and sent reinforcements considerably exceeding the stipulated number, who were to act according to circumstances, and at all events to be employed in securing territory, which should be the pledge of his future conquests to the south of the Caveri. He prepared to augment still farther the troops in Arcot, by directing several detachments from different stations to assemble in Baramahal: and these increasing efforts might have given a different aspect to the war, which was terminated by the capture of Pondicherry in January 1761, if the greatest danger to which Hyder was ever exposed had not compelled him to look exclusively to his own preservation.

The old dowager, perceiving by the late indecent encroachments of Hyder, that the removal of Nunjeraj had only substituted another more dangerous usurper, who was gradually preparing the complete subversion of the government, opened her views to Kunde Row, under a previous oath of inviolable secrecy. She observed to him, and to the Raja, that a large portion of Hyder's troops was absent in the province of Arcot, in the re-

* Mr. Orme, who seems to have had access to French official documents, states Madura and Tinnevelly only, and is perhaps correct. But all my manuscripts add Trichinopoly.

inforcements moving to the Baramahal, and in the detachments serving in the assigned districts; that he was himself cantoned under the fire of the garrison, with one hundred horse and fifteen hundred infantry only. The remainder of the disposable troops, and the greater part of his artillery, being cantoned to the northward of the river, which was now full, the possession of the fort, which commanded the bridges over both its branches, cut him off from all reinforcement, and made him a prisoner in the island. Beenee* Visajee Pundit, with an army of twenty thousand Mahratta horse, was ravaging the country between Balipoor and Deonhully, to the north-east of the territory of Mysoor, and looking out for some power to whom he might sell his services; and the aid of a body of his troops might be secretly obtained: and if this opportunity were lost, the Hindoo house of Mysoor might be considered as extinct.

Kundè Row had been from his earliest youth the personal servant of Hyder, and entered with reluctance on a project involving the destruction of a person whose success in life he had so long considered as inseparable from his own: but the impression left on his mind by the late discussions, the more powerful consideration of religious attachment, and probably the view of placing himself in the exact position from which Hyder was to be removed, at length determined him; and with the dowager and the Raja he united in an oath of mutual fidelity, at the feet of the holy idol of the great temple of the capital.

There was at this time in Seringapatam a Soucar named Boucerjee, who had formerly resided at Poona, and had still commercial transactions in that city and country. He was the person selected to conduct, by means of his connections in the Mahratta camp, the negociation with Visajee Pundit; and six thousand horse were engaged, and approached Seringapatam. On the morning of the 12th of August, the day on which they were expected to arrive, the gates of the fort were not opened at the accustomed hour; and with the first of clear day-light, a tremendous cannonade opened on Hyder and his troops from all the works which bore on the position; which was the Maha† Noumi Muntup, situated on the ground now occupied by a part of the Deria‡ Dowlut Baug. Hyder, surprised at this unexpected salutation, gave immediate orders to call for Kundè Row;

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* The "Beenee Walla" in the Mahratta armies is a sort of quartermaster general, commanding the advanced guard, and a person who has filled that office generally retains *Beenee* as an epithet prefixed to his name.

† "The pavilion of the great ninth," viz., the last day of the festival commonly called the Dessara: on which day the Raja performed at this pavilion the ceremony of preparing his arms and pitching his tent and standard.

‡ "The garden of the wealth of the sea" with a palace erected and so named by Tippoo. The walls are covered with rude paintings of his military exploits, and particularly the defeat of Colonel Baillie in 1780.

but was still more astonished to hear that Kundè Row was distinctly perceived on the works, directing the fire of the artillery. He saw at once the extent of the treachery, and prepared to meet it with his accustomed presence of mind. The troops soon found cover in the ravines and hollows, without sustaining much loss; and his family in a miserable hut sheltered by its situation from the fire of the fort. At the same moment that the cannonade commenced, a detachment from the fort, which had passed the bridge before day, fell by surprise upon the infantry and artillery on the northern bank, and completely succeeded. Exclusively of the bridge over the northern branch, which was then situated opposite the western extremity of the fort, the convenience of the inhabitants who lived in the centre and eastern parts of the island required an establishment of ferry boats,* which are of a simple but excellent construction for military purposes; made of bamboo wicker work, constructed exactly in the manner of a common circular clothes-basket, covered, and rendered water-tight by green hides; and from eight to twelve feet diameter. Hyder's first care, after making a disposition of his small body of troops, was to secure all the boats and boatmen, in a situation concealed from the view of the fort, and see that they were all put in a state of perfect repair. The Mahrattas, according to custom, did not arrive at the appointed time; and Kundè Row postponed until their arrival his final attack upon Hyder; and during the day they mutually attempted to amuse each other with negociation.

It is stated by the family of Kundè† Row, that regular reports were brought to him of all Hyder's preparations; that Hyder in his messages recognized in the services of Kundè Row all the success that had attended him in life; represented that without his counsel he was helpless, and was now ready to be guided by his commands; and deprecated in terms of the utmost humility his proceeding to extremities. That Kundè Row, in reply, acknowledged in his turn the benefits which he had received from

* Herodotus, chap. i. sec. 94, notices as one of the most remarkable things he had seen at Babylon boats of a construction so exactly similar, that the description of one would precisely answer for the other with the single difference of substituting widow for bamboo. These boats carried the produce of Armenia, and "the parts above Assyria" down the Euphrates to Babylon; and each boat along with its cargo carried a few asses for the purpose of conveying the returns by a shorter overland route, a process not altogether unlike the trade on a larger scale of the Ohio and Mississippi at this day. Boats of the description noticed by Herodotus, although apparently unknown in Greece at that period, were in after ages commonly used in Italy on the Po, and in Britain in the time of Cæsar. Boats of the same materials but of different shape are used at this time in South Wales, and the north-west of Ireland: in the former country they are named *corracle*, in the latter *curragh*.

† Particularly by Butcherow, who was then sixteen years of age, and distinctly remembers the particulars.

Hyder, and disclaimed the intention of personal indignity; but stated that he was now the servant of the Raja, whose orders he must obey; that all he required from Hyder was to retire for ever from the service of Mysoor; and on receiving his promise to that effect, he would withdraw the guards from the opposite bank; and advised him to escape that night; as, on the morrow, he should be compelled to act decisively against him. I should hesitate to ascribe to Kundè Row the remnant of virtuous feeling which could dictate a conduct so politically imprudent if it were possible in any other manner to explain the known fact, that Hyder found the ordinary landing-place of the northern bank without a guard of any description. However this may be, he made a distribution of as much money and jewels as could be conveyed among his hundred horsemen, six officers, and two camel hircarras; all men of tried fidelity; and embarked immediately after the close of the day, swimming over the camels and horses, and loading them on the opposite bank with the proportion of treasure allotted to each: about twenty spare horses accompanied, for the purpose of replacing those which should first drop from fatigue: and thus equipped, Hyder left to their fate the whole of his family, and all his infantry; fled with all possible speed from the capital, and long before the arrival of the Mahrattas on the following morning he was far beyond the reach of their pursuit. At the dawn of day Kundè Row proceeded to the quarters deserted by Hyder, for the purpose of securing the remainder of the treasure, the stores, and cumbrous valuables. The infantry attempted no resistance: and Kundè Row gave orders for the immediate removal to the fort of the whole of Hyder's family, whom it is certain that he treated with kindness. Among them was Tippoo, then in his ninth year, and Kereem Saheb, born prematurely, in consequence of fright, on the preceding day.

The route of Hyder was to the north-eastward. Anicul and Bangalore are each distant from Seringapatam about seventy-five miles; the same road leads to each for near sixty miles, and then branches off to the east to Anicul, and to the north to Bangalore. The latter place was commanded by Kubbeer Beg, an old comrade and faithful friend. But the treachery of Kundè Row, who was the very last person that Hyder would have suspected, made him doubtful of the extent of the defection: and although Bangalore was his direct object, he was certain of Anicul, which was commanded by Ismaeel Ali, his brother-in-law: and there also he was certain of finding a small detachment of horse, preparing to march to the province of Arcot. He arrived at Anicul before day-light, forty horses out of one hundred and twenty having been left behind from fatigue, and their loads distributed among the remainder. Ismaeel Ali was instantly despatched to Bangalore for the purpose of ascertaining the fidelity of Kubbeer Beg,

and conveying Hyder's directions for his conduct. He arrived at an early hour, and found Kubbeer Beg true to his trust. The garrison was chiefly composed of Hindoo Peadas, and a smaller proportion of regular infantry, all Mohammedans: it was probable that the former would obey any orders they should receive from Kundè Row; and it was therefore deemed necessary to exclude them from the fort. It happened to be the usual period for pay and muster; and Kubbeer Beg issued, as a matter of ordinary detail, an order for the Peadas to assemble immediately for muster on the glacis; and the regular infantry to take the guards of the gates. This arrangement was scarcely completed, and the gates closed, when the orders of Kundè Row arrived, directing the Peadas to seize the Killedar, and preserve the fort for the Raja. It was too late: and Ismaeel Ali sent the requisite information to Hyder, who, attended by the detachment of horse which he found at Anicul, entered Bangalore on the evening of the 13th of August, having performed on horseback a journey of ninety-eight miles in twenty hours, the first seventy-five on the same horse.

Hyder was now left, as it were, to begin the world again, on the resources of his own mind. The bulk of his treasures and his train of artillery and military stores all lost: the territorial revenue at the command of Kundè Row: and the possessions on which he could rest any hope for the restoration of his affairs, were Bangalore at the northern, and Dindigul at the southern, extremity of the territories of Mysoor; with Anicul and the fortresses of Baramahal. The sole foundation of a new army was the corps of Muckhdoom Ali; and its junction was nearly a desperate hope. He had, however, despatched from Anicul positive orders for them to commence their march without an hour's delay; withdrawing altogether the garrison of Thiagar, and every man that could be spared from the posts of Baramahal: and similar directions were sent to the smaller detachments abroad. Muckhdoom Ali received these orders at Pondicherry on the 16th of August; and immediately communicated their general import to M. Lally. On the 13th of September he delivered the fort of Thiagar to a French detachment; and entered Baramahal through the pass of Changama, about the end of that month: retarded by the mass of plunder which had been collected in the province of Arcot.

In the meanwhile Hyder augmented his little military chest by a loan of forty thousand pounds on his personal credit from the soucars of Bangalore.* Some of the smaller detachments had joined, and that of Yaseen Khan† was of importance: individual

* The Petta, protected by separate defences, is a large and opulent manufacturing town.

† Surnamed "Wunta Codderie, single or unique horseman," from his personal exploits. He was formerly in the service of Mohammed Ali, which

soldiers attached to his fortunes were also daily coming in, who had either deserted from the hostile army or escaped from the small posts occupied by his troops, of which Kundè Row was daily getting possession: and soldiers of fortune of every description were invited to his standard. Among the persons whom he engaged in his service at this time was Fuzzul Oolla Khan, descended from a family of high rank at the court of Delhi, himself a soldier of distinguished reputation, and son-in-law of Dilaver Khan, the late Nabob of Sera. The Mahratta Balajee Row, on the conquest of that place in the year 1757, had assigned as a personal jageer to the family of Dilaver Khan a small district, including the town of Sera, which, according to the uniform practice of that people, had already been circumscribed preparatory to its gradual extinction. Fuzzul Oolla Khan, little disposed to be satisfied with a larger and undivided jageer, although affecting retirement, kept a small corps embodied for the ostensible purposes of police and security in these days of commotion. He was secretly surrounded by a considerable number, also affecting retirement, of his former companions in arms; and held constant communication with the adherents (scattered in various direc-

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he left in disgust in 1757: and came over to Hyder at Dindigul, with seven hundred sepoys, twenty horse, and two light guns. The number of his horse was now increased to five hundred. The blunt manners and genuine bravery of this man soon made him a personal favorite and associate of Hyder; who, although of courtly and insinuating address when the occasion demanded, was, in his ordinary habits, of coarse and vulgar manners, and a master in the low slang which is peculiar to India; the character of which may be conjectured, by fancying the union of considerable wit with the volubility of Billingsgate, and the obscenity of a brothel. Hyder and Yaseen Khan were rivals in this obscene eloquence; and the former was in the habit of amusing himself with the foul-mouthed wit of Wunta Cooderie, which he sometimes retorted with keen severity on his master.

It was some years after this period, that conversing on the subject of the battle of Chercolee, Hyder said it had been lost by the *nemuc haramee* of the army (literally being false to one's salt, properly treachery, or ingratitude, but also, figuratively, put for cowardice), and that he did not know the man who had done his duty on that day. "You are right," said Wunta Cooderie, "and I ran away with the rest; but (turning up towards him the socket of an eye, which he had lost by the wound of a sabre in that battle) eo die, cujus matris in vulvam hic oculus iniit?" On the occasion of another defeat, Hyder was pronouncing another philippic on *nemuc haramee*, and looked towards Yaseen Khan. "Why do you look at me?" said he: "you had better consult Nunjeraj on the subject of *nemuc haramee*." This dreadful jest would have cost the head of any other person: but Wunta Cooderie was a privileged man.

It was the practice of Hyder to take the musters of cavalry, by sending persons, without previous notice, to count the horses in the lines. The grooms and grass-cutters of Wunta Cooderie's command were instructed how to comport themselves on such occasions: and the muster-masters, pelted with clods, and bedaubed with horse-dung, were generally happy to escape before the grooms began with the reserved ammunition of stones. The muster-masters complained: but Hyder laughed at all the jokes of Wunta Cooderie: and it became well understood that his corps was exempted from muster.

tions) of his own family and that of his father-in-law, in the expectation of some turn, in the course of events, more favorable to their union and future enterprise.

The accession at this period of Fuzzul Oolla Khan, an experienced officer and a man of high rank, to the service of a person but just emerged from the obscurity of a Naick, gave great reputation to the cause of Hyder; and by the rapid augmentation of his numbers was also of substantial importance. The terms of his engagement evince the high value at which his services were rated, and furnish another feature in the character of the Mohammedans of India. The primary condition was the regulation of his place and rank at court (or in public durbar), and on this head he stipulated, that whether on a saddle-cloth,* a carpet, or a musnud, his place should be on the same seat with Hyder; his officer, but his equal: and that he should have the distinction of two honorary attendants standing behind him, holding fans composed of the feathers† of the humma, according to the practice of his family.

Muckhdoom Ali, on entering the Baramahal, had necessarily consumed some time in disencumbering himself of his plunder, and collecting the disposable troops of the garrisons. Kundè Row directed his chief attention to the destruction of this corps, and for this purpose placed the best of his troops under the command of Gopaul Heri, the officer who commanded the six thousand Mahrattas; and was now joined by four thousand more detached by Vessajee Pundit, who was himself encamped at the summit of the pass of Cudapanatam, which leads directly to Vellore. Muckhdoom Ali was strenuously opposed by these troops, and after some severe fighting found himself compelled to take post under Anchittydroog; which is situated about forty-eight miles S. by E. of Bangalore, near the verge of the descent into Baramahal. Here he was effectually blockaded by the superior numbers of the enemy, and reported to Hyder his absolute inability to advance without reinforcements. The whole of the force which could be spared from the defence of Bangalore, amounting to scarcely four thousand men and five guns, was accordingly placed under the command of Fuzzul Oolla Khan; who threw himself by night into Anicul, distant only twenty-five miles from Anchitty, and was instructed to watch an opportunity

* To persons whose habitual seat is exactly that of an English tailor, a chair is an useless annoyance, and the large double or quilted cloth which covers the saddle is a commodious seat for one or two, and a relief from fatigue always ready without a moment's preparation.

† I am not certain what the feathers really were; they are described to have been white and of a downy appearance. The humma is a fabulous bird. The head over which its shadow once passes will assuredly be encircled with a crown. The splendid little bird suspended over the throne of Tippoo Sultaun, found at Seringapatam in 1799, was intended to represent this poetical fancy.

of breaking through the blockade and forming a junction with Muckhdoom. The attempt was made with considerable gallantry and skill, but many of the raw troops threw down their arms, and escaped into the woods at the moment that a farther effort would have forced the junction; he was accordingly repulsed with severe loss, all his guns were captured, and he retreated with the utmost difficulty to Anicul. Muckhdoom was now closely besieged and reduced to great extremities; and the career of Hyder seemed again to be approaching its close, when a negociation, which had been for some time open, with Visajee Pundit, was adjusted with a degree of facility and moderation which Hyder received with equal astonishment and delight. The conditions of the immediate departure of the Mahrattas were, the cession of the Baramahal, and the payment of the trifling sum of three lacs of Rupees. The comparison of a few dates and facts will enable us to explain this unusual moderation.

So early as the month of April, Visajee Pundit had offered to aid both the French and the English; and in the latter end of November, the bishop of Halicarnassus was in his camp negociating for the service of his troops; of which the cession of Ginjee was, among other conditions, to be the chief price. M. Lally was then blockaded in Pondicherry by Colonel Coote; and a primary condition was the payment of five lacs of Rupees when this Mahratta army should appear in sight of Pondicherry.* Mohammed Ali, seeing in the advance of this corps an insurmountable obstacle to the success of his English allies against Pondicherry, concluded an agreement with Visajee Pundit, early in the month of January 1761, for the large sum of twenty lacs, to be paid at distant instalments, on the condition of his marching towards Poona with the least possible delay. This fact alone would sufficiently explain the apparent moderation of Visajee Pundit; his retreat was already purchased, although not yet paid for. Like a true Mahratta, he had first sold himself to Kundè Row, and then to his opponent Hyder: and he had made a show of selling himself to the French, in order that he might sell himself to the English and Mohammed Ali at a better price. But another cause of still greater urgency accelerated his departure. On the 7th of January 1761, the Mahratta army of Hindoostan, drawn by the Abdalli into a situation in which it was compelled to fight, was defeated at Paniput with circumstances of disaster and destruction which seemed to be nearly irretrievable. The Mahratta forces from every direction were ordered to concentrate as if the Abdalli (who thought only of returning to the Indian Caucasus) were already at the gates of Poona; and Visajee

* It appears by an intercepted letter from M. Lally to M. Raymond, French resident at Paliacate, that he continued so late as the 2d of January to expect the arrival of seventeen thousand Mahrattas on the 6th of the same month.

Pundit, among others, had just received his secret orders of recal. Hyder's three lacs were paid; Muckhdoom Ali, relieved from his critical blockade, proceeded to Bangalore; and Visajee Pundit marched in haste to the northward. All this was inexplicable at the moment; but Hyder, although not yet aware of the exact causes of his good fortune, perceived symptoms of precipitancy which determined him to delay the delivery of any part of the Baramahal; and the intelligence of the defeat of Paniput, which public rumour soon afterwards conveyed, decided his plain and direct refusal, and confirmed the favorite doctrine of the fatalist, which teaches him ever to procrastinate when under the pressure of misfortune.

In the meanwhile, Kundè Row had written in his own name, and that of the Raja, letters to the government of Madras and all the neighbouring powers, explaining the expulsion of Hyder as an usurper, and disclaiming the hostilities which, at the same time that Muckhdoom was detached to Pondicherry, had been commenced in the vicinity of Madura and Trichinopoly. The frontier fort of Carroor, forty miles west of Trichinopoly, had been in retaliation besieged by a detachment from that place; and the government and military officers of Fort St. George not knowing what they were to understand by the various and contradictory reports which they received, permitted the Mysorean commandment of Caroor to retire with his garrison on delivering up the possession of that place, and refrained from farther hostility until the English should be satisfied with regard to the actual state of the government of Mysoor. This officer was really a servant of Kundè Row; who had, with the greatest activity and intelligence, possessed himself of the whole of the lower country from Baramahal to Dindigul, that single fortress alone excepted.

Hyder, on the very day that he was joined by Muckhdoom Ali, pitched his own standard in the field, with a force so superior to that of Kundè Row, who had numerous detachments abroad, that he also ventured to make a considerable detachment into the lower countries of Salem and Coimbatore, for the purpose of recovering the country and revenues wrested from him; which were to be his chief resource in the impending contest. He marched in a south-western direction, crossing the Caveri below its confluence with the Capilee near Sosilla, for the purpose of covering the operations of his detachment, and preventing Kundè Row from sending reinforcements through either of the passes of Caveriporum or Gujjelhutty. This detachment rendered the force under Hyder's immediate command inferior in numbers to that of Kundè Row, but he relied with confidence on its superior quality; for a French detachment, which was in the field between Thiagar and the hills for the purpose of collecting and covering supplies, had, on ascertaining the probable fall

of Pondicherry, drawn farther to the westward; and on receiving intelligence of its actual surrender on the 16th of January had joined Hyder at Bangalore. It consisted of two hundred cavalry and one hundred infantry, all Europeans, under the command of M. Alain and M. Hugel, and some scattered detachments of natives. Kundè Row, who saw the consequence of this judicious movement, determined to give him battle, and came in sight of the troops of Hyder in the neighbourhood of Nunjendgode, about twenty-seven miles south of Seringapatam.

The troops which were to decide the fate of a kingdom were reduced by detachments to the small number, on the side of Hyder, of six thousand horse and five thousand foot, with twenty guns; and on that of Kundè Row to seven thousand horse and six thousand foot, with twenty-eight guns. For several days the two bodies rather manœuvred than fought, with some loss on both sides, but no decisive result, and, in the opinion of many officers who were present, with very superior skill as well as uniform advantage on the part of Kundè Row; who, early in February, brought on a more decisive action. Hyder in vain attempted to avoid this decision with the view of obtaining reinforcements, which too late he perceived to be necessary. The favorite object of Kundè Row in his various encounters was to compel Hyder's infantry to change its front, and to charge it when in the act of performing that evolution. On this occasion his success was considerable, and Hyder was defeated with very heavy loss, but retired in tolerably good order towards Hurdanhully.

Nothing but a confidence in powers of simulation, altogether unrivalled, could have suggested to Hyder the step which he next pursued. With a select body of two hundred horse, including about seventy French hussars under M. Hugel, he made a circuitous march by night; and early on the next morning, unarmed, and alone, presented himself as a suppliant at the door of Nunjeraj at Cunnoor, and being admitted, threw himself at his feet. With the semblance of real penitence and grief, he attributed all his misfortunes to the gross ingratitude with which he had requited the patronage of Nunjeraj; entreated him to resume the direction of public affairs, and take his old servant once more under his protection. Nunjeraj was completely deceived; and with his remaining household troops, which, during the present troubles, he had agumented to two thousand horse and about an equal number of indifferent infantry, he gave to the ruined fortunes of Hyder the advantage of his name and influence; announcing in letters dispatched in every direction his determination to exercise the office of Serv Adikar, which he still nominally retained, with Hyder as his Dulwoy, or commander-in-chief. Hyder, on leaving his army, had given directions for hanging on the rear of Kundè Row in the event of his making a movement towards Cunnoor; which, on receiving intelligence of the above

stated facts, he of course considered to be his primary object: Hyder attempted by various movements to form a junction with his army, which Kundé Row, by more skilful evolutions, prevented, and pressed forward with such vigour, that the destruction of Hyder and his new friends appeared to be inevitable, when he was extricated by one of those instances of his talent for intrigue and deception which seems to have constituted the leading feature of his character, and to have influenced, more than any other, the whole tenor of his eventful life.

The movements to which we have adverted brought Kundé Row to Kutté Malwaddy, twenty-six miles S.W. from Seringapatam, about the 20th of February; and Hyder, closely pursued, was about ten miles in his front, when he prepared in the *name* and with the *seal* of *Nunjeraj*, letters addressed to the principal leaders of Kundé Row's army: these letters adverted to a supposed engagement which they had made to seize Kundé Row and deliver him to Nunjeraj; they promised on his part to perform the conditions of the stipulated reward, and concluded with the observation that nothing now remained but that they should immediately earn it.

The bearer of these letters departed duly instructed, and falling purposely into the hands of the outposts, was carried to Kundé Row, who, entertaining not the least suspicion of the artifice, conceived that he was betrayed by his own army, and, seized with a sudden panic, instantly mounted his horse, and escaped at full speed to Seringapatam, without any previous communication with the suspected chiefs. The flight of the commander-in-chief being quickly known, a general agitation ensued; the [illegible] as the motive was utterly unknown, and every person began to provide for his safety by flight, without any one being able to communicate to the other the cause of his alarm. Hyder's light troops brought him early intelligence of the state of the enemy's camp, and at the moment [illegible] the [illegible] of Kundé Row [illegible] attack [illegible] and by falling [illegible] capturing the whole of the [illegible] and baggage. The horse [illegible] for their safety, and the infantry were [illegible] with [illegible] the army of [illegible]

Hyder, by another stratagem [illegible] and halting four or five days at [illegible] M[illegible] of being occupied in making [illegible] of revenue [illegible] by means of his [illegible] deceived by this [illegible] station were [illegible] along with some infantry which they had [illegible] the island of Seringapatam between the south [illegible] and the Mysoor gate. Hyder made a silent and unexpected march with [illegible] body, and falling upon this rabble at midnight put the great-

part of them to the sword, and retired before the garrison was prepared to disturb his retreat, carrying off upwards of seven hundred horses and a large booty.

Hyder did not consider it advisable to prosecute his ultimate operation at Seringapatam until he had secured the whole of the resources of the lower country, which continued to oppose his detachments. He therefore descended the pass of Gujjelhutty, took the fort of Errode, and all others which had been seized by Kundè Row or had declared for him (Caroor alone excepted, which remained for the present without discussion in the hands of the English,) and levied a large contribution on his partisans. By the time that these arrangements were finished he had completed also the levies of his army, and had called in all his detachments. Everything being now ready for the execution of his plan, he ascended the Ghauts in force, and early in the month of May arrived at Chendgâl, on the south bank of the Caveri opposite the centre of the island of Seringapatam; where, affecting to deprecate farther hostility, he appeared to be entirely absorbed in negociations with Kundè Row; the remnant of whose cavalry, chiefly Mahratta, and still amounting to between five and six thousand, were encamped with a corps of infantry on the island, south of the fort, and partly under the guns: Hyder, on the opposite bank of the river, which was then fordable, made every evening a show of exercising his troops till after sunset. On the eighth day of this tacit armistice, instead of dismissing them as usual, he made a sudden dash across the river as if in the performance of an evolution of the parade, and carried destruction into the enemy's camp by complete surprise, capturing the whole of their heavy equipments and most of their horses. This enterprise completed the ruin of Kundè Row's field force; and Hyder, with the air of a conqueror already assured of his object, encamped, more in the style of a triumph than a military operation, across the island, on the ground now occupied by Sheher Gunjaum.

From hence he despatched a message to the Raja, intimating in substance, "that Kundè Row was the servant of Hyder, and ought to be given up to him: that large balances were due to Hyder by the State, and ought to be liquidated. After the payment of these arrears, if the Raja should be pleased to continue him in his service, it was well; if not, he would depart, and seek his fortune elsewhere."

Such were the terms of his formal communication to the Raja. To the persons holding public offices he conveyed the object of his demands, and the consequences of rejection, in a more distinct manner. Many of these persons had long held the most important offices of the government, and had benefited largely by the laxity and corruption which had prevailed: they were accordingly more occupied with the means of securing their private fortunes than by considerations affecting the fate of Kundè Row, the rights of the Raja, or the safety of the State. Such principles

opposed but slender impediments to the designs of the conqueror, who had signified his pleasure that the full extent of his meditated usurpation should, in the last bitterness of mockery, appear to be the spontaneous act of the Raja himself: that unfortunate personage was readily made to understand that the danger was imminent, that no means existed of paying the balances, or making any appropriation of funds for their speedy liquidation; and that one only arrangement remained which could afford the hope of averting more dreadful calamities. A proposal for carrying that arrangement into effect was, in this moment of terror, transmitted to Hyder in the name, and with the concurrence, of the Raja; namely, 1st. That districts to the amount of three lacs should be reserved for the Raja's personal expenses, and one lac for Nunjeraj: 2d. That Hyder should assume the management of the remainder of the country, and charge himself with the responsibility of defraying the arrears, and providing for the pay of the army and public charges of every description; and 3d. That Kundè Row should be given up to him.

This heavy load of care and responsibility was of course most reluctantly but dutifully undertaken, and Hyder waited on the Raja about the beginning of June with all the forms of mock submission and respect, and from this moment his usurpation was complete. The solemn, affecting, and well-acted interview with Nunjeraj at Cunnoor was consigned to convenient oblivion, or revived in ridiculous forms for the amusement of his convivial hours, and that weak and credulous man, after the first impressions had subsided, seemed scarcely to have expected any other result.

Kundè Row was given up, and confined: and his official servants, as well as himself, were of course plundered to the utmost extent of their means. Before it had been determined that Kundè Row should be surrendered, a joint message was sent to Hyder from the Raja and the ladies of the palace, praying for mercy towards that unfortunate man as a preliminary to the adjustment of public affairs. Hyder replied, that Kundè Row was his old servant, and that he would not only spare his life, but cherish him like a parroquet, a term of endearment common in conversing with women, from that bird being a favorite pet in the harems of the wealthy. When he was afterwards gently admonished of his severity to Kundè Row, he ironically replied, that he had exactly kept his word; and that they were at liberty to inspect his *iron cage* and the rice and milk allotted for his food, for such was the fate to which he had doomed Kundè Row for the remainder of his miserable life.

The arrangements consequent on the usurpation occupied upwards of two months, and Hyder having appointed his brother-in-law, Muckhdoom Ali Khan Killedar of Seringapatam, with a garrison of his most trusty troops, took leave of the Raja with the usual formalities early in September and proceeded towards Bangalore, where other events demanded his presence.

CHAPTER XII.

FROM 1761 TO 1766.

Circumstances which led to the march of Basalut Jung to the south—and induced Hyder to move to Bangalore—Basalut Jung is foiled in the siege of Ooscota—Negociation by which Hyder is invested with the office of Nabob of Sera: its ludicrous circumstances—Title of Hyder Ali Khan Behauder—Capture of Ooscota—Hyder's revenge for an outrage sustained in his infancy from Abbas Couli Khan—kindness to his family—United armies move to Sera, and after its capture separate—their respective motives and objects—Hyder moves to Little Balipoor—spirited defence—Morari Row moves to its relief—is defeated—Capitulation for the ransom of Balipoor—broken by the Poligar, who retires to Nundidroog—Balipoor is garrisoned by Morari Row's troops, and carried by assault—Hyder extends his conquests over the territory of Morari Row—returns to Sera—receives the submission of the Poligars of Raidroog, Harponully, and Chittledroog—Singular impostor from Bednore—engages Hyder to invade that country—its description—Hyder's proceedings and progress—conquest of the capital—immense plunder—capture and imprisonment of the Queen, the young Raja, and the impostor—Design of making Bednore his capital—arrangements with that view—Conspiracy detected—characteristic punishments—Conquest of Soonda—Arrival of Reza-Ali, the son of Chunda Saheb—Military improvements—public etiquette—Embassies to Poona and Hyderabad—objects and result—Designs regarding Savanore—invasion of that province—defeat of the Nabob—military contribution—Hyder returns to Bednore—his general extends his conquests to the north—Proceedings of the Peshwa Madoo Row—his advanced corps defeated—advance of the main army—relative force—and plans of operation—Action of Rettehully—entrenched camp at Anawutty—Defeat of a detachment commanded by Hyder in person—Operations suspended by the monsoon—renewed—Madoo Row compels Hyder to abandon his entrenched camp and fight at a disadvantage—signal defeat—and retreat to the lines of Bednore—discovers his injudicious choice for a capital—Peace with Madoo Row—views of the parties regarding its conditions—Insurrections in the eastern provinces—detachments to quell them—capture of the Poligar of Little Balipoor—Hyder prepares for the conquest of Malabar—Communications with Ali Raja, a Mohammedan chief—Notices of these Mohammedans—Military character and habits of the Nairs—Hyder's successful progress—Negociation with the Zamorin—deception—Extraordinary suicide—Arrangements for securing the conquest—moves to Coimbatore—General insurrection in Malabar—Hyder returns—dreadful executions—forcible emigration—apparent restoration of tranquillity—returns to Coimbatore—Intelligence of a confederacy of the Mahrattas, Nizam Ali, and the English to invade Mysoor—Hyder proceeds to Seringapatam—Death of the former Raja and succession of his son—Harsh treatment and farther restraint—Causes of the war of 1767 to be explained in the ensuing chapter—Previous observations on the treaty of Paris.

WE left Basalut Jung, in December 1759, at Kurpa, distinctly unfolding, in his negociation with Monsieur Bussy, his views of independent sovereignty in the south, and his desire, if he could effect that object without compromising his independence, of obtaining the aid of the French to oppose the better fortunes of his brother Nizam Ali, who had supplanted him as the minister and general of their elder brother Salabut Jung, still pageant Soubadar of the Deckan, but destined in 1761 to be imprisoned, and in two

years afterwards to be murdered, by Nizam Ali. In the year 1760 Nizam Ali was engaged in a defensive and unsuccessful campaign against the Peshwa Balajee Row, between the rivers Kistna and Godaveri: and as Basalut Jung could scarcely move in any direction beyond the limits of his personal jageer without coming in contact with some Mahratta territory, dependency, or army, and he found it expedient to maintain an amicable intercourse with the actual opponents of his rival, the early part of that year was passed by him in a state of inaction at Adwanee. The great efforts which were made by the Mahrattas in the middle and end of that year to collect forces for the impending contest, which terminated on the 7th of January 1761 in the disastrous battle of Paniput, seem to leave a more open field for his exertion: and in the month of August 1760 he began, in the ordinary process of eastern sovereignty, to draw within the circle of his own possessions the most convenient and accessible fragments of the shattered states around him. The success of this his first independent campaign was in its commencement encouraging: although occasionally checked, he had considerably enlarged his limits, and about the month of June 1761 had planned the reduction of Sera,* then in the possession of the Mahrattas, but formerly the capital of a Nabob or provincial governor, dependent on the Soubadar of the Deckan. He reconnoitred the citadel, but thought it most prudent to pass it. His military chest required more rapid supplies than were promised by its siege; and he moved farther south, over an undulating country, alternately strong and open, the plainer parts having been fortified against sudden incursion by walls and towers of kneaded clay, which surround every village.

It was the approach of this force which called Hyder from Seringapatam, immediately after the completion of his usurpation; and on his arrival at Bangalore he found that Basalut Jung was engaged in the siege of Ooscota. This place, which had belonged, as we have seen, to the Mahratta house of Shahjee, had afterwards passed into the possession of the Patan Nabob of Kurpa and in 1757 had been captured by Balajee Row, in the same campaign in which he made the conquest of Sera. The fortifications were in the rude style of the village bulwarks, but it possessed the advantage from nature of being unassailable on one face, and was defended by a garrison which defied and derided the attempts of Basalut Jung to subdue them. The mortification of being thus foiled was extreme, the military chest was empty, and the period was favorable to Hyder's views. Ooscota is distant only eighteen miles from Bangalore in a north-eastern direction:

* A pavilion on a diminutive scale, but exhibiting considerable taste, built by the last Nabob Dilawar Khan, is still standing at Sera, and is the model followed in the erection of those splendid palaces built by Hyder and Tippoo at Bangalore and Seringapatam.

the first communications were rapidly arranged, and Fuzzul Oolla Khan was sent as Hyder's ambassador to the camp of Basalut Jung. The distress of this chief, and the whole character of the negociation, may be inferred from the fact that for a nezer of three lacs of Rupees, he agreed to invest Hyder with the office of Nabob of Sera; an office, a country, and a capital, which were yet to be conquered! The alleged rights which Hyder acquired from this instrument of investiture have been gravely discussed and defended. The right of the grantor seems to have been inferred from the act of granting, for no other source of right can be readily discovered: the right of the sword, to which most political claims may be ultimately traced, was absolutely wanting in this case; and the decision of this arbiter, pronounced three years afterwards by Nizam Ali, *de facto* Soubadar, or ruler of the Deckan, showed his sense of the authority of Basalut Jung, by restricting him by force of arms to the single district of Adwanee.* An incident occurred during the communications with Basalut Jung, which furnishes an additional feature in the character of Hyder, and illustrates the ludicrous turn which was given to the whole transaction. In the course of the negociation, Basalut Jung proposed, with a view of obtaining a larger sum from Hyder, to honor him with a title of the order distinguished by its terminating Persian word "*Jung*" (war). Among the lowest vulgar this word is pronounced *Zung*, which also signifies the tinkling circular kind of bell, commonly strung round the necks of camels and oxen; and Hyder, among other remains of the society of his youth, retained this faulty pronunciation. When Fuzzul Oolla Khan came with this proposition, Hyder laughed in his face, and repeating four or five times the word *Zung*, "Let me have nothing to do with your ornaments of a beast of burden," said he, "but if the great man insists on giving such a decoration, you may take it to yourself." Fuzzul Oolla, who loved a title, and was not fastidious in scrutinizing authorities, took Hyder at his word; and returning to Ooscota did receive the title of *Hybut Jung* (terror of war), which he ever afterwards retained.

The sunnuds, or deeds of investiture, were however executed in due form, and the title of *Nabob*, and name of *Hyder Ali Khan Behauder*, by which he was designated in those deeds, were certainly thenceforth assumed by Hyder. On receiving these honors, he in October united his army to that before Ooscota, and in a few days gave to the great Basalut Jung the honor of being the reputed captor of a mud fort.†

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* He was besieged in Kurnool in 1764, and capitulated on these conditions.

† "*Mud fort*," from the usually imperfect construction of the village defences, is a term of contempt in India, although the substance itself (kneaded clay) resists the effects of cannon-shot better than any other material.

An object of personal revenge, which the impressions of infancy* and youth had strongly fixed in the memory of Hyder, next engaged his attention. Basalut Jung had, in the course of negociation, wished to exclude from the enumerations contained in the deeds Great Balipoor, the jageer of Abbas Cooli Khan; but Hyder broadly answered, that his honors were worthless if they excluded a full and a deep revenge: that he accepted and paid for the sunnuds as a mutual accommodation, not from any diffidence of being able to achieve his own objects without them; and that another syllable indicating the exclusion of Balipoor should terminate the negociation. Abbas Cooli Khan was anxiously attentive to Hyder's late proceedings; and on hearing of the junction of the two armies he distinctly saw his peril, and fled with the utmost precipitation to Madras, a distance of 220 miles, leaving his family to their fate.† Hyder's conduct to the family of Abbas Cooli Khan is among the very few examples in the history of his life, of any remote tendency towards the amiable feelings of human nature. On entering without opposition the fort of Balipoor, and hearing that the object of his vengeance had escaped, he presented himself at the gate of the dowager, the widow of his father's lord, but the mother of the fugitive. In a message, full of gentleness and delicacy, he showed a remembrance of kindnesses conferred in the days of his infancy, and assured her of his gratitude and respect; and although he appropriated, without hesitation, everything that for political purposes might be considered as public property; he entirely verified his assurances to the dowager, and continued through life to treat the unoffending branches of her family with distinction and generosity.

From Balipoor the united armies moved to Sera, which made but a feeble resistance. Hyder achieved, without much delay, the conquest of his new dignities and capital, and the allied chiefs took leave of each other about the beginning of the year 1762. During the inefficient operations of Basalut Jung in the south, Salabut Jung had been imprisoned on the 18th July 1761, by Nizam Ali, who openly assumed the office of Soubadar: it was then no longer the indirect influence, but the actual power of that chief, which was to be guarded against by Basalut Jung; and the vigorous preparations of his brother made it expedient that he should be nearer home, to attend to the eventual defence of Adwanee; he therefore departed, little enriched, to the north, while Hyder moved in a south-eastern direction, where other objects demanded his attention.

The dominions of Morari Row, the Mahratta chief of Gooti, were situated to the north-east of Hyder's new acquisition, their

* For the incident alluded to, see p. 153.

† Such was his terror, that when Hyder in 1769 presented himself at the gates of Madras, he embarked in a crazy vessel, and did not venture to land until Hyder's army had re-ascended the passes of the mountains.

southern extremity was bounded by the small territory of the Poligar of Little Balipoor. This capital of his little State, and the usual residence of the Poligar, is situated fourteen miles to the eastward of Great Balipoor, recently acquired by Hyder, and twelve miles to the north of Deonhully,* his former frontier sta-

* The mention of this place leads me to notice a sect in this neighbourhood, so singular in their habits that I subjoin a description of them which I gave in a letter to a friend in the year 1805. This legendary tale will furnish an example of the wild mythology which the attentive Indian traveller will find luxuriantly strewed on every step of his progress.

"In passing from the town of Silgut to Deonhully in the month of August last, I became accidentally informed of a sect, peculiar, as I since understand, to the north-eastern parts of Mysoor, the women of which universally undergo the amputation of the first joints of the third and fourth fingers of their right hands. On my arrival at Deonhully, after ascertaining that the request would not give offence, I desired to see some of these women, and the same afternoon seven of them attended at my tent.

"The sect is a subdivision of the *Murresoo wokul*,* and belongs to the fourth great class of Hindoos, viz., the Souder. Every woman of the sect, previously to piercing the ears of her eldest daughter, preparatory to her being betrothed in marriage, must necessarily undergo this mutilation, which is performed by the blacksmith of the village for a regulated fee, by a surgical process sufficiently rude. The finger to be amputated is placed on a block: the blacksmith places a chisel over the articulation of the joint, and chops it off at a single blow. If the girl to be betrothed is motherless, and the mother of the boy have not before been subjected to the operation, it is incumbent on her to perform the sacrifice.

"After satisfying myself with regard to the facts of the case, I enquired into the origin of so strange a practice, and one of the women related with great fluency the following traditionary tale, which has since been repeated to me with no material deviation by several others of the sect.

"A Rachas (or giant), named *Vrica*, and in aftertimes *Busm-aasoor*, or the giant of the ashes, had, by a course of austere devotion to *Mahadeo*†, obtained from him the promise of whatever boon he should ask. The Rachas accordingly demanded, that every person on whose head he should place his right hand might instantly be reduced to ashes; and Mahadeo conferred the boon, without suspicion of the purpose for which it was designed.

"The Rachas no sooner found himself possessed of this formidable power, than he attempted to use it for the destruction of his benefactor. Mahadeo fled; the Rachas pursued, and followed the fugitive so closely as to chase him into a thick grove, where Mahadeo, changing his form and bulk, concealed himself in the centre of a fruit then called *tunda pundoo*, but since named *linga tunda*, from the resemblance which its kernel thenceforward assumed to the *ling*, the appropriate emblem of Mahadeo.

"The Rachas having lost sight of Mahadeo, enquired of a husbandman who was working in the adjoining field, whether he had seen the fugitive, and what direction he had taken. The husbandman, who had attentively observed the whole transaction, fearful of the future resentment of Mahadeo, and equally alarmed for the present vengeance of the giant, answered aloud, that he had seen no fugitive, but pointed at the same time with the little finger of his right hand to the place of Mahadeo's concealment.

"In this extremity‡ Vishnou descended in the form of a beautiful damsel to the rescue of Mahadeo. The Rachas became instantly enamoured: the damsel was a *pure* bramin, and might not be approached by the *unclean* Rachas. By

* *Murresoo*, or *Mursoo*, in the Hala Canara signifies *rude, uncivilised—wokul, a husbandman.*

† *Siva.*

‡ Dignus vindice nodus.

tion. The conquest of Little Balipoor had been long and

degrees she appeared to relent; and as a previous condition to further advances, enjoined the performance of his ablutions in a [illegible]. After these were finished, she prescribed as a further [illegible] the performance of the *Sandhi*, a ceremony in which the right hand is [illegible] applied to the breast, to the crown of the head, and to other parts of the body. The Rakshas thinking only of love, and forgetful of the powers of his right hand, performed the *Sandhi*, and was himself reduced to ashes.

"Mahadeo now issued from the [illegible], and after the proper acknowledgments for his deliverance, proceeded to discuss the [illegible] [illegible], and determined on the [illegible] which he had [illegible] the proper punishment of his crime.

"The wife of the [illegible], who had [illegible] food for her husband, hearing this dreadful sentence, [illegible] of Mahadeo. She represented the [illegible] and [illegible] some months from [illegible] and [illegible] her husband. Mahadeo, pleased with [illegible], accepted the [illegible], and ordained that her [illegible] should [illegible] two [illegible] of [illegible]

[illegible]

anxiously desired by Hyder. The Poligar of Deonhully had, on the surrender of that place in 1749, capitulated on the condition of being permitted to retire in safety to his relation at Little Balipoor: the family had since that period been engaged in incessant plots to recover that place, and Hyder conceived the reduction of Little Balipoor to be indispensable to the safety of this part of his frontier. He approached the place, and the poligar, who had the free option of retiring to the impregnable rock of Nundidroog, distant only three miles, thought proper to await the attack, in the nearly open town of Little Balipoor, which is provided with a weak citadel, so placed, that an assailant must previously possess himself of the town. Regular science, in its legitimate application to the defence of places, is calculated to protract resistance, but in its practical effects it seems more frequently to have excused or accelerated their fall. This Poligar verified the better doctrine that all places are impregnable, so long as the moral energies of its defenders can be upheld. He contested every inch of ground in this open town; every successive house became a fortress; and at the expiration of two months Hyder could scarcely yet be said to have commenced the siege of *the citadel*. The spirit of the defenders was kept at its stretch by the expectation of relief from Morari Row, whose aid had been previously secured, and who was now approaching the place. Hyder's superior numbers enabled him to leave a strong corps for the maintenance of his ground, and by an unexpected movement of the remainder of his army against Morari Row, to give him a signal defeat. The Poligar was now left to his own resources; the place was completely invested; and the spirit of enterprise and defiance which the garrison had hitherto maintained was succeeded by despondency. Negociation ensued, and an agreement for ransom was concluded for the sum of nine lacs of Rupees. It was not expected that so large a sum could be paid down without some time for its realization; and Hyder, not unwilling to draw off from the pestilential consequences of the close conflict in the town, encamped on the plain near Deonhully to wait the arrangements for payment. The Poligar had no sooner got rid of his presence, than, in conformity to a previous agreement, a body of Morari Row's troops was thrown into the place, and the Poligar, with his family, ascended the impregnable rock of Nundidroog, distant only three miles, and overlooking the whole country. It was his project to leave Hyder to waste himself anew in a contest with fresh troops; and when the garrison should begin to flag, to descend once more with his select followers, and by a vigorous effort finally compel his enemy to raise the siege.

Hyder was enraged at finding himself the dupe of this deception, and returned with renewed ardour to the attack. The spiritless defence of a mercenary garrison did not long protract the

fate of the place: in about ten days it was carried by assault, and its future defence was committed to Budr u Zeman Khan, a nevayet officer of reputation from Arcot, who had entered the service of Hyder in the course of this campaign. Hyder made no immediate attempt on Nundidroog, but left a light corps under his maternal uncle Ibrahim Saheb, whose head-quarters were at Bangalore, with orders to destroy the surrounding country, and, in communication with the garrisons of Deonhully and Little Balipoor, to cut off the access of supplies. With the double view of furthering this object, and retaliating on Morari Row, he extended his conquest over a considerable sweep of country to the northward of this recent acquisition, and to the eastward of his former frontier, including Coodiconda, Penconda (the former capital of Carnatic), and Merg Sera. Morari Row acknowledged the decisive nature of the defeat which he had sustained by retiring to his capital of Gooti; and Hyder now considered his arangements to be in a proper state for re-visiting the capital of his new dignities, profiting by its direct territorial possessions, and by the submission of its reputed dependants. The chief of these were the Poligars of Raidroog, Harponhully, and Chittledroog, situated to the north and north-east of Sera. The former, on Hyder's approach, came spontaneously to offer submission and allegiance, and for this conduct he was ever afterwards distinguished by Hyder above all his Hindoo dependants. Harponhully obeyed the first summons: but the Poligar of Chittledroog* attempted to evade and procrastinate. Hyder met this attempt by overrunning his whole country with his cavalry; and in a few days the Poligar found it prudent to compromise for a fine of two lacs of Pagodas, besides the regulated payments, after the ruin of a considerable portion of his country. He was then most graciously received at the camp of his new Nabob, and in the course of conversation mentioned the arrival at his own camp of a singular visitor, whose history opened to Hyder new objects of ambition.

Buswapa Naick, the last actual Raja of Bednore, had died in 1755, leaving as his heir an adopted son named Chen Busveia,

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* This is one of the Boya or Beder race, and the early habits of the tribe are evinced in the relation of an exploit of one of their ancestors, as given in the manuscript history of the house, with something, perhaps, of embellishment. During the rule of the first of the family who attained the dignity of Poligar of Chittledroog, the place, it is said, was besieged by his sovereign of Vijeyanuggur. The Poligar determined to give him a specimen of the danger which he encountered, by stealing his favorite horse from the head-quarters of his camp during the night. The horse showed uneasiness at the approach of a stranger, and by moving about displaced one of his pickets and wakened the groom: the Poligar quickly concealed himself among the litter, and the groom in replacing the picket drove it through the hand of the Poligar, who bore the pain without flinching. When the groom had fallen asleep, the Poligar, finding it impossible to remove the picket without noise, drew out his knife, amputated his own hand at the wrist, and in this state mounted the horse and carried him off.

about seventeen years of age, under the guardianship of the widow until he should himself attain sufficient experience. The widow had formed a connection of shameless publicity with a person named Nimbeia. The notoriety and public scandal* of this attachment had drawn animadversions from the young Raja, and in 1757 the lovers had found it expedient to remove this rude observer, by employing a jetti† while shampoeing‡ him in the bath, to dislocate his neck and destroy him; and they selected an adopted infant to fill the vacant throne. The visitor, whose history was related to Hyder, had announced himself as Chen Busveia, saved by an artifice of the jetti, concealed in the house of his preserver for five years, and now escaped to implore the protection and aid of his neighbours in the recovery of his patrimony, the youth was introduced to Hyder: the plan was quickly arranged of an expedition to reinstate him in his supposed rights, and to remunerate the services to be thus rendered by Hyder and the Poligar. The troops commenced their march towards Bednore about the close of January 1763, moving in four parallel columns, and preserving a distance from each other of from five to fifteen miles according to circumstances, for the purpose of reducing and occupying all the fortified places situated in the open country before they should attempt the fastnesses of the woods.

The district of Bednore Proper is situated on the summit of that range of western hills which overlooks the provinces of Canara and Malabar. These mountains, elevated from four to five thousand feet above the level of the sea, present to the west a surface in many places nearly perpendicular to the horizon, and by their height intercept the clouds of the south-western monsoon: nine rainy months in the year are usually calculated in this climate; and for six of that number it is the practice of most families to make the same preparatory arrangements for provision (water only excepted) as are adopted for a ship proceeding on a six months' voyage. This extraordinary moisture§

* It was so public as to be noticed by an European traveller, *Anquetil du Perron*, who passed through Canara in 1757.

† The athletæ too often added this employment to their other pursuits. The process alluded to in the text has been described to me to be performed by a sudden twist of the head, which dislocates one of the vertebræ of the neck; another twist in the opposite direction completes the destruction of the spinal marrow, and finishes the work of death.

‡ Shampoeing may be compared to a gentle kneading of the whole person, and is the same operation described by the voyagers of the Southern and Pacific ocean.

§ Colonel Mackenzie, who watched the approach of a monsoon on the summit of this range, distinctly observed the clouds, in rolling along, frequently to diverge from their direct course apparently attracted by some hills, more powerfully than by others of equal or superior height; and every successive cloud diverging in the same line. This phenomenon appears to merit farther investigation, and may be found to explain the reason why places similar in situation have unequal proportions of rain.

is not only favorable to the growth of the peculiar products of that rich province, but covers the face of the country with timber of luxuriant stature, with underwood scarcely penetrable, and a foliage which, added to a cloudy sky, has rendered it proverbial among its Mohammedan visitors, that a man may pass the greater part of the year in Bednore without a sight of the sun. The capital and fort of Bednore are situated in a bason encircled by hills, the crest of which, distant from the town from three to six miles, had been fortified in the weakest parts by lines which, with the woods and natural protection of the hills, constituted its only strength; the fort itself being from its position obviously incapable of a good defence. The dominions of this State not only embraced the mountainous range which has been described, but extended to the west over the maritime province now named Canara, and to the east over a tract of more open country stretching to Santa Bednore, and Hoolulkera, within twenty miles of Chittledroog, the residence of its constant rival and enemy.

On entering the province Hyder issued proclamations in the name of Chen Busvea, inviting the inhabitants of Bednore to return to their allegiance. At Simoga, a fort on the skirt of the woods and distant forty-three miles from the capital, which fell without material resistance, he found a lac of Pagodas,* of which he distributed a lac of Rupees to the troops as a stimulus to their energies and hopes: at this place also he received and rejected a proposal from the Ranee to purchase his retreat by four lacs of Pagodas. At Coompsee distant thirty miles, he found a more important treasure, namely, Lingana, the prime minister of the late Raja, who had long been imprisoned at this place; this personage undertook to instruct Hyder respecting every branch of the resources of the country, and to guide him through a secret path by which the city might be approached without encountering any of the works which have been described. At Eitoor a trifling post occupied by one hundred men, the garrison had the audacity to fire at the troops; they were surrounded and taken. Hyder ordered their noses and ears to be cut off, and in that state they were dismissed to spread terror before him. At Anantpoor, distant twenty five miles, the Ranee offered twelve lacs of Pagodas, and at his arrival before the first barrier of the works of the capital, eighteen lacs;† all which offers the information communicated by the captured minister induced him to reject without a moment's hesitation. The army of Hyder having advanced to this formidable position with unexpected celerity, had thrown the Ranee and her paramour into the greatest consternation, and on the rejection of the last offer, terrified at the prospect of an immediate attack, they fled to the fort of Billalroydroog, situated

* The Pagoda of Bednore is four Rupees, that of Mysoor three, that of Fort St. George three and a half, that of Masulipatam is also four Rupees.

† Seventy two lacs of Rupees, or 720,000l.

on the summit of a hill in the continuation of the same range, but seventy miles to the southward. Orders were left for the expeditious removal of all the treasure; but to provide for the possible event of the place being carried before that should be practicable, persons were stationed with positive orders to set the palace and treasury on fire, whenever the danger should appear to be imminent.

Hyder, on the instant of his arrival at the barrier in the beginning of March 1763, ordered a noisy but feigned attack to be made on the posts in his front; while he placed himself at the head of a column formed of his most select troops, and, following the path pointed out by his guide, entered the city before an alarm was given of his approach.

The Ranee's servants set fire to the palace in different places in conformity to their instructions. The inhabitants of this rich and populous town had hitherto been exempted from the alarms and miseries of war; a felicity rare in India, and everywhere least appreciated by those who have most enjoyed it. They fled in all directions, with a dismay and astonishment embittered by its contrast with the stupid and insolent security of their former habits. The terror of such minds, outstripping the ordinary effects of fear, drove the whole mass of the inhabitants to concealment in the woods and mountains which touch the very confines of the city: and the immense property of the most opulent commercial town of the East, eight miles in circumference, and full of rich dwellings, was thus left without a claimant.

Hyder's first care was to extinguish the flames of the palace, in which he personally assisted; and his second, to put an end to the plunder of the troops, in order that he himself might become the exclusive possessor of the booty. His arrangements for this purpose were so skilfully combined, that in a few hours his official seals were placed on the doors of every public and private dwelling above the condition of a hovel, and safeguards were stationed to enforce respect to the only plunder which was deemed to be legitimate. The available property of every description, including money and jewels, which he realized on this occasion, is variously stated, but it may without the risk of exaggeration be estimated at twelve millions sterling; and was throughout life habitually spoken of by Hyder as the foundation of all his subsequent greatness.

The occupation of the rest of the country was rather a business of arrangement than of conquest. The two principal detachments possessed themselves of Bussoo Raj Droog, (fortified island) Honaver, (Onore) and Mangalore on the coast; and a third, of Bellalroydroog, where the Ranee capitulated on the general* assurance of due consideration for her rank and dignity.

* Budr u Zeman Khan states that she capitulated on the condition of being reinstated in her sovereignty on her conversion to Islam; that she

On the arrival of the army at Coompsee, the fraud of the pretended Chen Busveia is understood to have been discovered, if indeed we are to suppose that Hyder at any time believed the tale; but until the capture of the Ranee he continued to treat the impostor with all the forms of distinguished external respect, not, however, concealing a smile at the jests of the soldiers, who amused themselves by saluting him with the title of Ghybee Raja, or the Raja of the resurrection, a name which became the standing joke of the camp.

Whatever may have been the conditions understood by the Ranee, or the stipulations adjusted with Ghybee Raja, it is certain that Hyder despatched to one common prison on the fortified rock of Mudgherry, one hundred and eighty miles to the eastward, not only these two personages, but Nimbeia the Ranee's paramour, and Somasekur, her adopted son and sovereign. Their confinement was intended to be perpetual, and there they remained until liberated on the capture of the place by the Mahrattas in 1767.

Hyder formed the design of intrusting to the civil servants of the former government the detailed administration of the affairs of Bednore, to which he gave a distinct minister, and throughout the whole of his arrangements affected to treat it as a separate kingdom. Seringapatam and its dependencies he on all occasions professed to consider as belonging to the Hindoo sovereign or pageant Raja of Mysoor; Bednore, to which he gave the name of Hyder Nuggur,* he avowed to be his own. It is not intended to intimate that he ever seriously designed to alter the condition of the pageant; but it is certain that he formed the deliberate determination of transferring to Hyder Nuggur the seat of his general government; and of blending Seringapatam, with all its appurtenances, among the general mass of his territorial possessions. He [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] which [illegible]

of military judgment; a deficiency which is the more remarkable in a mind distinguished in other respects by a degree of sagacity and penetration which has seldom been exceeded. He gave orders for the removal of his family, the erection of a splendid palace (which was never finished), the establishment of a mint, in which, for the first time, he struck coins* in his own name, and the preparation of a dock-yard and naval arsenal on the western coast for the construction of ships of war; the latter under the direction of Lutf Ali Beg, a brave and excellent officer of cavalry, but eminently ignorant of everything connected with his new duties of naval engineer and lord high admiral.

The rains commenced in June with their usual violence: few strangers escape their influence: and about the month of September the endemic disease had made such havoc on Hyder's constitution, that he was no longer able to transact business in the public durbar. The servants of the former dynasty considering the opportunity to be favorable for the emancipation of their country, entered into an extensive conspiracy for the assassination of Hyder and the recovery of the capital. Some obscure suspicions were conveyed to him by a trusty servant; and he directed an investigation to be made by a commission composed of some of his oldest, and, as he conceived, his most trusty civil officers; who happened to be all accomplices in the conspiracy. The report of this investigation was read to Hyder while reclining on his couch, and shivering in a paroxysm of ague; but, even in this state, his keen perception penetrated the veil which they had attempted to throw over the few facts which were known to him. He dissembled, however, for the present, and detained the commissioners in feigned consultation, until the hot fit was succeeded by a slight remission; he then arose, and entering the durbar (or hall of business) re-examined the witnesses, and completely discovered the whole plot. He ordered the commissioners to be instantly hanged in his presence, in front of the hall of audience: the requisite arrests followed with rapidity, and before the close of the same day, upwards of three hundred of the chief conspirators were hanging at the different public ways which issued from the city. This done, he retired to rest with the same serenity as if he had only been discussing the ordinary business of the day, and arose on the following morning visibly recovered by the consequences of the unusual exertion to which he had been compelled. Bednore was thenceforward the most tranquil and obedient of all his possessions: but it was from this period that he began those improvements in the organization of his system of police which afterwards raised it to such horrible perfection.

As soon as the weather admitted, Fuzzul Oolla Khan† was

* Hydery Pagodas, of the same value as the former currency.

† I consult the convenience of the English reader in continuing this name instead of Hybut Jung.

detached about December 1763, for the conquest of Soonda; a country of small extent, situated immediately to the north of Bednore Proper, and partaking of the same peculiarities of climate and produce. This conquest was achieved with the same facility as that of Bednore, and replenished the coffers of Hyder with a corresponding proportion of treasure. The Raja fled, after a feeble resistance, from his more elevated possessions to Tuccolighur, near Goa in Lower Soonda; and in consequence of his distresses surrendered to the Portuguese the whole of his territory below the Ghauts, in consideration of receiving from them a fixed stipend; an arrangement which has been continued with his descendants to the present time.

The French Nabob Reza Ali Khan the son of Chunda Saheb, had escaped from Pondicherry on ship-board during the siege which terminated in its capture in January 1761; and after residing for some time in Ceylon for the purpose of watching the progress of affairs, landed in Canara in November 1763, and came to claim the protection of Hyder. The talents of this officer appear to have deserved a greater degree of estimation than they had obtained from the French: he was received with distinction by Hyder, presented with a jageer of a lac of Rupees, and, in the services in which he was afterwards employed, certainly acquitted himself with a very creditable degree of spirit and military skill. From the long intercourse of Reza Ali with the French, he was enabled to assist Hyder in the arrangements which were now undertaken for the improvement of his army, and particularly in the discipline and interior economy of his regiments of infantry, now for the first time clothed in an uniform manner, and classed into *Arrul* and *Duum*, first and second, or grenadiers and troops of the line: the first was in conformity to the suggestion of Reza Ali, a distinction not exclusively regulated by stature and physical strength, but by tried steadiness and courage, and was rewarded by a superior fixed pay.

He now also established a regular order in forms of procession, a new splendour in the equipments of his retinue, and a more dignified etiquette in the ceremonials of public audience. The conquest of Bednore, in short, seemed to form a new era in the history of this extraordinary man.

It will not have escaped the observation of the attentive reader, that the acquisition of Sera, which Hyder deemed it convenient to receive in the garb of a formal investiture from a Mohammedan lord, was, in point of fact, a conquest from the Mahrattas. Hyder was perfectly aware that this people would regard the fact alone, and that the fictitious part of the transaction would only give offence to the Soubadar of the Deckan, of whose supposed authority it was a direct usurpation. He accordingly despatched Apajee Ram as a vakeel to Hyderabad, charged with public gifts and fortified with Soucar credit to an amount con-

siderably exceeding the consideration paid to Basalut Jung. These means produced their usual effect at the court of the Soubadar, who was the more easily appeased from his incapacity, at the moment, to resent the affront. To Poona, Hyder sent for the same purpose, and provided in the same manner, Mhedi Ali Khan; but here the injury was more direct and substantial. Madoo Row, the third of those chiefs under the title of Peshwa who had usurped the regal authority from the descendants of Sevajee, and had succeeded on the death of Balajee Row in 1761, was little disposed to acquiesce in the conquest of any part of his dominions; and it became necessary for Hyder to provide against an invasion, certainly more formidable, as well from the number and quality of the troops as from the talents of their leader, than he had anticipated from his former contests with Mahratta armies.

By the annexation of the dependencies of Sera, the frontiers of Hyder had been carried to the river Toombuddra, and by the conquest of Bednore and Soonda they stretched far to the north-west of that river. A slight inspection of the map will show that the province of Savanore forms a deep indentation into the territory then possessed by Hyder; who formed the design of attaching to his interest not only the Patan Nabob of that province, but those of Kurnool and Kurpa, with a view to establish a sort of defensive cordon along the whole extent of his northern frontier, and acquire three corps of hardy Patan cavalry to serve with his armies.

We have already had occasion to explain* the cause which had compelled the Nabob of Savanore to bend to the interests of the Mahrattas, and the arguments of Hyder's envoy had not succeeded in convincing him of their insufficiency: as soon, therefore, as Fuzzul Oolla Khan had completed the service in Soonda, he was directed to enter Savanore, but to abstain from hostility while any prospect should remain of inducing the Nabob, by the joint power of terror and persuasion, to embrace the alliance of Hyder. Abdul Hekeem Khan, then Nabob, determined to risk the consequences of a positive refusal; and Hyder moved to form a junction with his advanced troops, accompanied by the body of his army from Bednore.

The actual situation of the Nabob of Savanore had rendered it equally unnecessary and impracticable for him to maintain a large body of troops; and he moved out with between three and four thousand horse, and a rabble of irregular foot, rather for the credit of not shutting himself up in the town without an effort, than with any rational expectation of success against the overwhelming force of Hyder. The foot were spread over the plain so as to make a demonstration of greater numbers, and the Patan horse were reserved in a compact body to take advantage of

* See page 235.

events. Hyder, holding these demonstrations in contempt, made a disposition which was intended to envelope the whole, and to cut off their retreat. Abdul Hekeem charged the principal column when in the act of deploying, cut through it with considerable slaughter, and with great coolness and judgment prepared to overset the infantry, already formed in line, by a charge on their flank. At this moment a reserve of artillery opened with effect on this close and compact body of cavalry, and produced a degree of confusion which compelled the Patans to disperse and retire. Hyder seized with promptitude this favorable moment for a charge with his own cavalry; the fugitives were pursued to the very gates of the city, and a small remnant only of the infantry, who stripped and passed as peasants, escaped the sabre on the plain. The immediate consequence of this gallant but imprudent effort was the unconditional submission of Abdul Hekeem to all the demands which Hyder had previously made, and to a farther military contribution of two lacs of Rupees. Hoarding treasure is not among the propensities of a Patan, nor among the practices which escape the observation of a Mahratta; and as the Nabob had unfortunately little credit with the Soucars, or money-lenders, he was obliged to make payment in shawls, silks, muslins, gold cloths, carpets, and other valuables, equal in Hyder's forced estimation to the stipulated sum, but in actual value to four times the amount.

This object being accomplished the arrangements of Hyder's recently acquired kingdom recalled him to Bednore, and he left Fuzzul Oolla Khan with a considerable division of the army to establish and extend his conquests to the northward. This able officer was active and successful in the execution of his orders. The apprehension of attack from the south had never entered into the contemplation of the Mahrattas; the places of strength were unprovided with the means of defence; and the important fortress of Darwar, with a multitude of minor posts, fell into his hands almost without an effort.

Madoo Row was not inattentive to the course of the late transactions. During the two last years he had been engaged in active hostility against Nizam Ali Khan, who in the early part of his administration, exhibited a considerable degree of enterprise and military talent. In 1762, this chief had acquired by treaty the restitution of the fortress of Dowlutabad which had been wrested from him by the Mahrattas on a former occasion, and in a new campaign in 1763 he had carried his arms to the capital of the Mahratta dominions and reduced the city of Poona to ashes. Another accommodation succeeded this event, and Nizam Ali being now engaged in hostilities against his brother Basalut Jung in the direction of Kurnool, Madoo Row had leisure to attend to the operations of Hyder. The rapid and astonishing increase of the army and [illegible] of his enemy [illegible]

dered it necessary for the Peshwa to provide with corresponding care for the augmentation and equipment of his own force. During the delay which these preparations had occasioned, Fuzzul Oolla Khan had extended Hyder's northern frontier across the rivers Werda, Malpurba, and Gutpurba, nearly to the banks of the Kistna.* Gopaul Row the Mahratta chief of Meritch, immediately to the northward of that river, was furnished by Madoo Row with a considerable reinforcement, and ordered to cross the Kistna and check the progress of the enemy until the main army should arrive. Gopaul Row finding himself superior in numbers† to Fuzzul Oolla Khan, determined to give him battle, but was defeated with great loss in the month of April. Early in the ensuing month, the immense army of Madoo Row crossed the Kistna; Fuzzul Oolla deliberately retreated as he approached, and Hyder, recalling all his detachments, advanced towards Savanore, and took up a position near Rettehully. There, encamped on an eminence which overlooked an extensive plain in front, he was secured by the vicinity of the woods in his rear, which afforded a cover for his infantry against the very superior numbers of the enemy's cavalry, from their commencement to the town of Bednore. On this ground he mustered twenty thousand horse, twenty thousand regular infantry, and twenty thousand irregular foot or peons chiefly armed with matchlocks, and a respectable train of artillery.‡ The force of Madoo Row was reputed at sixty thousand cavalry, Mahratta, Rajpoot, and Mohammedan, the same description of individuals which composed that of Hyder, their quality as troops not materially different, and therefore exceeding the same branch of Hyder's army in the proportion of three to one; but, as estimated numbers are always exaggerated, although in different degrees, from thirty to forty thousand may be considered in this case as a nearer approach to the fact. The infantry and artillery of Madoo Row were superior in number to that of Hyder in about the same degree as his cavalry: his regular infantry was composed of a better description of men, but in point of discipline was inferior. Of his irregulars a large pro-

* These rivers are fordable excepting from June to November.

† I have found it proper to distrust my manuscripts in statements of numbers more than in any other case. In no country, and in no circumstance, is it safe to trust to any statement of numbers that is not derived from actual returns. Even Sir Eyre Coote, whose keen and experienced eye might be considered a safe guide, and whose pure mind never harboured a thought of exaggeration, states the force of Hyder in the battle of Port Novo, first July, 1781, to have been from one hundred and forty to one hundred and fifty thousand horse and irregular infantry, besides twenty-five battalions of regulars; when it is certain that the whole did not exceed eighty thousand. I wish to be understood that when I have not been able to satisfy my own mind regarding numbers, I prefer the sort of relative statement adopted in the text; which may generally be determined with great probability where an opportunity has been obtained of examining the representations of both parties.

‡ I cannot state its number or quality with confidence; but at this time twenty-five pieces was about the probable number of his field guns.

portion of the matchlockmen were Arabs, and superior to the same description of troops in the service of his opponent; but the Mahratta pikemen were decidedly inferior to those of Chittledroog, who (though as yet reluctantly) served in the army of Hyder.

The Mahrattas approached in their usual manner, covering the whole country with cavalry, and thereby concealing the movements of the rest of their army: the superiority was so decided as to enable them to invest Hyder in his camp and to intercept his supplies. His position however was purely defensive; and the object of assuming it was frustrated by the simple determination of his enemy to decline attacking it. His whole force from its relative inferiority was necessarily concentrated, while Madoo Row's detachments were actively employed abroad in recovering all that had been wrested from him by Hyder. That chief soon penetrated the design of the judicious plans which rendered useless all his dispositions; he determined to bring on a general action, and if possible still to lead the enemy by pursuit to attack him in his chosen position. With this view he confided the command of the camp to Fuzzul Oolla Khan, and moved out on the plain with a select corps of twenty thousand men. His manœuvres, however, terminated in his becoming the dupe of his own design: being drawn to the distance of six or seven miles, the irregular swarms of horse assumed a more fixed distribution, and discovered to him the whole army of Madoo Row closing upon him in every direction. The dispositions of Hyder for regaining his position were made with steadiness and skill: he forced the corps which was posted to intercept his retreat, and retired, hard-pressed for a time, towards Rettehully, expecting to terminate a hard-fought day by drawing the enemy to the ground which he had chosen for action. Madoo Row had too much penetration to be so deceived; and Hyder, after sustaining a severe loss in the flower of his army, was foiled in all his objects. Distressed for supplies, he fell back the next day to Anawutty, where he had prepared an entrenched camp, and where the thick woods commence, which secured a communication with his supplies. To this position Madoo Row did not decline to follow him, and a few days afterwards appeared to be moving columns in different directions to invest the camp. Hyder imagined that he perceived an opportunity of cutting off one of these columns. He moved out for this purpose with two thousand regular infantry, one thousand select horse, and four light guns, he was again inveigled to advance too far, and completely surrounded. Hyder and about fifty of his cavalry escaped by the fleetness of their horses; the remainder of the corps was completely destroyed.

These operations were protracted beyond the middle of June. The south-western clouds which had long been blackening in the distance began to form along the crest of the hills that thick

impenetrable gloom which it is necessary to have seen to be able to conceive; and the torrents of the monsoon commencing in a few days after this affair, compelled Madoo Row to retire to a situation less exposed to their violence. He cantoned his troops for the rains to the eastward of Savanore.

Long before the rains had abated on the hills, Madoo Row passed considerable detachments over the river Toombuddra, and employed himself in reducing the whole of the eastern dependencies of Bednore, and the adjacent parts of Mysoor: while Hyder's army, wretched, spiritless, and sickly, from the inevitable consequences of its situation, looked with apathy or aversion to the renewal of active operations. About the beginning of the year 1765, the weather began to admit an approach to the woods of Anawutty, and Madoo Row opened the campaign with the employment of a numerous corps of pioneers, which he had organized and equipped during the rains. His object was to cut, in the first instance, a wide opening through the woods, to the southward of Hyder's intrenched camp; and progressively to form a line of circumvallation, by felling the gigantic forests around it. Hyder, perceiving the inevitable destruction which awaited him if he should permit his communication with Bednore to be cut off, immediately abandoned his intrenchments and commenced his retreat. The close and vigorous pursuit of the enemy necessarily impeded the celerity of his movement, and compelled him frequently to halt his whole force to sustain their attacks on his rear-guard. On the third day of these slow and retrograde movements, ground, comparatively open, afforded to Madoo Row the opportunity of moving a column between the army of Hyder and the point on which he was retreating, and thus forcing him to a general action. It is admitted by all who shared in the contest of this day, that although the dispositions of Hyder were respectable, the conduct of his troops was destitute of firmness and spirit; and that the action terminated in a disorderly rout in which he lost in killed alone three thousand horse, and double that number of infantry; the shattered remains of his troops escaping in dismay to the depth of the woods. The despondency of the army was communicated to the garrisons; the intermediate posts of Eekairee, Anantpoor and Compsee, made but a feeble resistance; and Hyder, before the end of January, was reduced to occupy those lines surrounding Bednore which have been formerly described. In approaching this situation he began for the first time to reflect that the means by which he had himself achieved the conquest of this capital were also open to his enemies: that woods, although a protection to men individually animated in their defence, are equivalent to the concealment of night for troops who are not forward in the performance of their duty:* and that he had made the worst possible selection

* Neither Hyder nor Tippoo, after this period, ever attempted to occupy

for the capital of an empire. Before he assumed this position his family was despatched by a route through the woods to Seringapatam, and detachments with treasure successively followed. In the meantine he had made private advances for negociation through the medium of Ragonaut Row,* the uncle of Madoo Row, which terminated in an adjustment of extreme moderation, considering the desperate circumstances in which Hyder was placed.

1st— He engaged to restore all the districts and places which he had wrested from Morari Row.

2nd—To relinquish all claims on Abdul-Hekeem Khan, and the country of Savanore.

3rd—To pay thirty-two lacs of Rupees, on receipt of which Madoo Row engaged to retire, and did actually commence his march on the day after the payment was made, viz., about the end of February 1765.

Hyder's occupation of Sera appears to have been tacitly admitted in this negociation, and all discussions relative to the Poligars of Chittledroog, Raidroog, Harponully, &c., seem to have been studiously avoided by both parties. Madoo Row had other contributions to levy during the open season from February to June; and by a proper understanding with these Poligars and with Morari Row, he considered the recovery of the posts wrested from the latter to furnish the certain means of regaining Sera, and the countries to the south-east of that capital, whenever he should find leisure to repeat his visit. While Hyder from an opposite consideration of the very same reasons determined to evade these retrocessions altogether.

During this unfavorable aspect of Hyder's affairs to the west, the whole of his recent acquisitions to the east were in a flame of rebellion. His brother-in-law Meer Ali Reza (usually called Meer Saheb), was therefore sent with a respectable force to Sera, and directed, after the re-establishment of Hyder's authority in that quarter, to co-operate with the corps at Bangalore, Dodbully, Oosoottu, and the two Balipoors; which had for several months been compelled by a general insurrection of the military population of those countries to adopt a cautious and defensive plan of operation. These insurrections were quelled without material difficulty, and the Poligar of little Balipoor being at length reduced to extremity from the want of supplies on the rock of Nundidroog, surrendered on one of those equivocal capitulations for personal honor and security, which are always interpreted according to the convenience of the conqueror. In

a jungle woods) although many opportunities occurred when they might (if not diffident of their troops) have done so with infinite advantage

* Narso Sreeker was the person sent by Ragonaut Row to Hyder for the final adjustment of the terms, and among them were without question some secret articles which were the foundation of that good understanding which ever afterwards subsisted between Hyder and Ragonaut Row

the present instance the Poligar with his family was sent to Bangalore, and from thence to prepetual imprisonment in the distant fort of Coilmootoor (Coimbatore).

Another corps under Fuzzul Oolla Khan was in the meanwhile employed in restoring order and levying revenue and contributions farther to the south-east; for the unprosperous aspect of Hyder's late situation had rendered necessary the presence of troops in every part of his dominions. These reverses appear however to have made but a temporary impression on the mind of this extraordinary man. His enterprising spirit and restless activity seem on all occasions to have converted unfavorable events into lessons of future conquest; and now impelled him to contemplate the condition of his southern possessions on the western coast, and of the contiguous province of Malabar.

The immemorial intercourse between Arabia* and Malabar had reciprocally induced many natives of each country to form temporary establishments for commercial speculation on the coasts of the other. The peculiar manners† of Malabar had produced an extensive intercourse between the females of that coast and their Arabian visitors; and in process of time had formed a separate class in the community, which retained the religion of their Arabian progenitors, blended with many of the local customs of Malabar. The access of new visitors and settlers from Arabia continued to preserve their bias towards that country; and soon after the appearance of their national apostle, the whole of this class embraced the religion of Mohammed. Ali Raja, one of these Mapilla (a term of doubtful etymology‡ by which they are distinguished), had in the progress of events obtained possession of the fort of Cananore,§ with a small district on the coast, subject in the loose manner of such dependencies

* Arabia was formerly the emporium from which Europe was chiefly supplied with Indian commodities by a tedious coasting navigation. The accidental circumstance of a Roman having been blown to sea from the Arabian coast and driven to Ceylon, in the first century of the Christian era, and the consequent discovery of the periodical winds, opened the first direct communication by sea between Egypt and India. See the interesting account of the discovery of Hippalus, in Dr. Vincent's dissertation on the Periplus of the Erythrean sea.

† The description of these manners will be more conveniently postponed until we have occasion to relate the characteristic efforts and *sermons* of Tippoo Sultaun for their reformation.

‡ Two Malabar words, of which the name may be compounded, signifying "sons of their mother," would be the most probable etymology, if the difficulty of determining the father had been peculiar to these births in Malabar.

§ It was a Portuguese fort and settlement so early as 1502, and was taken by the Dutch in 1663.—(Valantyn.) To enumerate the incessant revolutions of that coast, from internal quarrels, from the wars of the Dutch, Portuguese, French, and English, and from invasions by the armies of Bednore, would lead too far from the direct object of this narrative, and I have not attempted to trace the rise and progress of this little Mohammedan chief, who from an opulent trader became lord and merchant monopolist of Cananore.

to the Raja of Colastri, or Chericul. Aiming at a greater degree of power and independence, he had sought the friendship of Hyder, as a power united at least by the ties of religion, when his frontier on the coast, by the conquest of Bednore and its dependencies, had approached within a short distance of Cananore. By means of this person, Hyder obtained a competent knowledge of the state of the northern districts of Malabar, and was enabled to add considerably to the information regarding the southern portion of that country which he had derived from the expedition of Muckhdoom Saheb in 1757. We have had occasion, in tracing the history of the landed property of Malabar, to notice* the subdivision of that country into petty districts under the authority of chieftains comparatively independent, with subordinate proprietors of land, generally of the military class, and although the power and extent of these little clanships was subject to incessant revolution, the general aspect and condition of the country was at this period so nearly the same as to demand no fresh description.

The greater part of the year 1765 was employed by Hyder in repairing the disasters of the late campaign, in restoring his authority in the rebellious provinces, and in establishing such arrangements as should insure their future tranquillity. These objects being provided for, he left a corps of observation, consisting of three thousand horse, four thousand regular infantry and ten thousand peons, at Buswapatan, to the eastward of Bednore; and with the remainder of his disposable force descended into Canara about the beginning of the year 1766, with the avowed intention of achieving the conquest of Malabar.

Passing southward by Mangalore, whither Ali Raja had come forward to meet him, he crossed at Nelisuram the boundary of Malabar, and proceeded with the guidance and aid of Ali Raja to the direct objects of the expedition. his second in command, Ali Reza Khan, the son of Chunda Saheb had the chief direction of the subsequent operations, and commenced them (of course under authority, by a general instruction to grant no quarter.

The Nairs, or military class of Malabar are, perhaps not exceeded by any nation on earth in a high spirit of independence and military honour, but, like all persons stimulated by that spirit without the direction of discipline their efforts are uncertain, capricious and desultory. The military dress of the Nair is a pair of short drawers, and his peculiar weapon is an instrument with a thin but very broad blade, hooked towards the edge like a bill-hook or gardener's knife and about the length of a Roman sword which the weapon of the [illegible] exactly resembles. This hooked instrument the inseparable companion of the Nair whenever he quits his dwelling on business, for pleasure, or for

* Page [illegible]

war, has no scabbard, and is usually grasped by the right hand, as an ornamental appendage in peace, and for destruction in war. When the Nair employs his musket, or his bow,* the weapon which has been described is fixed in an instant by means of a catch in the waist-belt, with the flat part of the blade diagonally across his back; and is disengaged as quickly whenever he drops his musket in the wood, or slings it across his shoulders for the purpose of rushing to close encounter with this terrible instrument. The army of Hyder had not before engaged so brave or so formidable an enemy: their concealed fire from the woods could neither be returned with effect, nor could the troops of Hyder be prevailed on to enter the thickets, and act individually against them. In every movement through the forests, with

* The bow and arrow was the ancient missile weapon of India, but has been successively replaced by the matchlock, and more modern musket; the latter, of European manufacture, was, at the period of Hyder's invasion, in general use on the coast of Malabar, in consequence of the long established intercourse of strangers with the people of that coast. The supposition that the use of gunpowder was known in India before its discovery in Europe appears to me to be not sufficiently supported. Mr. Halhed, in his preface to the Code of Gentoo Laws (page 57), adverts to a passage in Quintus Curtius, which mentions missile fire having been employed in the defence of a place attacked by Alexander. I have not been successful in my search for this passage either in Quintus Curtius, or Arrian. Philostratus, lib. ii, ch. 14, introduces in a dialogue between king Phraotes and Apolloneus Tyaneus, an account of the Oxydraci: "of which nation were the wise men who conversed with Alexander:" "they inhabit," says Phraotes, "the country between the Hyphasis and Ganges, which Alexander never penetrated, and would never have been able to conquer, for they fight with prodigious tempests and thunderbolts, being themselves accounted sacred and beloved by the gods." Hercules and Bacchus, it is added, were both repulsed by that people, who allowed them to approach their fortress, and then beat them back with thunders and fiery tempests. Arguments are also drawn from the names of the ancient instruments described in the Indian poems, *agnee aster* (the instrument of fire), &c. If I have been rightly instructed regarding the passages scattered through the Ramayan, which describe the action of these instruments, they are entirely fabulous. The *agnee aster*, the fire of which cannot be extinguished, may, plausibly enough, be put for the Greek fire, but the *brama aster*, or *astrum*, a weapon formed by magical process from a blade of grass, when once discharged cannot cease motion until it has hit its object. The baunum (*arrow* in some of the spoken dialects at this time), is also the name for the modern Indian war-rocket; but however various and fabulous, the twang of Rama's bow always announces the flight of the baunum. The argument amounts to this, that the effects of gunpowder may have been the foundation of these fables; but to this are opposed the following considerations. 1.—No vestige of fire-arms, or of instruments discharged by gunpowder, is to be found in the Indian sculptures (to be seen in every part of India) which represent the war of the Ramayan, or any other war: the bow and arrow, the spear (the Indian bullum and Latin pilum) and sword, being the only weapons described. 2.—The Persian and Tartar conquerors of later periods, and particularly Chingeez Khan, whose operations are minutely detailed, make no mention of a circumstance which would necessarily have excited the greatest astonishment; and so far as I have been able to examine the question, there is no direct evidence of the use of gunpowder in India, until a period long subsequent to its introduction in Europe.

which the country abounds, bands of Nairs rushed by surprise upon the columns of march; and, after making dreadful havoc, were in a moment again invisible. On one occasion they were so imprudent as to depart from their characteristic warfare, and openly defended the passage of one of those rivers with which the province is everywhere intersected to discharge the mountain torrents. Hyder, by passing a column of cavalry at a higher ford, and combining their charge on the flank of the Nairs with a heavy discharge of grape in front, made a dreadful carnage among them. As he advanced to the southward he secured his communications by a series of block houses;* and the Nairs, perceiving the object of these erections, impeded his progress by the defence of their own small posts. One of these, which my manuscripts name Tamelpelly, was surrounded by Hyder in the following manner: first, a line of regular infantry, and guns with an abbatis; second, a line of peons; third, of cavalry. This disposition was made for the purpose of striking terror by not allowing a man to escape destruction. The Nairs defended themselves until they were tired of the confinement, and then leaping over the abbatis and cutting through the three lines with astonishing rapidity, they gained the woods before the enemy had recovered from their surprise. Such was the character of the warfare in which Hyder was daily engaged; and in this manner continuing his progress through the territory of the five northern chiefs, he approached Calicut. Maan Vicram Raj, the Samoree (Zamorin), perceiving that resistance would be ultimately unavailing, and having heard of the peculiar favor which the Poligar of Raidroog had secured by an early submission, opened a negociation, and proposed, if a safe conduct should be assured to him, to pay his respects to Hyder for the purpose of adjusting the terms of submission. This proposal being acceded to, the Raja proceeded to camp, where he was received by Hyder on the 11th of April 1766, with marks of particular distinction, and presented with valuable jewels. The terms adjusted at this interview were the confirmation of the Raja in his actual possessions as the tributary of Hyder, on his payment of four lacs of Venetian sequins as a military contribution. This arrangement being made, the army moved forward towards Calicut, accompanied by the Raja; but at the very moment that Hyder was receiving him with the honors which have been stated, a column was in motion by a circuitous route to seize the post of Calicut: the garrison reasonably concluding from this movement that the Raja was a prisoner, considered defence to be unavailing, and evacuated the place on the same night. Hyder had adopted this precaution from his experience of the deception practised by this Raja regarding the military contribution of 1757, and the Raja appre-

* *Block house* is a literal translation of the term which generally distinguished these posts, viz., *Leckerycota*.

hended from this virtual infraction of the present agreement, measures of farther circumvention on the part of Hyder. After the expiration of a few days, Hyder intimated his expectation of receiving the stipulated contribution: and the Raja consulted with his ministers regarding the proper measures for its realisation. But whether from inability, or design, they appeared to make but little progress in its collection. As the monsoon was not distant, Hyder, suspecting deception, placed both the Raja and his ministers under restraint; and applied to the latter the customary Indian methods of extorting treasure. The Raja, apprised of the cruelties and indignities offered to his ministers, determined to anticipate the possibility of a similar disgrace to himself; and having barricaded the doors of the house in which he was confined, set fire to it in several places, and was consumed in the ruins in spite of all the exertions made by Hyder's command to extinguish the flames.* In the remembrance after a lapse of years of so extraordinary a scence as that which has been related, and even in the confusion of such a moment, a spectator may have misconceived what he saw; but I have been assured by more than one eye-witness, that several of the Raja's personal attendants who were accidentally excluded when he closed the door, afterwards threw themselves into the flames, and perished with their master.

Even a scene of this nature was not calculated to operate on the impenetrable nerves of Hyder: the tortures of the ministers were continued without the least intermission, but the treasure which they at length produced fell far short of the stipulated sum.

While Hyder was occupied in these plans of exaction, the military arrangements for securing the conquest were also pursued with vigour: the fort of Calicut was enlarged and improved; additional posts were erected in different parts of the country, and stored with ammunition and provisions for their ample garrisons. A disposable column of three thousand regular infantry, aided by his newly acquired adherents, the Mapillas, was stationed at Calicut, and the civil government of the province was committed to an experienced officer of revenue named Madana. At the expiration of about a month employed in these arrangements after the death of the Raja, Hyder moved towards Coimbatore, but was overtaken by the monsoon on his fourth day's march: he received however, in his progress, the submission and tribute of

* The credibility of this circumstance is strengthened by a variety of instances of similar desperation on the part of other military classes of the Hindoos. The well-known case of Ranga Rao of Bobilee, related by Mr. Orme, and the more resent occurrence at the capture of Gawilghur, are prominent examples; and occurred where the assailants were commanded in the former case by a French officer, and in the latter by an English general, both as eminently distinguished by their humanity as by the most brilliant military talents.

the Rajas of Cochin and Palghaut; and, after a difficult and dreary march, in which a heavy loss of horses and cattle was sustained, he passed through the woods of Animally, and distributed his army for refreshment and forage in the temperate and fertile province of Coimbatore.

The civil governor to whom Hyder had entrusted the fiscal arrangements of Malabar, viewed its resources through the medium of the practices of exaction in which he had been educated; but was too little versed in the study of human nature to consider the habits and prejudices of a conquered people among the elements of his system of revenue. A quiet acquiescence in foreign subjugation was not to be expected under any circumstances from the natives of Malabar, but the imprudent measures of Madana precipitated their rebellion; and three months had not elapsed after Hyder's arrival in Coimbatore, before intelligence was received that the Nairs had risen in all quarters, and attacked the block houses which the swelling of the rivers had cut off from all reinforcement, either from each other, or from the moveable force at Calicut. Hyder [illegible] his army without delay, and when the violence of the rains began to abate moved with a light equipment of eight days' provisions by forced marches to Munjera. Here [illegible] he sent detachments in various directions. The troops [illegible] upon better information and surprised [illegible] the [illegible] bodies of Nairs, who [illegible] without any head to direct or arrange a general [illegible] of their efforts. The prisoners taken in the first attacks were either beheaded or hanged; but as their numbers [illegible] Hyder [illegible] the plan of sparing them for the use of his [illegible]. This [illegible] province, and [illegible] population [illegible] of which [illegible] history was not [illegible] by Hyder. [illegible] barbarous [illegible] the [illegible] with [illegible] the [illegible] natives of M[illegible] and who [illegible] two hundred [illegible] survive the [illegible].*

After [illegible] Hyder [illegible] amnesty to [illegible] of the [illegible] to the [illegible] those who had taken refuge in the [illegible] habitations and [illegible] Hyder supposed [illegible] effectual and permanent tranquillity.

* We [illegible] have taken [illegible] exact [illegible]

and returned to Coimbatore. On his route he gave orders for the erection of the present fort of Palgaut (Palicacherry), a position judiciously selected as an advanced post and depôt, and for securing at all times an easy communication between the new conquests in Malabar and his fixed resources in the province of Coimbatore, from the capital of which it was distant only thirty miles.

A body of four thousand cavalry, which his emissaries had been sent to engage in the territories of the Mahratta state of Najpoor, were reviewed at Coimbatore, and seemed to arrive at a proper season to oppose a more formidable confederacy than Hyder had ever sustained. Madoo Row had issued from Poona; Nizam Ali, aided by an English corps, was approaching from Hyderabad; and all were confederated, according to report, for purposes hostile to Mysore. The approach of these powers was certain; but the nature of their concert or ultimate designs was not accurately known to Hyder. In every event it was necessary to proceed without delay to Seringapatam for the purpose of making the most vigorous preparations. He arrived at that capital about the commencement of the year 1767; and while the military preparations were in progress, a civil arrangement, which now had sunk into a very subordinate degree of importance, also engaged his atention.

In April, 1766, the pageant Raja Chick Kishen Raj Wadeyar died; and Hyder, while occupied in Malabar, had sent orders, with all the indifference attached to an affair of ordinary routine, to go through the usual formalities of establishing as his successor his eldest son Nunjeraj Wadeyar, a young man then about eighteen years of age. Hyder, on his arrival at the capital, went through the ceremonial, from which habit and public opinion had not yet exempted him, of paying his public respects as a subject to his sovereign: he had, however, discovered that the youth since his mock elevation had betrayed some of those feelings of human nature which the habitual degradation of a splendid imprisonment had not absolutely extinguished; and these feelings Hyder deemed it necessary to crush before they should gather strength. It will be recollected, that districts to the annual amount of three lacs of Pagodas had been allotted for the personal maintenance of the Raja; these were now resumed, and the palace was plundered of all the cash and valuables which had been saved from that income, with the single exception of the ornaments which the women had actually on their persons at the time that Hyder's myrmidons entered to execute his orders. A new and reduced arrangement of the household was enforced, which left none but Hyder's spies within the palace gates; and these precautions for internal security were adjusted without any interruption to the singular defensive measures against external attack, which we shall have occasion to describe, or to the most active preparations for an efficient military equipment.

The eventful war which commenced in 1767 and terminated in 1769, involved the interests and exercised the arms of all the principal powers of the south of India: and a clear and connected explanation of its causes shall be attempted in the succeeding chapter. The history of the British policy in India is not the direct object of the present work; but its intimate connection with the affairs of Mysoor may render it necessary to premise, that the treaty of Paris, which terminated the war between France and England on the 10th of February 1763, *acknowledged Salabut Jung as lawful Soubah of the Deckan*, at a time when that office had, for upwards of a year and a half, been publicly and formally assumed by his brother: for Nizam Ali,* who murdered Salabut Jung in September 1763, had imprisoned him, and ascended the Musnud on the 18th of July 1761. By the same article† of the treaty of Paris, Mohammed Ali was acknowledged by the two powers *as the lawful Nabob of the Carnatic*; and the competition of English and French Nabobs having thus ceased, we shall henceforth distinguish Mohammed Ali by this his acknowledged designation.

The literal import of this title, namely, "the lawful deputy of a superior not named, in the government of a country miscalled and undefined," is only noticed for the purpose of illustrating the revolution of words and things, to which we have formerly adverted. The political meaning of the title must be sought in the intention of the contracting parties, who profess these acknowledgments to be made *in order to preserve future peace on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa*. Without stopping at present to enquire whether the acknowledgment of Mohammed Ali ought to be interpreted simply as a renunciation of future support to other candidates, or, in the construction afterwards assumed, as a direct recognition of sovereign authority; it would seem to be unquestionable that a measure apparently intended to compose the agitations in which this Nabob was concerned, tended only to stimulate an ambition too large for his talents, a corruption too prodigal for his means, and a combination of foreign and domestic intrigue, tending to objects of which he had probably never formed a distinct conception, profitable alone to the instruments employed, and to himself productive of nothing but misfortune.

Whether the peace of 1763, which delivered the English Company from serious impediments to the prosecution of their commercial concerns, left them also free to abstain from views of political aggrandisement, is a question which applies with the same force to every subsequent period of the British history in

* There was no affectation of ruling in the name of his brother. In his letters to Madras, Nizam Alee announces that the *king of Delhi* had displaced Salabut Jung for misconduct.

† Eleventh Article.

India, as to the short and important interval from 1763 to 1765, which placed the revenues of Bengal at the uncontrolled disposal of the English Company. To generalize and resolve this difficult and important question is, in effect, to determine whether human affairs can be rendered stationary by human wisdom.

The wisdom and virtue of political moderation, and the inexpediency and injustice of aggressive wars, are among those propositions familiarly denominated *truisms*, which more frequently pass through the ear than the understanding, and extend themselves over so large a surface as scarcely to be anywhere distinctly tangible. Nature has erected no visible boundaries to mark the proper extent of political power; and moderation, that word of amiable sound, which changes its meaning in the concerns of private life at every step from one hundred to one hundred thousand, is as perfect a Proteus in the political vocabulary: while in the very act of applying its ever-varying form, ambition will not fail to whisper, that the fundamental principles and proportions which regulate a smaller scale remain precisely the same in the construction of a larger. We can scarcely conceive that the great and enlightened statesman who directed the affairs of Bengal in 1765, and seized with his characteristic penetration and promptitude the combination of circumstances, which, without previous design, led to an aggrandisement of unexampled rapidity and extent, intended to arraign the past by condemning its application to the future; nor can we in justice to his memory suppose, that in retiring from the scene of his passed glory, and deprecating an extension of the British dominions, he contemplated any other than the existing condition of his own and the surrounding states, or meant to inculcate the expediency of the same measures under every possible variation of circumstances. To determine the evanescent line which separates moderation from ambition would seem to be a problem beyond the reach of general rules, and to require a consideration of the facts of each individual case, for its solution. The lights to guide our opinion on a question which appears simple to those only who confine their examination to its surface, must therefore be derived from a close attention to the progress of events. Without presuming to instruct the reader, the means of forming or revising his own judgment will be found in the series of more tardy steps which, from the year 1765 to 1799, tended with considerable fluctuation to a similar aggrandisement of the English power in the south of India. The principal events of these thirty-four years belong to the direct scope of our future narrative; and if precarious health should admit, and public opinion should not discourage the design, an attempt shall be made to relate them with fidelity.

CHAPTER XIII.

Consequences of the diplomatic error in the treaty of Paris—of deriving rights from the extinct authority of Mogul—General Calliaud's treaty with Nizam Ali—vague, and at variance with the views of Lord Clive—Complex views of the parties in the war which ensued—Hyder's plan of defence by the desolation of his own country—discussed—Description of reservoirs peculiar to the south of India—Mahrattas not arrested—capture Sera—Defection of Meer Saheb—Hyder attempts negotiation—Amusing specimen of Indian diplomacy—succeeds in purchasing the retreat of the Mahrattas—General Smith and Nizam Ali advance to co-operate with the Mahrattas against Hyder—find themselves over-reached and ridiculed—continue to advance—Nizam Ali's secret negotiations with Hyder—Open mockery of the English—General Smith retires towards his own frontier—Hyder relieves himself from the domestic danger of the intrigues of Nunjeraj—Singular generosity of Nizam Ali before uniting with Hyder against the English—Hostile operations of the English in Baramahal—Capture of numerous places of little importance.

By the treaty of peace between France and England concluded at Paris on the 10th of February 1763, the former had renounced all pretensions to its acquisitions on the coast of Coromandel and Orixa; and each agreed to restore what had been conquered from the other. Salabut Jung, who had long been deposed by his younger brother, was, by the singular diplomatic error already noticed, acknowledged to be the *lawful* Sooba (Soubadar) of Deckan; and Mohammed Ali, who had supplanted his elder brother in such rights as either of them possessed, was recognised as the *lawful* Nabob of Carnatic. Two European nations had thus assumed to themselves the right of conferring the official appointments, and determining the interior arrangements of the Mogul empire; and Mohammed Ali who, as a servant of that state, could not, by any extravagance of assumption, claim a higher rank than that of deputy's deputy, began very prudently to rest his pretensions to a non-descript authority, on the legality very imprudently recognised by two powers far more competent to decide a questionable claim. In the eager anticipation of boundless dominion, the limits of this newly-created sovereignty, became too narrow for his growing fortunes. The Soubadaree of Deckan, including the whole south, was the lowest but the most immediate object of his grasp. The projects concerted for its attainment were more open and undisguised than was consistent with the practical and sober prosecution of less difficult achievements, and the inflated ambition of this political pretender was nourished and incited by the still more absurd and corrupt counsels of his European advisers.

In the month of July 1765, Mahphuz Khan, whose pretensions had yielded of necessity to the better fortunes of his younger brother, had professed, in the ordinary practice of those Asiatics

whom the world has not favored, to renounce the world; and had taken leave of Mohammed Ali, with the declared intention of proceeding on a pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca, as the first and most meritorious step in a life of austere devotion. The route of the pilgrim to his port of embarkation at Mangalore, led him near to the camp of Hyder Ali then engaged in the conquest of Malabar; and these vows, whether the offspring of disordered fancy, or affected sanctity, quickly yielded to the worldly temptations of a jageer, and a public employment, which Hyder offered to his acceptance. The developement of the extravagant plans of Mohammed Ali, suggested to Hyder the project of employing the elder brother of his own rival, as the fittest instrument to concert with Nizam Ali the means of mutual security and joint retaliation; and Mahphuz Khan was accordingly dispatched to Deckan as the agent of Hyder, and the advocate of his own cause.

Lord Clive on receiving from the Mogul the dewannee of Bengal in 1765, had solicited and procured at the same time royal grants, conferring on the English East India Company, the possession of the northern circars, and in dispatching them to Madras, had enjoined the necessity of immediate occupation, which had accordingly been in a great degree* effected in 1766. But after thus seizing, under the direct authority of the Mogul, this extensive territory as an independent possession, it was deemed wise by the government of Madras, to send an embassy to Nizam Ali, which negotiated a treaty, submitting to hold it as a *free gift*, and tributary dependency from this avowed inferior and equivocal deputy, to whose exclusion it had been conferred, and in despite of whom it had been seized. It is not here intended to discuss the suggestions which have been mixed with our earlier investigations,† regarding the moral or political force of either the authority or the act which has now been described; but to mark in all these transactions, the vicious preference for ostensible dependence, and the unprofitable and degrading tendency of political simulation.

Although an anticipation of subsequent events, it affords a striking illustration of these observations, that when the Mahratta chief, Madajee Sindia obtained possession of the person of the Mogul, he extorted from that unfortunate prince, a patent appointing the Peshwa *vakeel ul mutluck* (absolute vicegerent), and Sindia himself the naib or deputy of that imaginary officer: the patent and seals were expedited to Poona, but were never used by that State: a remarkable example of a feeling of dignity *in a Mahratta*, superior to that of a British Government. Sindia however was not so scrupulous, and in his subordinate capacity exercised, in the most absolute manner, the whole authority of

* The exceptions were Chicacole and Guntoor.

† Vol. i. the first half of p. 137, and the whole of p. 162.

the Mogul empire, to the full extent that his means admitted. In the whole of the political transactions of India, we perceive Hindoos, Mohammedans, French, and English, searching for a shadow, to sanction their pretensions, instead of resting their claims on more substantial grounds. In the course of events, however, the shadow and the substance have both fallen into the hands of the English; and on their part at least, it is time that the scene of simulation should finally close. The treaty with Nizam Ali, which was concluded at Hyderabad by General Calliaud on the 12th November 1766, made a temporary exception in favor of the Sircar of Guntoor, which formed a part of the jageer of Basalut Jung, and was not to be possessed by the English until his death, unless his conduct should prove inimical to that nation. It was also agreed that an English auxiliary force, indefinite in strength, and equally loose in its applications, should be at the disposal of Nizam Ali, "to settle the affairs of his government in everything that is right and proper;" and as he was at this very time concerting with the Mahrattas, a plan for the conquest or plunder of Mysoor, it was distinctly understood that this was the first service on which the auxiliary troops were to be employed; although Lord Clive had expressly suggested that any aid which might be afforded to Nizam Ali, should be directed to restrain the formidable power of the Mahrattas, instead of co-operating for their aggrandisement. To check the growing ambition of Hyder in any direction which might affect the British interests, was in his judgment an object of legitimate policy; but to crush the only power in the south who had been able to oppose any respectable resistance to the aggressions of the Mahratta States, and who formed, if his friendship could be secured, a barrier between them and the Company's dominions, was in direct opposition to the views of that profound statesman. This policy, however, unless directed by the hand of a master, is certainly of a most equivocal character. If an intermediate state be capable, from its strength, of becoming a real barrier, it is also liable, from the same cause, to become an object of jealousy. If too weak for its purpose of defence, it only courts aggression from abroad; and instead of a barrier, it becomes the high road of invasion.

Colonel Joseph Smith, who arrived in India in September 1766, was selected to proceed to Hyderabad, for the purpose of *concerting the details of this co-operation, and commanding the troops.* The unofficial narrative of this officer, (unpublished and unrecorded,) which after the conclusion of the war he addressed to his friend, Lord Clive, in explanation of his own conduct, and the journal of an officer* of deserved reputation, who bore a distinguished part in the military operations, enables us to compare and correct what is deficient in the public records; and a short

* Sir Henry Cosby.

preliminary view of the objects and designs of the principal powers who were parties in these transactions, is necessary for rendering distinct and intelligible a narrative of events which might otherwise appear to be intricate.

Every confederacy of the Mahrattas, with whatever power, has uniformly two distinct objects, which follow each other in regular order: the first, anticipation in plunder during the confederacy; and the second, exclusive conquest after its close.

Mohammed Ali's secret views were directed to the deposition of both Nizam Ali and Hyder; and they were meditating a counterplot for deposing Mohammed Ali. Nizam Ali was moving to the south for the promised co-operation with the Mahrattas; having the option, also in his hands, of employing the English force against Hyder; of directing Hyder's force against them and Mohammed Ali; or of successively adopting both these combinations, if both should promise to replenish his military chest. According to the second of these plans, Hyder was to be the future Nabob of Arcot, by the mock authority of Nizam Ali, because he was able to aid in his own elevation; and Mahphuz Khan was to be amused with indefinite expectations, because he could furnish neither troops nor talents. Mohammed Ali deprecated the royal grant of the Sircars, because the same authority might with equal facility, have been brought to confer on the English Company the possession of Arcot; he had learned with deep apprehension the orders for seizing those provinces in the name of the Company, as indicating more distinct views of their actual situation than had yet been exhibited at Madras, and a more manly assertion of the character which they were entitled to assume; he accordingly viewed with complacency an arrangement inexplicable on any grounds that are fit to be avowed, by which the Government of Madras, continuing the absurd policy which had effected his own unconditional elevation, gratuitously bowed the neck as tributaries to a new master. This convenient humility reconciled him also to the union of the British Government with his rival Nizam Ali; because their fond election of the secondary place in politics, and of the first in peril, and the absence of all definite compact in their relative situation with himself, left to him in his newly assumed character of the sovereign of Carnatic, the claim to all the benefits of their combined efforts, in a war ostensibly undertaken for the reduction of the power of Hyder; who, (in the loose and misapplied acceptation of a geographical term) had made encroachments on *Carnatic*, of which the conquest of Kurpa was confidently cited as a prominent example; and on these grounds Mohammed Ali became more urgent than any of the coalesced powers for engaging in the war against Hyder. After this brief description of the designs of the other powers, it is scarcely necessary to add, that the English were about to engage in the contest, in the exclusive

character of dupes. "The Company (say the Government of Bengal in 1765) are put to the choice of remaining as merchants, subject to the country governments, or supporting their privileges and possessions by the power of the sword;" but it was in Bengal alone that a mind* existed capable of comprehending, in all its relations, the true nature of the character which they were thus compelled to assume.

For the negotiation confided to Mahphuz Khan, to averting one branch of the danger which threatened Mysoor, a fruitless attempt had been added to purchase the retreat of Madoo Row,† the Mahratta chief; who professed nothing short of the entire subversion of Hyder's usurped authority. The amount of the Mahratta force, and Hyder's experience of the talents by which it was directed, determined him not to risk his own army beyond the protection of the capital; and to have recourse to other modes of impeding the enemy's progress. In conformity to this new plan of defence, he issued the most peremptory orders to all his officers, civil and military, to break down the embankments of the reservoirs of water, on the approach of the Mahratta army; to poison the wells with milk hedge;‡ to burn all the forage, even to the thatch of the houses; to bury the grain; to drive off the wulsa,§ and the cattle to the woods; and to leave to the Mahrattas neither forage, water, nor food.

The reservoirs in question, peculiar to the south of *India*, (unless indeed the lake Moeris, may be supposed to have resembled them, by distributing as well as receiving the superfluous waters of the Nile) may seem to merit a short description.

The converging points of two ranges of hills are sometimes united by an embankment, and the vale above is converted into a lake. One of these which I sounded, at the distance of a few yards from the embankment, was thirty-two fathoms in depth, measured by a native of ordinary stature. In plain countries, a gentle descent is intersected by a horizontal line of embankment for many miles: the excavation to form the embankment, becomes the deepest part of the reservoir, the shallowest extending backwards, as far as the point of intersection with the sloping plain, formed by an horizontal line, passing from near the summit of the bank. In countries of an intermediate character, *feeders*‖ in the form of trenches extending along the sides of the swelling eminences, intercept the rain which falls above on an area of many square miles to be conveyed to the reservoir, and the overflow of rivers in the rainy season is led wherever practicable to replenish the

* The great Lord Clive.

† Properly Mahadeo Row

‡ Euphorbia Tirucalli

§ For an explanation of this term, see vol. i. p. 192.

‖ I think this is the technical term of the English canal-makers.

artificial lake. Effectual provision is always made for discharging the superfluous water: and a simple contrivance opens or stops the channel by which these accumulated treasures are made to irrigate the greater part of the rice grounds of the south of India. An effectual breach in such an embankment, of course discharges the water, and in a few days converts the lake into a bed of mud.

The perfect execution of such a scheme of defence requires that the body of the population should feel an interest in its success; but the interests of the people do not enter into the calculations of an unenlightened despot; and the reader must be aware that the actual administration of affairs had little tendency to produce examples of self-devotion, or to shake the characteristic indifference of the Hindoos in a choice of masters. Repeated experience has since shown that however efficacious against a regular army, the project is mere theory, against the overwhelming mass of a genuine Mahratta invasion; which, instead of moving in regular columns, whose route and intentions may be foreseen, and counteracted; covers the whole face of the country; and almost divests of poetic fiction the Mohammedan illustration which compares them to a cloud of locusts. Such a plan may distress, but cannot stop such an army: forage* exists independently of dry straw: the cavalry even of an English army subsists on the roots of grass: the sudden and unwilling exertions of a district can neither destroy nor poison all its reservoirs: the discovery of buried grain has become a practical trade: men furnished with pointed rods of iron thrust them deep into the ground, and from the sound, the resistance, and above all from the smell of the point when withdrawn, form their conclusions with surprising sagacity; and finally, cattle cannot retire where they cannot be pursued and found. The Mahrattas accordingly made good their march across this imperfect desert; and Madoo Row who had pushed on to Raidroog early in February, followed the course of the Hogree, *a river* in its appointed season, but then exhibiting an arid bed of sand. A sufficient supply of water was however found by digging as is usual, shallow pits beneath its surface; which enabled Madoo Row, without impediment, or material distress, to reach Sera. Meer† Saheb the brother-in-law of Hyder was stationed at this place with 4,000 horse and 6,000 infantry, chiefly irregular, and to him Madoo Row proposed a capitulation which was gladly accepted; by which he betrayed his trust; gave up the fort and district of Sera; and received in return, as a Mahratta dependency, the fort and district of Goorumconda, 150 miles to the east-

* Necessity has since instructed the natives of countries subject to Mahratta invasion, to bury even their forage in immense subterraneous pits.

† Meer Ali Reza Khan.

ward, which had formerly been possessed by one of his* ancestors. This unexpected defection, added to the probable influence of his misfortunes on the politics of Nizam Ali, who was approaching as a gleaner, after the Mahrattas should have gathered the harvest, determined Hyder to repeat his efforts at negotiation. Madoo Row peremptorily refused to receive any embassador who should not be furnished with full and final powers, for the execution of which his own person should be the guarantee. Apajee Ram a bramin in the service of Hyder was selected for this delicate service: his acceptance of the trust evinced a reciprocal confidence worthy of a better state of society: and in this his first diplomatic essay, some traits of personal character were unfolded which reflect a corresponding light on the national manners of a Mahratta camp. Apajee Ram was received by Madoo Row in the great tent of audience, in a full durbar consisting of all his officers of State, and chiefs of the army, amounting to near four hundred persons. After the inspection of his powers he was referred for details to the putwardhun,† and directed immediately to proceed in open durbar to explain to him the business of his mission, Madoo Row himself affecting to be occupied with other concerns. The envoy was not disconcerted by this affected indifference, he made no objection to the unusual demand of entering on business in the first audience of ceremony, but commenced his speech without a moment's hesitation [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

that the liberation of the Raja, and his restoration to his legitimate authority, were essential towards establishing the previous relations of the parties on which Hyder had founded his complaints of aggression. A general murmur of approbation throughout the assembly, announced that this argument was considered unanswerable.

Apajee Ram, in a tone of repentant humility, acknowledged that the Raja was virtually a State pageant in the hands of Hyder; but, added he, with an immoveable gravity of countenance, the arrangement is not an invention of our own, but a distant and respectful imitation of the conduct of our betters; and if those eminent authorities will lead the way in the moral doctrines they inculcate, we shall unquestionably be ready to follow so laudable an example. The reader will of course recollect, that the Mahratta Raja, the descendant of Sevajee, was a prisoner in Sittâra, and that Madoo Row the Peshwa or general, was hereditary usurper.

Madoo Row hung down his head, the whole assembly refrained with difficulty from a burst of laughter, and the ground was quickly cleared for actual business. The preliminary points were soon understood, and in a private audience, to which he was admitted on the following day, the retreat of the Mahratta host was purchased for thirty-five lacs of Rupees, half of which was paid on the spot late in the month of March. Madoo Row had obtained possession of all the districts of Mysoor to the south-eastward of Sera, and the treaty provided for the immediate restoration of the whole, with the single exception of the fort and district of Colar, which remained in pledge for the payment of the remaining sum of seventeen and a half lacs of Rupees. But this sum being also discharged in conformity to the treaty early in the month of May, Madoo Row finally evacuated Colar, and turned his face towards Poona.

The influence of wit and humour on the formality and selfishness of political discussions belongs to the legitimate province of history, and may be deemed still more appropriate when intended to convey a living transcript of national manners which are little understood. Critics who plead for the dignity of history have not always the same respect for its gravity, and may deem the considerations which have been stated to constitute a sufficient apology for the following additional anecdote.

Apajee Ram was sent to Poona on a subsequent occasion, and being somewhat free in his private conduct, his manner of life was reported to Madoo Row, who like most Asiatic chiefs was addicted to loose conversation, and pleased with the impure wit arising from such discussions. Apajee, said he, my female subjects complain that you are intolerable, and beg that you may be sent away. "Their complaints have some foundation," said Apajee, "and pray, Sir, relieve your female subjects by

dispatching my business." A smile was on the side of Apajee, but he was not satisfied with the success of his retort, and shortly afterwards taking his leave, stopped at the outer door, and as the durbar was breaking up, imitating the tone of the public crier, proclaimed in a loud voice, "A miserable sinner stands in the door, let all who have not transgressed put their hands on his head,* declare their innocence, and pass on; let his fellow sinners acknowledge their faults and endeavour to amend." A roar of laughter was on the side of Apajee; none touched his head; all acknowledged themselves of his fraternity; and Madoo Row, in making his confession, ornamented the penitent with a valuable decoration of pearls and diamonds from his own neck.

During this negotiation, by which Hyder had delivered himself from the most formidable of his enemies, and felt more at ease regarding the disposal of the remainder, Nizam Ali approached, at the interval of a full month later than Madoo Row, by a more eastern route, the resources of which were, by compact, to have furnished his supplies, but had already been rifled by the Mahrattas. A formidable English corps was moving in separate columns, to form a junction with him on the northern frontier of Mysoor; and the tributary powers in the route, were summoned to join the standard; but by the time this tardy host, levying revenues on its own subjects, by the power of the sword, to provide for its immediate necessities, had reached the river Toombuddra, on the 9th of March, intelligence was received, that Madoo Row had taken Sera; and, on the 24th of the same month, that his retreat had been purchased by Hyder. Colonel Smith, who from the first day after joining Nizam Ali, began to suspect that his own government had engaged in what he terms a *disjointed expedition*, strongly urged, in his dispatches of the 9th of March, the indispensible necessity of insisting on the adjustment of "some reasonable plan of action, without this preliminary," he adds, "one of three events can only happen, either Madoo Row will do his business himself, or we shall be beaten in detail, or we shall do nothing at all, and on the 24th, the minister of Nizam Ali avowed to him that this was the third conjoint expedition in which his master had been deceived by the Mahrattas in precisely the same way. While still not half-way advanced towards his object, this chief began to meditate on re-passing the rivers, and returning in the ensuing year; but in order that he might not incur the shame of being doubly over-reached, he resolved to make a few marches in advance, for the purpose of accelerating the determination of Hyder, who had repeatedly urged him to accept of 20 lacs, and the promise of a fixed tribute of six, but who since his ad-

* To swear by the head of a bramin, touching it with the right hand, is among the most solemn forms of adjuration.

justment with Madoo Row, had observed a profound silence on the subject of money, and strongly incited him to a joint retaliation on the English and Mohammed Ali: "they (the Court of Nizam Ali), have," says General Smith, "been outwitted by the Mahrattas, and are poor, indolent, rapacious, and unsystematical, themselves." Still however the armies continued to advance, Madoo Row was encamped near Colar, while the united force of Nizam Ali and the English was moving towards him, with the feeble hope of sharing in his spoils, or prevailing on him to persevere in the original project of the war. Colonel Tod was deputed for this purpose, by Colonel Smith, and was accompanied by a confidential person on the part of Nizam Ali. The application of the latter for a part of the spoil, was treated with broad ridicule; and Colonel Tod, on his return, reported,* "that when he declared to Madoo Row, that he was come to talk on business, they (the Mahratta durbar) could not keep their countenances, but burst out a laughing in his face."

The Mahrattas, having previously sent their heavy equipments in advance, finally moved northwards on the 11th of May; and Nizam Ali marched on the same day towards Bangalore. The cold cloudy weather of the months of June, July, and August, which renders this climate a delightful refuge from the burning heats of the lower countries to the eastward, is preceded, in the month of May, by tremendous thunder storms, on nearly the same invariable hour of every afternoon, and the violent alternations of heat, and deluging rain which precede and follow them, had so much increased the sick of the English troops, that they were compelled to remain at Deonhully, for want of the means of conveyance, which had been liberally *promised* by their good ally. Colonel Smith, who had long suspected inimical combinations, suspicions which were confirmed by finding that Nizam Ali, on entering Mysoor, treated it as a friendly country, had on the 3d of May, officially announced his conviction of the fact, and recommended to his Government the most vigorous preparations against a hostile invasion of their own territory, by the combined forces of Hyder and Nizam Ali. In consequence of these representations, the option was allowed to him, of returning to the lower countries with the troops, whenever he *and Mr. Bouchier* should deem that measure to be proper; and they accordingly determined to present to the minister of Nizam Ali the distinct alternative, of moving the troops in that direction, or obtaining from him some satisfactory explanation of his actual intentions. Assurances of inviolable attachment, fictitious expla-

* Letter from Mr. James Bouchier and Colonel Smith, 3d May 1767. When Colonel Smith had plainly intimated to Government his opinion of the necessity of more vigorous councils, they sent Mr. Bourchier to relieve him from a portion of his political cares.

nations of an important negotiation with Hyder, the success of which absolutely depended on the union of the English troops, and pressing intreaties to join his camp near Bangalore, again deceived them. The ground to be occupied for this purpose was marked out by the staff of the two armies; but as the English troops entered the encampment at one point, they perceived with astonishment the troops of Nizam Ali departing at the opposite, for the purpose of marching, without explanation, to a distance of twelve miles. Hyder, who had secret reasons for suspicion, to which we shall presently advert, was not so credulous as the English: he had plainly declared his apprehension of being deceived by Nizam Ali, and his fear of moving from the protection of his capital, without some overt proof that his conjectures were groundless; and this exhibition of open and contemptuous mockery was concerted for the purpose of satisfying all his scruples.

Colonel Smith in sullen indignation, moved with the body of the troops towards his own frontier: his government, however, still professed to discredit the existence of an hostile confederacy: Mr. Bouchier continued to believe that something might still be effected by negotiation, and the minister of Nizam Ali cherished this easy credulity, by new and extravagant professions of sincerity; by acquiescing in the convenience of moving the body of the English troops, for the present towards their own frontier, and by earnestly entreating, that three battalions with their field-pieces attached, might be permitted to remain in his camp, as a demonstration of friendship and alliance; a request which was granted, contrary to every principle of military prudence, or political dignity.

The suspicions of Hyder had in the meanwhile been roused by the discovery of a source of domestic danger which it was necessary to remove. When his old benefactor Nunjeraj was last reconciled and undeceived, a stipulation had been made, and hitherto observed, for his residing in a certain degree of dignity at Mysoor; and it was now ascertained, that he had long been engaged in secret correspondence with Madoo Row, and Nizam Ali, for the destruction of Hyder, whose power he represented, with truth, to have been founded on the infraction of every bond of gratitude, and all the duties of allegiance; and the object of these negotiations was to subvert the usurpation of Hyder, and restore the Hindoo government; or rather in point of fact, to revive his own previous usurpation. Hyder, in consequence of this discovery, sent repeated messages to Nunjeraj, representing, that in the actual state of affairs, his presence and counsel were required at Seringapatam; and the old man, probably finding that resistance or refusal would be ineffectual, at length consented to proceed, on the solemn assurance, that his own guards should accompany and remain with him, and that no change should be made except-

ing in the place of his abode. For the performance of these engagements, he exacted the most sacred obligation which a Mussulman can incur; and two of Hyder's confidential friends, Khakee Shah, and *Ghalib Mohammed Khan** were sent to confirm and guarantee the promises of Hyder by an oath on the Koran. On the arrival however of Nunjeraj at Seringapatam, his guards were seized; his jageer resumed; and he was thenceforth furnished as a State prisoner, with the mere necessaries of life. The splendid cover on which this sacred oath had been confirmed, enveloped no more than a simple book of blank paper; and it was thus by a solemn mockery of the religion which they both professed, that Hyder and these religious casuists reconciled to themselves the double crime of a false oath, upon a false Koran.

All the essential conditions of the alliance between Hyder and Nizam Ali, were already mutually understood; and among other stipulations it was agreed, that Hyder, as the more experienced officer, should regulate and direct the united operations of the troops; but during the period of preparation, an interchange took place of the most pompous deputations of oriental ceremony; over the first, from Nizam Ali, presided his prime minister, with the Nabob of Kurnool, and the minister of finance; the composition of Hyder's deputation was intended to point without disguise to his own objects, and was perfectly successful in casting a mixture of obloquy, and irresistible ridicule, on the history of his opponents; it consisted, besides his eldest son and chief military officer, of *Mahphuz Khan* and *Reza Ali Khan*, the rightful heirs, as far as any right existed, of the two rivals whom the English and French had respectively supported as the Nabobs of Arcot.

The arrangements for passive defence, to which Hyder had necessarily confined his views, on the hostile approach of the confederates, rendered some time necessary before he could collect and arrange the equipments for an active offensive campaign; and during this interval Nizam Ali, who had come forward to Cenapatam for the purpose of these public demonstrations of alliance, moved again for the convenience of forage to the north-east. The officer commanding the English detachment was amused on one day with the assurance of being in full march to Hyderabad, and on the next with some silly reason for moving towards the opposite point of the compass: the sepoys, meanwhile, being without pay and destitute of credit, in an enemy's country, were nearly in a state of mutiny for want of food; and as hostilities against Hyder had actually commenced in another quarter, the difficulty of supplying them became a serious consideration. Captain Cosby detached by Colonel Smith, with five hundred men and a small supply of money,

* The brother of Fuzzul Oolla Khan, or Hybut Jung.

performed this delicate service with admirable address, having so skilfully evaded the corps detached to intercept him, as to return with the loss of one man only; after having performed a circuitous march, guided chiefly by the compass, of upwards of 350 miles in thirteen days, including two days occupied in delivering his charge and refreshing the troops.*

At length however the English brigade with the army of Nizam Ali, was suffered to depart, leaving five companies as a guard of honor to this still equivocal friend. The chivalrous spirit which dictated this permission affords some relief to the mind, after the disgust of contemplating incessant fraud. As a feature of Mohammedan character it is an example not altogether singular of the mixture of pride and meanness which accompanies imperfect civilization and defective morals. A ray of seeming generosity broke through the gloom of habitual deception; it was the affectation of courage that assumed the garb of probity; and the mind which had abandoned truth, and the virtues which are her offspring, was yet sensible to the shame of being influenced by fear: such is the ground of distinction on which superficial reasoners have affected a preference for the virtues of uncivilized life; and such was the sentiment which continued to influence Nizam Ali in giving safe conduct to the five companies three days preceding his actual commencement of hostilities.

During the period in which the confederated forces were approaching Mysoor from the north, the English from Madras had moved a respectable corps to the westward, for the purpose of endeavouring, by the possession of Baramahal to extend their frontier to the summit of the second range of hills; while Hyder should be prevented by the armies of Poona and Hyderabad from disturbing their operations: and Nizam Ali continued, to the last moment, the deception of recommending a perseverance in these efforts, for the purpose of influencing his important negotiations with Hyder, which were to confer unknown benefits on his English allies. The total want of previous information, with regard to the country in which they were to operate, rendered these efforts entirely abortive. Vaniambaddy, Tripatore, Caveripatam, and other mere village bulwarks, surrendered without opposition, but the places of real strength, erected on the summits of naked, lofty, and insulated mountains of granite, were provided with respectable garrisons. an attempt was made to carry one of these droogs† Kistnagherry, the reputed

* The single man lost in this expedition, was one of the native troopers, by whom the money had been carried in their holsters, this man delivered the fund with which he was intrusted, and deserted the next day. That he did not desert with the money, was a point of honor not without parallel among these troops, and worthy of being recorded as an illustration of their character.

† These fortresses, on granite rocks, have annexed to their names the

capital of the district, by surprise, on the night of the 3d of June. The walled town at the foot of the rock having for some time been occupied without any serious opposition, a petard was prepared for forcing the gate of the upper fort; but the men who carried it, as well as the forlorn hope which preceded them, being all killed by showers of detached rocks precipitated from the summit, the party retired with the loss of nearly the whole grenadier company which led the enterprise; and on its failure the siege was converted into a blockade, which neutralized what little of plan had been preconcerted, by locking up the great body of the troops in this ineffectual operation. On the return of Colonel Smith from Bangalore, he was directed to assume the general command of the British troops on the frontier; Nizam Ali was already on the crest of the hills which overlook Baramahal, and Hyder in full equipment followed at the interval of two days' march. "Although," says Colonel Smith,* "it was as plain as noon day to every person (except the council) that they were preparing to enter the Carnatic jointly, no measures were taken to establish magazines of provisions in proper places, nor any steps to supply our army in time of need," and even three days before the invasion, this officer was positively directed, to pass to the enemy a supply of provisions, of which his own troops were in the greatest want.

general epithet of Droog or Durgum, implying that they are inaccessible. Xenophon, in the fourth chapter of the Anabasis, has an interesting description of the stratagem, by which the ten thousand Greeks carried a post so defended; the assailants found the cover of some clumps of trees on the ascent, from whence they made false demonstrations, until the defenders had expended their supply of stones, when the Greeks ascended without difficulty.

* Letter to Lord Clive.

CHAPTER XIV.

Hyder and Nizam Ali descend the ghauts—operations—carry off the cattle of the army—Hyder takes Caveripatam—Smith moves to join Wood—followed by Hyder—Battle of Changama—Smith, although victorious, retires to Trinomalee—Allies recriminate—Smith in distress for food—Council of War declares the necessity for going into cantonment—prohibited by the government—Various manœuvres—Decisive victory of Trinomalee.

THE errors which have been transmitted to later periods regarding the topography of these mountains lessen our surprise at finding Colonel Smith erecting a defensive work in the eastern gorge of one of the passes, and only discovering his mistake by the presence of the united armies which had descended in full force by much better roads considerably to the southward of his position, while he believed them to be hesitating on the possibility of forcing the pass, on which they had merely made a demonstration to draw his attention from their actual movement. The first act of hostility, on the 25th of August, was an actual surprise; the cattle of the army grazing with their accustomed confidence of security were driven off; the cavalry hastily moved out for their recovery, and found themselves unexpectedly assailed by very superior numbers, under Muckhdoom Ali, the brother-in-law of Hyder, who charged them into the very lines of the encampment, after destroying about one-third of their number, and carried off the greater part of the cattle, a misfortune which still farther crippled the already inefficient equipments of the English army,* and prevented it from moving until the 28th, during which interval Hyder had besieged Caveripatam; and the imprudence of occupying such places, was evinced by its falling on the second day.

* Colonel Smith's letter estimates the several armies as follows:

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Guns.
Nizam Ali	30,000	10,000	60
Hyder	12,860	18,000	49
Total	42,860	28,000	109

English.

	Cavalry.	Infantry.	Guns.
European... ...	30	800	16
Native	...	5,000	
Mohammed Ali... ...	1,000	...	.
Total ...	1,030	5,800	16

A corps of British troops from Trichinopoly, under Colonel Wood, had been ordered to join Colonel Smith; and the fortified Pagoda of Trinomalee, to the eastward of the first range of hills, had been indicated as the point at which he would receive his farther orders: although Hyder was aware of the approach of this corps, and that it was still at the distance of ten days' march at the least, he committed the apparent error of not placing himself between Colonel Smith and the pass of Singarpetta,* by which the junction must necessarily be formed. From assuming a strong position near Caveripatam, he seems to have expected that his adversary would be guilty of the rashness of attacking him before he had received his reinforcements; and the necessity of Colonel Smith's situation, from the causes which have been stated, prevented him from reaching Singarpetta before the 30th. In the preliminary communications of the allies, Hyder had been lavish of his eastern assurances, of cutting the English army to pieces wherever he should come up with it: a shyness so little corresponding to these boasts, might in part be ascribed to the distinction between promise and performance, so well understood among uncivilized nations; and also, in some degree, to the actual contact which had just been experienced at Caveripatam, where, previously to capitulation, three companies of English sepoys, under Captain M'Kain, had twice repelled the assault of the flower of his army: and a position which should place his rear on an impenetrable wood, with only one narrow road through it, was suited to troops not only confident but determined not to be forced. Nizam Ali indignant at the timid policy which seemed to have purposely allowed the enemy to secure his retreat, indirectly upbraided Hyder with the too delicate use of his powers of command; and intimated that if he chose to persevere in the plan, which in explanation he proposed to recommend, of acting on the enemy's supplies, he (Nizam Ali) had in his own power a more summary mode of adjusting his differences with the English. Whether the omission of Hyder in suffering the unmolested movement of Colonel Smith had been of error or design, he now found himself under the necessity of yielding to the impatience of his ally, or risking the benefit of his co-operation. From that moment therefore he began to press upon the rear of the English army, in its movement to form a junction with Colonel Wood: the first march from Singarpetta was through a road of ordinary breadth, formed by felling the trees of a forest, considered as impenetrable in most places to ordinary travellers, and consequently favorable to a small body retiring in a single column; the surprise of the English troops was however excited, by the sudden appearance of bodies of predatory horse on the flanks, scrambling for booty among rocks and thickets, accessible with difficulty by regular infantry. On the two following tardy marches, nearly due east to Changama; as the country became more open and

* Or Changama, see note to vol. i. p. 254.

practicable, the English column of march was everywhere surrounded, and impeded by horse; and during the whole night the encampment was harrassed by flights of rockets.*

The direction of the next march was about S. E. and at the distance of nearly four miles, the road passes between impracticable ground on the left, and some of those lower hills which form the undulating base of the great range of mountains. In approaching the pass which is thus formed, a fordable river running to the eastward, crosses obliquely the line of the road. Colonel Smith, desirous of moving beyond this pass without molestation all that impeded his march, did not move at his accustomed hour, but keeping his tents standing till near noon then suddenly struck them and dispatched his baggage in advance, under a respectable division of his army, formed in the following order. A battalion of sepoys, in column of companies was followed by the Nabob's cavalry receiving not affording protection, the baggage of the army succeeded, covered on each flank by a battalion of sepoys moving in column of files; at a short interval followed the remainder of the army with its flank companies formed into a separate corps as a rear guard. Hyder however had penetrated the design, and was already moving in a converging line from the west to occupy a position to the south west of the river, nearly parallel to its course on the left and [illegible] the right [illegible] to the eastward [illegible] of the hills [illegible] near the right of this position with a village at its foot was the key of the pass, and was already occupied by a [illegible] of the army of Nizam Ali, followed at a short interval by Hyder himself, with the flower of his troops. One of the corps of the English army [illegible] by Captain Cosby was ordered to dislodge the enemy [illegible] which he effected at the point of the bayonet and [illegible] himself [illegible] from the [illegible] with [illegible] to drive them from that post [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

join the advance; a judicious suggestion, which essentially contributed to the success of the day. The confederates were entering their position, but had not occupied it, when Colonel Smith, on approaching the river, and hearing the report of Captain Cosby, perceived the necessity of quickening his pace: he was marching by his left, in a single column of files, and pushed on without stopping to notice the enemy's fire, until the head of his column was nearly united to the corps on the hill, when by facing to the right, this portion of his little army, was at once formed in line opposite to the enemy. Hyder who perceived, when too late, the gross error which he had committed, in not occupying this important post in the first instance, and in force, with his best infantry, made several ineffectual efforts to dislodge the English sepoys from the hill; his loss in these charges in mass, is stated to have been enormous; and in one of them Ghalib Mohammed Khan* was killed: foiled in these attempts, the confederates kept up an ill-directed fire of musketry, from an extent of under-wood towards their left, from which their infantry made several efforts to break through the English line, and from fifty pieces of cannon against fourteen; an attack on the two last of the English field pieces which crossed the river, had long impeded the rear guard; but on its closing with the line, a disposition was made for a forward movement of the whole, which ended in completely routing the immense host of the confederates; the pursuit was continued until the day closed; two guns were abandoned by the enemy, and left spiked in the bed of the river, but the necessities of Colonel Smith's situation prevented him from carrying off his trophies. During the action, the enemy's horse had broken in on his baggage and captured his scanty store of rice; his dependance for a further supply was on Trinomalee, which it was necessary for him to reach without delay, from the farther apprehension that the enemy by another practicable road, might attempt to intercept his march in this desperate state of his supplies. The victory had thus been followed by the immediate necessity of a movement resembling flight; for with the exception of a short interval on the field of battle, and two hours' halt after midnight, Colonel Smith continued his retreat throughout that night and the greater part of the ensuing day (the 4th of September), the troops having been upwards of twenty-seven hours without refreshment or repose, when they reached Trinomalee.

The Nabob Mohammed Ali, had given the strongest assurances to the Government of Madras, and they to Colonel Smith, that he should find at Trinomalee, an abundant depôt of provisions of every description, for all the troops of his own army, and of the different corps for which it had been appointed the rendezvous; and in this persuasion some military stores and equipments had been sent by the

* Colonel Smith erroneously calls him Hyder's brother-in-law. He estimates Hyder's loss in this action, in killed alone, at 2,000 men, which is a very large calculation; his own loss was no more than 170 killed and wounded.

Government of Madras to the same place. Colonel Smith on his arrival, found that there was *no rice*, and of paddy, viz., rice in the husk, which required time to prepare it for food, as much only in the town and neighbouring villages, as was sufficient to supply the most immediate necessities of his troops. Three days after Colonel Smith's arrival at Trinomalee, an event occurred unexampled in the history of English warfare in India, *the desertion of an officer*, Lieutenant Hitchcock; the army afterwards learned with delight that the traitor was suspected and sent to prison, where he lingered in infamy and died unpitied.

The allies, discouraged by the result of their first encounter, and each as usual, ascribing to the other the blame of failure, employed that time in the discussion of the past, which ought to have been devoted to the care of the future; and Hyder again committed the fault of permitting Colonel Wood to join on the 8th, without molestation. Again Colonel Smith found Trinomalee, a place of no strength [illegible] On his departure, the allies [illegible] neglected to attack Trinomalee, until the 14th, when Colonel Smith having collected a scanty supply of provisions, returned for its protection, in time to see the enemy draw off [illegible] which they had been in the act of placing [illegible] of 10,000 horse, which had been [illegible] was driven in with some loss, and the [illegible] by the whole allied army [illegible] and encamped late in the evening, at only six miles [illegible] from the English position.

Colonel Smith being now joined by most of his detachments, determined to attack the confederates on the ensuing morning, and moved at daybreak for that purpose [illegible]

[illegible] Mahammed Ali [illegible] to the south-east, and that [illegible] at Arcot [illegible] any [illegible]

Although the errors of the Government, and in the front of these the cardinal vice of leaving the very existence of the troops to depend on the performance of the promises of *a Nabob*, had reduced the army to its present critical situation, they saw and deprecated the consequences of placing it in cantonment, while the cavalry of the confederates had overspread the country up to the very gates of Madras, and their whole army was consuming or destroying it resources. Colonel Smith continued accordingly to manœuvre in the neighbourhood of Trinomalee, under all the disadvantages which have been described. The confederates after the last action, had agreed on the propriety of sending light detachments of irregulars to ravage the country in every direction, and to reserve their best horse for the purpose of distressing the English army, and uniting in the attack, which they determined to make, when it should be reduced by famine and fatigue to the expected extremity of retiring from the frontier in the direction of Arcot. Rumours which appeared to be authentic, had conveyed to them tolerably distinct accounts of the deliberations which had been held, regarding the necessity of moving into cantonment: they believed that Colonel Smith was postponing this measure, under the pressure of urgent distress, in the hope that the approach of the north-east monsoon should first induce *them* to move into the upper countries; and they resolved to protract their departure to the last, in the confidence that they should find the English army progressively enfeebled and disheartened by the long continuance of these severe privations, and every day less capable of resisting their ultimate attack. In his excursions to the eastward, however, Colonel Smith had by judicious combinations received some reinforcements of troops, small convoys of provisions and stores, and above all, had been enabled to relieve his most serious wants by the discovery of large hidden stores, which the inhabitants are accustomed to keep sometimes for many years in subterraneous excavations, as well for security against hostile invasion, as because experience has shown this mode to be the most effectual for the preservation of the grain: and troops which the confederates supposed to be in the lowest stage of wretchedness and want, had, for the last fortnight been daily improving in physical strength and efficiency. The confederates, apprehensive that the supposed wretchedness of their enemy might produce efforts of desperation, had assumed a strong position, which they fortified with regular redoubts; covering not only the front and flanks of their encampment, but commanding every avenue by which their retreat could be interrupted; and steadily declined all the opportunities which Colonel Smith presented to them of attacking him in the plain. At length, however, these wearisome expectations began to relax in confidence, and Nizam Ali, who had left his capital to share in a campaign of unresisted plunder, and had been led into the present operations by the assurance of easy conquest, perceived nothing but disappointment in the successive plans which

were to destroy his opponents in this distant service; and had intelligence of sources of danger nearer home, to which we shall presently advert. He therefore insisted on the necessity of bringing the contest to the issue of a general action; and while he was concerting with Hyder the best mode of effecting this object, Colonel Smith, who had by great efforts collected the means of making a movement on a more extended line, was occupied in devising the means of drawing the confederates into the plain; and had encamped as near as circumstances would admit to the front of their main position, with a force of 10,450* effective men, besides 1,500 bad horse.

About [illegible] on the 26th of September, the confederates moved a column accompanied by sixteen of their heaviest cannon, to a position in front of Colonel Smith's left, from whence they commenced a distant cannonade. A morass intervened, difficult but not impassable, and not perceptible without a close examination. It was Hyder's plan to entangle his opponent in this difficulty, in which he would necessarily sustain considerable loss. If he should pass the impediment without discomfiture, a line of redoubts was still in his front, and the main strength of the confederated army was disposed in a situation to fall [illegible] on his right, in the moment of his advancing within range of the redoubts. Colonel Smith made a movement on his left, which showed that he was ignorant of the existence of the morass; but which also enabled him to ascertain the exact nature of the impediment. Commencing at an unknown distance [illegible], it extended beyond his right to the foot of a hill, which concealed the great body of the confederates from his view; but he concluded that this hill must form the termination of the morass, and that by making a circuit to his right, he might be enabled to turn or come in contact with the left of the confederates. His own left was therefore withdrawn from the forward manœuvre which had been attempted, and he moved off from his right in ex[illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

tact on rounding the northern extremity of the hill. The advantages of discipline everywhere conspicuous, are most prominent in unexpected occurrences: the confederates made a hurried movement to occupy the hill, but an English corps, commanded by Captain Cooke, anticipated the design, repulsed them from its summit, and secured a support for the left in the first formation of the line. Some rocks on the plain, formed a point of considerable strength for the support of the future movements, but before it could be fully occupied by a large body of the best infantry of the confederates, three English battalions, commanded by Captains Cosby, Cooke, and Baillie, were contending with these superior numbers for its possession, and dislodged them after an obstinate resistance. This point became the subsequent support of Colonel Smith's left, and his line was quickly made to extend opposite to the great mass of the enemy, who, during this movement, completed their formation on a commanding eminence, and placed some guns in position, which annoyed the English army while deploying into line. A powerful body of infantry was drawn up in the rear and on the flanks of the confederate artillery; enormous masses of cavalry, formed a huge crescent, enveloping the British troops, and apparently ready to overwhelm them, on a concerted signal. But Hyder's plan had been disconcerted; of upwards of 100 pieces of cannon no more than 30 could be brought into action, the remainder were in the redoubts, or had not joined from the positions allotted to them in the original plan. The English artillery amounted to 31 light pieces, (three having been left for the protection of the baggage) steadily and skilfully served: the line cautiously advanced from one strong position to another, and after nearly silencing the artillery of the enemy, the English cannon directed their fire against the thickest masses of cavalry, in whose presence a decisive forward movement would have been imprudent; a few minutes of torpid and motionless astonishment seemed to indicate a reluctance to retreat, and an expectation of orders to charge; but the consternation had pervaded the chiefs as well as the soldiers; and the havoc produced by the active and correct fire of the English artillery quickly covered the field with a disorderly rabble of cavalry flying in every direction; the infantry and guns continuing to maintain their ground. The English line now began to move on at a steady pace, preceded by the cannon, which fired in advancing. Hyder who, from the first moment of Colonel Smith's dispositions after rounding the hill, perceived that the battle was lost, drew off his own cannon within the line of the redoubts, and rode towards Nizam Ali to entreat that he would give similar orders, and covered the operation by the movements of his cavalry: but that chief was indignant at what he deemed so spiritless a proposal, and declared his determination to maintain his position to the last. When, however, the British army began its advance in line, Hyder renewed his remonstrances,

and the guns were ordered to commence their retreat, covered by Hyder's infantry, which made a regular and respectable demonstration until the near approach of the English line, when they retreated in tolerable order within the protection of the works. It was the absurd but invariable practice of Nizam Ali to be accompanied in the field by his favorite wives, with all the splendid appendages of rank. He was on horseback when Hyder approached, and his line of elephants carrying the women, was at no great distance in the rear. When he had determined on the retreat of the guns, he desired that the elephants should instantly turn. 'This elephant' replied a female voice from the covered vehicle, 'has not been instructed so to turn; he follows the standard of the empire.' The loss of several elephants was the consequence of this decision, for the chivalrous damsel would not allow hers to move, until the standard had passed her in its retreat, and the English shot fell thick among those that followed in her train. A considerable body of cavalry, rallied by the mere force of shame, attempted to charge the right of the English during their advance, but the troops which had been detached to the left in the early part of the day were now moving in column for the protection of that flank and foiled the feeble attempts of the dispirited enemy. Night closed upon the English army as they reached the [illegible] ground which had been abandoned by the enemy, [illegible] only nine guns for the present fell [illegible] and they lay upon their arms in expectation [illegible]

[illegible] had sustained a considerable loss, but it [illegible] had hitherto occurred which could [illegible] a [illegible] to the events of war. For [illegible] part of which had been carried, [illegible] before the action [illegible] Nizam Ali [illegible]

[illegible] of the enemy's [illegible] important blow made [illegible]

position, after his men had taken a slight refreshment, for an attack about midnight, to be led by the grenadiers of the army, under Major Fitzgerald, and supported according to events by the remainder of the troops. Whatever military errors may be imputed to Hyder, the conduct of his department of intelligence was unrivalled. One of his most faithful spies was the guide in English pay, who led Major Fitzgerald, and conducted him to a swamp which he had described as difficult, and which was found to be impassable. After much time had been lost in reiterated attempts to sound it in various directions, the guide proposed a circuitous route, which seemed objectionable on many accounts, besides the lateness of the hour, and after some farther fruitless efforts, the Major reluctantly returned to camp. At daylight, the army was in motion, and soon passed the redoubts, which were entirely abandoned; but on ascending an eminence, the road as far as the eye could reach, was seen covered with the confederate army; and a train of artillery was distinctly visible, which it still seemed practicable to overtake: the English army quickened its pace, at this cheering intelligence, and in the course of the day captured forty-one pieces of heavy artillery, all belonging to Nizam Ali; fourteen more being discovered afterwards, which had been overset, for concealment, in the woods. Hyder, in person, rather observed than covered the rear, attended by his retinue of State, a troop of European cavalry, and 3,000 select horse; but as he could not quicken the pace of Nizam Ali's inefficient equipments, and seldom ventured to unlimber a gun, from the apprehension of greater delays, he was compelled to abandon one after another, to the English infantry, with little material resistance. But the English officers had frequent opportunities of noticing his personal exertions, and observing the splendor of his retinue, which seemed to be purposely exhibited for their admiration. It consisted of 300 select men on foot, clothed in scarlet, and armed with lances, or pikes, of light bamboo, about eighteen feet long, twisted round from bottom to top with thin plates of silver in a spiral form: the equal intervals of polished silver, and the dark brown of the seasoned bamboo, give a splendid and not inelegant appearance to this ornamental but formidable weapon.

Excessive fatigue terminated the operations of the day, and Colonel Smith was under the positive necessity of relinquishing the more decisive results to be expected from a second day's pursuit, and of retracing his steps, to procure food. The loss of the English army in this achievement amounted to no more than 150 men killed and wounded; that of the confederates probably exceeded 4,000, with 64 guns, chiefly 18 and 16-pounders, with their tumbrils, and a large quantity of stores of every description, excepting rice, a small supply of which at this moment would have exceeded in value all the trophies* of the day.

* The Frenchman calling himself commander of artillery, and general of ten thousand in the army of Mogul, who has published the history of *Hyder*

Tippoo Sultaun, then seventeen, in the exercise of a first nominal command, under the guidance of Ghazee Khan, his military preceptor, and the best partisan officer in Hyder's service, was plundering the very country houses of the council of Madras, when he heard the result of the battle of Trinomalee. He retired with precipitation to join his father; his example being followed by all the other light detachments, in exact opposition to the conduct which true military policy would have instructed them to pursue. Colonel Smith, finding the country cleared of its invaders, no longer delayed covering his troops against the approaching monsoon, and proceeded himself to Madras, with the hope of effecting some new arrangement of the departments of supply, which were as inefficient as such departments must for ever be, when kept as much as possible beyond the control of the commander-in-chief.

Ali Khan, and was present in this service, states the single trophy of the English to have been *one iron three-pounder*; this is a specimen of what he may be presumed to have seen. What he relates, on the authority of others, resembles the information of a dramatic quidnunc, who hears everything, and seizes the wrong end of all that he hears.

CHAPTER XV.

Mutual crimination and reconciliation of the Allies—Smith goes into cantonments—Hyder takes the field in consequence—re-takes Tripatore and Vaniambaddy—besieges Amboor—Excellent defence of Captain Calvert—Singular incident ascribed to supernatural agency—Relieved by Colonel Smith—who pursues Hyder—Affair of Vaniambaddy—Junction with Colonel Wood—Hyder occupies a fortified position at Caveripatam—Mahphuz Khan—close of his political career—Hyder's attack of the convoy under Major Fitzgerald—Personal efforts and disappointment—Attack of Nizam Ali's dominions, by troops from Bengal—detaches him from his alliance with Hyder—Treaty of 1768, *between the English and Nizam Ali—discussed and condemned—Hyder, at the same time, moves his whole force to the western coast to oppose a diversion from Bombay, which takes Mangalore, Honarer, &c., with the fleet—Hyder's plan of operation—Easy re-capture of the English conquests—Punishment of the inhabitants who aided the English—Deceitful compromise with the chiefs of Malabar—Returns to the eastward.*

THE result of the battle of Trinomalee, produced a considerable change in the views of the confederates. Nizam Ali, full of open indignation at the conduct of Hyder, and feeling little of secret complacency at his own, assembled his army at Calaimuttoor, in Baramahal, and Hyder established his head-quarters at the same place; where they remained for near a month, without action, or determination, or interview. Each, however, had so much of real blame to impute to the other, that it was at length agreed to waive all discussion of past events, and endeavour to concert more successful operations. Ostentatious visits of ceremony were to announce their confidence in the future, and at one of these, Hyder placed his guest on a *seat* or *musnud*, composed of bags of coined silver, amounting to a lac of Rupees, covered with cushions of embroidered silver; all of which the attendants were desired to carry away with the other presents, according to the established etiquette in similar cases.

Hyder knew that Colonel Smith, reckoning on the inaction of his enemies, during the three rainy months of October, November, and December, had disposed his army in cantonments, extremely objectionable, from their distance from each other, namely, at Conjeveram, Wandiwash, and Trichinopoly; and he calculated on having time for objects of importance, before a sufficient force could be assembled to interrupt his operations.

The first of these, was the recapture of Tripatore, and Vaniambaddy, two of the indefensible places which remained in possession of the English, in the northern part of Baramahal, and these fell, without material resistance, on the 5th and 7th of November; from thence, Hyder proceeded to the siege of Amboor, a place of considerable strength, situated on the summit of a mountain of

smooth granite, accessible on only one face, terminating the valley of Baramahal on the north and overlooking the fertile vale which, forming a right angle with Baramahal, extends to the eastward, towards Vellore and Arcot. He arrived before the place on the 10th of November and on the 15th had completely dismounted the lower fort. That Captain Calvert, who commanded, deeming it no longer tenable, and retired to the summit of the hill, with a garrison of five hundred sepoys, one officer, one serjeant and fifteen Europeans.

The Killedar or governor of Vellore, with a project for the ... [illegible] ... by Arcot ... [illegible] ... named Mahomed Khan ... [illegible]

cember, by the approach of the English army: and the Government marked their approbation of the conduct of the corps which composed the garrison, by directing the rock of Amboor to be borne on its colors; an honorary distinction still preserved by the 1st battalion of the 10th regiment.

Among the losses which Hyder most lamented in the course of the siege was that of *Khakee Shah*, his relation, and most confidential friend, who was killed by his side in an early part of the service. It will be recollected, that *Khakee Shah* had been one of the emissaries of Hyder to Nunjeraj, and *Ghalib Mohammed Khan*, his associate in that infamous transaction, had also, in the course of the campaign, been killed in the battle of Changama; both, however, as the Mohammedans of the south continue to believe, were destroyed by the visible wrath of heaven, within the same year in which they had profaned the holy Koran by a fraud and a perjury,* and this belief is not shaken by the impunity of the author of the crime; nor by the arrogance of thus gratuitously pronouncing on the ways of heaven, and placing man upon the judgment-seat of God.

The history of one of these persons presents some features highly illustrative of national manners. Khakee Shah was considered the wittiest man of Hyder's court, and was more familiarly admitted than any other to the intimacy of his looser hours. Hyder delighted in the practical jest, in these days denominated a *hoax;* Khakee Shah's near alliance to many of the inhabitants of the Harem, gave him the liberty of communications by message; and in the intercourse of unreserved raillery, he had occasionally ventured on messages in Hyder's name, which had produced some mischievous disappointments in the Harem, and were afterwards the subject of broad mirth between the friends. On the occasion of some reciprocal raillery, regarding their domestic arrangements, Hyder adopted the coarse and cruel trial, of causing a letter to be written to the wife of Khakee Shah, then at Sera, announcing the sudden death of her husband. The lady who was passionately attached to him, swallowed poison in her first despair; and the husband, on receiving the intelligence, made a vow to renounce the world. It was, on this occasion, that he assumed the name of Khakee Shah. *Shah* or *king* is the spiritual designation assumed by this description of Mohammedan saints, and *Khakee Shah*, may be rendered *king of the dust*, intimating, as it should seem, spiritual sovereignty, and temporal humility. This unhappy event, although it interrupted, did not dissolve the intimacy of the parties: after a short interval Khakee Shah resumed with Hyder his usual habits, and was reciprocally treated with increased confidence and regard. The manner of his death afforded some color to the belief of extraordinary interposition. Hyder and he, after examining the works of Amboor, alighted among some scattered rocks, and seated

* See on this subject, vol. i. p. 177.

themselves behind one which completely covered them from the direct fire of the fort; and in this situation Khakee Shah was cut in two by a cannon shot, close to the side of Hyder, who was unhurt. That the shot must have reverberated from the other rocks, is admitted; but although the library of Seringapatam contained some copies of mathematical works, there does not seem to have been in the whole court (probably the most unscientific in all India) a sufficient degree of elementary knowledge, to comprehend a simple occurrence, which a billiard table, if they had possessed one, would have illustrated without the necessity of referring to supernatural agency.

A friend of mine in a situation nearly similar, had occasion to watch the numerous revolutions of a cannon shot, every time striking the rock near to himself in the same spot until its force was expended, and it rolled harmless into a hollow, in the centre of the rocks from which it had reverberated.

The forces of Colonel Smith had scarcely been established in cantonment before it became necessary, from these movements of Hyder, to make arrangements for reassembling them; but nothing could be effected towards promoting the efficiency of the departments of the army. The [illegible] of Mohammed Ali to be the [illegible] and to be considered as everything [illegible] of nothing useful; the [illegible] which [illegible] that was impossible, but the [illegible] of his promises [illegible] to the [illegible] prevented the formation [illegible] system of supply; and there is [illegible] of the [illegible] half [illegible] the [illegible] have been [illegible].

The division of Colonel Wood, which had been [illegible] at [illegible] South [illegible] retreat of [illegible] own [illegible] the first appearance of

the English army; the degree of resistance was proportioned to this intention; Vaniambaddy was abandoned, but he had the mortification, during this affair, to see his European troop of horse under Monsieur Aumont, move off in a body and join the English army, in consequence of a concerted arrangement, of which he had no previous suspicion; in other respects the loss on either side was unimportant. To overtake the superior equipments of Hyder, although attempted, was a visionary pursuit; and on the succeeding day, the miserable commissariat of the British army compelled it to halt to receive provisions from Amboor. Colonel Tod, with the advance, followed the enemy as far as Tripatore, which he also found abandoned; but, contrary to Hyder's usual precaution, containing a supply of grain and some cattle. The confederated armies retired towards Caveripatam, and Colonel Smith was again reinforced by Colonel Wood, without an attempt on the part of the enemy to interrupt the junction. On Hyder's capture of Caveripatam, in 1767, he had thrown up some field works to strengthen the position under its cover, which Colonel Smith had then declined to attack; and, on finding that he should be obliged to raise the siege of Amboor, he had sent one of his French officers, to extend and improve the same camp, as a safe position for the confederate armies. Immediately after the junction of Colonel Wood, Colonel Smith approached to examine it. A river passed the northern face of the town and petta of Caveripatam: this face had been strengthened by a good covered way, and by two large detached redoubts, which enfiladed the north, the east, and the west faces: five similar redoubts completing the circuit to the south, covered the whole position: and two more distant rocky mounds to the south and south-east were crowned with redoubts which commanded the most accessible approach: good lines of retreat, in the event of discomfiture, were provided, by crossing the river towards Kistnagherry, or moving along its right bank to Ryacota. On the first glance of this much improved* position, Colonel Smith determined to decline the risk of an attack; and the measures of the enemy relieved him soon afterwards from the necessity of so desperate an attempt. Sources of separate but serious alarm, which we shall endeavour to relate in the most convenient order, distracted the attention of both the confederates. Hyder sent off his heavy guns and baggage to the westward on the 14th, accompanied by his son Tippoo and Ghazee Khan, with a light corps; and on the 18th, Nizam Ali, with the main body of his army, re-ascended the ghauts, and moved to the northward: a light field train, with nearly the whole efficient force of his army, remained with Hyder; and political considerations still detained with him a corps of some thousand horse, in the service of Nizam Ali, as an escort to the brother of his prime minister.

A more convenient opportunity may not again occur, of clos-

* Described from a plan in the author's possession, drawn apparently by Colonel Call, in 1767.

in our narrative of the destiny of a person whose pretensions entitled him to occupy a larger space than he has filled in the history of these times. Mahphuz Khan, on the descent of the confederates into the lower country, had the part assigned to him of employing his influence among the Poligars of the south to excite a general insurrection; and aided by the resources of Dindigul to wrest the whole of those provinces from Mohammed Ali and the English. The formation of the army had drawn all their disposable troops from those countries, and Mahphuz Khan, with a slender escort, was moving from the residence of one chief to another, in furtherance of his views; when Colonel Black, who commanded at Madura, sent out a detachment by night, which surprised and conveyed him to that fortress as a prisoner on the 2nd of October 1767. He was given up to Mohammed Ali, and closely confined during the war; but it must be added to the credit of that Nabob, of whom truth has permitted us to narrate little that is good, that he afterward received his brother and provided him for the remainder of his life with a decent maintenance at Madras.

While the heavy equipments of Hyder were moving to a far [illegible]

The Government of Bengal, although originally adverse to a confederacy, by which the aggrandizement of the Mahrattas should be promoted by hostility with Hyder, were perfectly aware of the expediency of restraining the ambitious views of that chief upon their own possessions; and of convincing him whenever a favorable opportunity should occur, of the danger of provoking their hostility: they accordingly supported with their whole power the efforts of Madras under the circumstances of the present war; and to an abundant supply of treasure for their immediate exigencies had added the aid of a powerful diversion by sea, under Colonel Peach; who landed in the northern circars, and by a course of vigorous and judicious operations, had penetrated to Commamet, and- *Warankul*, the ancient capital of Telingana, considerably to the north-east of Hyderabad; and was securing and extending his conquests, in a manner which gave solid ground of alarm to Nizam Ali, for the safety of his capital. These apprehensions, added to the unpromising aspect of his own southern campaign, had induced him to open a secret communication with Colonel Smith early in the month of December: an intercourse of this nature could not be long concealed from Hyder; who in every estimate of the conduct of Nizam Ali, remembered that he was the murderer of his own brother: and held his character in as much contempt as was consistent with the incessant fear of being over-reached by some unsuspected treachery: assuming, however, the air of open confidence, he announced his knowledge of these communications; and assented to the necessity of a temporary accommodation with the English, and awaiting a more favorable opportunity of re-uniting the Mussulman interests, for their expulsion from the peninsula; but added that it was no longer proper, that the armies should have the appearance of an union which did not exist. Nizam Ali, who was embarrassed regarding the means of separation, and had actually been meditating the treachery which Hyder apprehended, was happy to part on such easy terms; and had moved, as already stated, in a northern direction on the 18th December, sending on the same day an emissary to treat openly with Colonel Smith for peace. That officer informed the envoy, that he was not furnished with the requisite powers; and distinctly stated his conviction, that after the shameful duplicity which had been practised by his master, the British Government would be satisfied with no demonstration, short of a formal mission of his prime minister to Madras, as an evidence of sincerity in his present professions, and as an humble and open reparation for the insolent treachery of his past conduct.

After an interchange of various messages, Nizam Ali, by those artifices, to which the open character of an Englishman renders him perhaps more accessible than the native of any other country, had nearly succeeded in making Colonel Smith defeat his own professed object, by paying him a visit previously to the dispatch of the minister; and the artifice did partly succeed, by his

being prevailed on to send a field officer, Major Fitzgerald, to Nizam Ali's camp, then situated at the head of the Damalcherry pass, about 120 miles north-east from Madras, for the purpose of conducting the minister to that place; where the Government assuming a proper dignity, disapproved even this mark of condescension on the part of their commander-in-chief. Hyder at the same period deputed a messenger to Colonel Smith, with pacific overtures, but the reference which was made in return to his superiors at Madras, appeared to Hyder to be a civil but distinct rejection of his advances, and he refrained from repeating them.

The negotiations with Nizam Ali terminated on the 23rd of February 1768, in the conclusion of a treaty, differing in many important particulars from that of 1766, but exhibiting both in its concessions and assumptions evidence of the ascendancy of Mohammed Ali; whose name Nizam Ali had positively refused to admit in any manner into the former treaty. He was now one of the contracting parties together with the English East India Company and Nizam Ali, in a treaty, by which it was declared that the Mogul had, on the 26th of August 1765, conferred on Mohammed Ali the government of Carnatic Payeen Ghaut [illegible] Nizam Ali [illegible] independence [illegible] 12th November 1766, and to complete the [illegible] Mohammed [illegible] Ali acknowledged [illegible] from Nizam Ali [illegible] Carnatic Payeen Ghaut [illegible] of Hyder and the other [illegible] under the [illegible] authority of Nizam Ali. Regarding [illegible] these [illegible] it is difficult to infer anything with [illegible] the [illegible] original. [illegible] Company's [illegible] two instruments [illegible] by the seal of Mohammed Ali, which may convey some idea of [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

ludicrous mixture of arrogance and humility, proclaming *Hyder Naick* a rebel and usurper, and declaring their determination to conquer and retain his territories, with the concurrence of Nizam Ali; who, on the condition of receiving a further tribute of seven lacs of Rupees, graciously ceded his claim to a territory, which he neither possessed, nor had the most distant hope of ever possessing; and these speculative conquerors even anticipated the claim of the Mahrattas, by gratuitously, and in the body of a treaty to which they were not parties, promising them the choute, or fourth part of the revenue; while the Company relinquished, without condition, the important hold which had been obtained for them by the efforts of the troops from Bengal; and Nizam Ali returned to his capital, with abundant cause for self-gratulation, on the address which had relieved his complicated embarrassments.

It has been suggested to the author, that the policy so frequently arraigned, may have been dictated from England, where the Company were intimidated by the administration, and the administration by the fear of giving offence to France from avowing their independency. Nor was this duplicity confined to Madras. The double government exercised in Bengal, and the acceptance of the Dewanny from a conquered and ineffective king conferring upon the Company a sovereignty which they had acquired by their own power, and exercised still with an attempt to hide it under fictitious characters, were all parts of the same weak policy. That any English administration should expect to veil from the observation of France the true tendency of any of these transactions, appears to be extremely improbable; but that such a policy was the spontaneous growth of the great mind of the great Clive seems next to impossible. The public records afford no means of solving this problem.

The arduous and distant operations in which Hyder had been involved, revived a hope of independence among the chiefs of Malabar; who, with too much jealousy of each other, even in their actual state of depression, to admit of any extended plan of combination, had succeeded in carrying several of the blockhouses,* and keeping Hyder's provincial commander in a state of incessant alarm, although assisted by the whole force of Ali Raja, the Mapilla chief of Cannanore. The chiefs of the English establishments on that coast, had been directed to aid and encourage these combinations, and the Government of Bombay was equipping a formidable expedition, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the Mysoorean fleet in the harbours of Canara; reducing the places of strength on the

construed into sovereignty, and then accepted from him a jageer, as an express mark of dependency. To keep them in the habit of exterior dependence on Indian chiefs was essential to his ultimate objects; and the farce of accepting dependent gifts himself, was an example for the imitation of his good friends, *in everything but paying tribute*, of which he was too sagacious to give the example.

* Constructed by Hyder, see vol. i. p. 291.

coast, and eventually penetrating into the interior of that part of the dominions of Mysoor. Hyder's intelligence of [illegible] was too explicit to admit of doubt; it was his [illegible] of conduct on every occasion to bend his chief [illegible] the most prominent danger, and where this was incompatible with an efficient opposition to minor perils he uniformly treated them with temporary disregard, until the removal of the greater evil. It was in conformity to this ground of action that instead of [illegible] reinforcements he resolved to move with his main [illegible] to the westward; and if he could not arrive in sufficient time to avert he would at least be present to remedy [illegible] disaster. The light force under Tippoo was [illegible] the previous [illegible] commandant Lutf Ali Beg [illegible] at the [illegible] movement [illegible] 20th [illegible] he [illegible] regiments at Bengal [illegible] which [illegible] Hyder [illegible] K[illegible]

[illegible]

The impression was disgraceful* in the last degree to the British arms: a wretched defence terminated in embarking the garrison, consisting of 41 artillery, 200 European infantry, and 1,200 sepoys, in a most unsoldier-like manner; shamefully abandoning the sick and wounded, consisting of 80 Europeans, and 180 sepoys, and all their field-pieces and stores. The remaining objects on the coast, and chiefly the recapture of Honaver and Buswarajdroog, were accomplished without much difficulty; and Hyder was enabled to re-ascend the ghauts before the monsoon had actually burst. The body of the army with all the heavy equipments moved by easy marches, on the shortest route by the pass of Subramanee to Bangalore, while himself with a select corps, ascended northward to Bednore, to which capital he had summoned all the principal landholders of the province, for the purpose, as he pretended, of adjusting the arrangements of revenue for the ensuing year. In point of fact, Hyder had discovered, that a general discontent at his severe exactions, had rendered this class of his subjects well disposed to favor the designs of the English invaders; that to the amount of a willing assistance with provisions they had generally testified this partiality; and that a correspondence for combining their farther exertions had been extended nearly over the whole province. A sagacity undisturbed by mental compunction, enabled this extraordinary man in all cases, to extract the greatest possible advantage form incidents which, to ordinary minds, would have furnished only food for apprehension. He coolly announced to the assembled landholders, that he had discovered their treasons; and had determined on a punishment more convenient to his affairs than a sentence of death: a list was then produced, containing the detail of the enormous fines, which had been previously annexed to the name of each individual: such as were present were delivered over to the charge of the department of torture, for the realization of the amount; and effectual means were taken to levy the same contributions on those whose fears had restrained them from attending.

His affairs in Malabar also demanded some decisive measures, previously to his return to the eastward: the detached efforts of the Nairs were beginning to assume a more combined form; most of the *block-houses* had been carried, or necessarily evacuated; Assud Khan Mehteree, his provincial commander-in-chief had been killed in action; and his successor, with forces very inferior to the service, was making the best efforts in his power, to stem the increasing torrent, when Hyder's instructions to *Madana*, his fiscal governor, relieved him for the present from these embarrassments. Madana opened insidious but skilful negotiations with most of the chiefs, which intimated in substance, that his master had found his conquest of Malabar an acquisition (as they well knew), hitherto more chargeable than advantageous; that if the chiefs should

* So stated by General Smith.

consent to reimburse the heavy charges which he had incurred, he would be ready to restore their possessions; and to aid before his departure in transferring to those who should accede, the territories of those who should decline so reasonable an arrangement. All were forward in embracing the terms; Hyder's provincial troops, whose escape would otherwise have been impracticable, not only retreated in safety, but loaded with treasure; the willing contribution of the chiefs of Malabar—the purchase of a dream of independence. It had been made a special condition that Ali Raja should be undisturbed; Palghaut was studiously omitted in the negotiations; and remained in Hyder's possession; and two points were thus secured in the south-east and north-west of the province, from whence at any future period Hyder could resume at pleasure his designs on Malabar: the remainder of the western coast was safe; his central possessions were in the most flourishing condition; his coffers were replenished; and he was now at leisure to contemplate the improvident course of measures, which had been pursued by the English, while left with an open field by the absence of his army, for full seven months: for he did not recommence his operations from Bangalore before the month of August.

CHAPTER XVI.

Character of General Smith—view of the several plans of military operation, proposed by him and his government—Success of Colonel Wood to the southward—Military faults—General Smith takes Kistnagherry—accompanied by field deputies—Mohammed Ali, and the Chevalier St. Lubin—Defective intelligence—Ascends the pass of Boodicota—Mulwagul taken by the bold stratagem of Captain Matthews—Colar surrenders—Baugloor—Oossoor, &c.—Ignorant plans of Mohammed Ali—Junction of Morari Row—Scene of operations, the former dominions of Shahjee—Hyder's unsuccessful attack on the camp at Ooscota—Singular defence of Morari Row—Hyder's plans—Approach of Colonel Wood from the southward—Movements in consequence—Designs of Hyder, and Smith's counterproject—both marred by Wood—Subsequent movements—Hyder to Goorumconda—Reconciliation with Meer Saheb—reviews his own situation—offers peace—and great sacrifices for its attainment—Failure of the negotiations, from the unreasonable expectations of the English and Mohammed Ali—Battle of Mulwagul—Remarkable stratagem of Captain Brooke—General Smith at length speaks out regarding his incumbrances—Mohammed Ali and the field deputies—who are attacked in Colar—Alarmed, and return to Madras—Indirect re-call of General Smith—His plan of future operations—Recantation of the Madras Government, regarding the Nabob and deputies—Colonel Wood's division reinforced—moves for the relief of Oossoor, while the remainder of the army, under Major Fitzgerald, covers the departure of the deputies—Oossoor imperfectly relieved—Disaster at Baugloor—Retreat of Colonel Wood, attacked by Hyder—relieved by Major Fitzgerald, who represents his incapacity—Wood ordered in arrest to Madras.

On the departure of Hyder from the eastern territory, a choice of operations presented themselves to the English; and the government, and their commander-in-chief, did not exactly coincide in their opinion of the most eligible. Colonel Smith was perfectly conversant in the technical part of his profession, and possessed in an eminent degree the confidence and attachment of those whom he commanded; from the labor of applying his knowledge and experience to a reform of the ill-administered departments of his army, he may be supposed to have been deterred, by the conviction of sources of counteraction, open and concealed, which he had not the power to control: but these causes cannot explain the strange carelessness of reputation, which, with a respectable talent of recording his own thoughts, left the care of his public dispatches to an incompetent Secretary. In truth he was the best tempered man living; and this was relatively the great vice of his character. He suffered himself to be overruled by men whose intellect was diminutive when compared with his own; he had not the heart to contest a point, although he knew himself to be in the right—and his character was stamped with indecision everywhere excepting in the presence of the enemy. An indifference, however, to objects not congenial to his taste, was compensated by the most indefatigable attention to

duties exclusively military. Cool, cheerful, and unembarrassed, in the midst of danger, he evinced, in all movements to be executed in the presence of an enemy, a degree of rapid penetration, and sound decision which indicated the hand of a master. As an executive officer he may justly be classed among the first of the age in which he lived, but in those more arduous combinations of political foresight and military skill, which constitute perhaps the highest effort of human intellect, he would be entitled to claim but a secondary rank.

On many occasions the Government of Madras appear to have had [illegible] conceptions of the general outline of operations, and in [illegible] to have entertained projects too absurd for serious belief, if they were not found upon their records; among these was a grave [illegible] of the means by which their army of infantry was to cut off the [illegible] of supply from the enemy's army of cavalry. Upon the whole, although on some occasions they formed just views, on all [illegible] they [illegible] the means by which their ends were to be accomplished.

On the departure of Hyder's main army it was the general [illegible] Hyder [illegible] in person at the [illegible] plan of the [illegible]

[illegible]

was evacuated in the night, moved northward as far as Paliconda in the vale of Vellore, for the purpose of approaching the army of Nizam Ali, then at Punganore, and quickening the negotiation of his minister at Madras : this object being effected, he returned to waste in the blockade of Kistnagherry, which surrendered on the 2d of May, the precious time which ought to have been empolyed in higher achievements. A second division of the army was in the meanwhile employed under Colonel Wood, who, after the capture of the remaining fortified places in the southern extremity of Baramahal, proceeded with rapid success to reduce* those which are situated in the districts of Salem, Erode, Coimbatore, and Dindigul. Hyder had the mortification to hear of the successive fall of every fortified place in those provinces, Sunkerydroog alone excepted, the only place of strength which by a strange omission, is never once mentioned in Colonel Wood's correspondence. Tingrecota, the first place attacked, made a respectable defence, being garrisoned by regular sepoys, but capitulated when it was perceived that an assult was prepared. Darampoory, a place of no strength, was commanded by a brave officer, with troops unworthy to serve under him ; the place was carried by assault, and the necessary consequences of such an operation bore a terror before the arms of Colonel Wood, which was more effectual than his cannon. Erode alone, a place of fiscal importance, but no military strength, afterwards stood the assault, being encouraged by the presence of a body of horse, who promised to charge the flank and rear of the assailants in the act of storming, and did make a feeble effort for that purpose : all the other places, and among them Namcul and Dindigul, erected on hills of granite, surrendered without the semblance of a defence which could be reported to their master with even negative approbation. The practicability of securing these countries, by occupying the passes which connected them with Mysoor, was so strongly impressed on the mind of Colonel Wood, that he actually erected a redoubt for the purpose of commanding the descent of the pass of Gujjelhutty, and garrisoned another small post, *Talamalla*, at its summit, as the name imports. He officially reported this pass, that of Caveripooram, and another intermediate one, to be the three only entrances from Mysoor into those countries; and that he was occupied in establishing positions which would effectually secure the whole. In eighteen days afterwards, he was apprised of his error, by the presence of bodies of horse, which had penetrated through unsuspected roads; and he then expressed his conviction, that no force could prevent their descending at pleasure, through the difficult and secret passages of the hills. Notwithstanding this conviction, however, he practically persevered in his original error, by leaving two battalions to be

* The order of the principal of these captures was as follows :—Tingrecota—Darampoory—Salem—Ahtoor—Namcul—Erode—Satimungul—Denaikancota—the passes of Gujjelhutty and Caveripore—Coimbatore and Palghaut—Darapoor—Aravacourchy—Dindigul.

dispersed in useless detachments, some of them extending through the Caveripooram pass, to within seventy miles of Seringapatam. To place troops, divided into mere guards, in situations to be inevitably lost in detail, was an error of judgment independent of the general plan of the campaign; which had the more radical fault of being undertaken with insufficient means, and of obliging Colonel Wood, either to spread abroad the greater portion of his troops in garrisoning such of the places as were tenable, or by reserving a disposable force to occupy them in an insufficient manner. He adopted the latter alternative on being called to reinforce Colonel Smith to the northward and trusted to reinforcements from the old territory which were necessary to render any one of the places really defensible: the whole of these as well as the subsequent operations and arrangements, were impressed with the mark of a short-sighted [illegible] Indian policy for realizing revenue and exactions; and as Mohammed Ali had the direct [illegible] management of the territory thus [illegible], it is not difficult to trace the hand which influenced [illegible].

The possession of Kistnagherry was deemed by Mohammed Ali [illegible] to the support of the future operations in Mysoor; although [illegible] communication [illegible] which were to be left [illegible] On the 21st May, however, [illegible] Colonel Smith was to be aided in the future operations of the war with the advice and direction of two members of the council as field deputies; and that no [illegible] might be wanting, the Nabob Mohammed Ali should accompany them, for the purpose of [illegible] management of the territorial [illegible] Hyder's [illegible] The [illegible] the Nabob Mohammed Ali [illegible] purpose [illegible] Still further [illegible] of all [illegible] government was [illegible] the [illegible] information [illegible]. A person calling himself the Chevalier St. Lubin, who had travelled [illegible] and from Europe, affected to have been received with [illegible] at the court of Hyder, and professed to possess the most [illegible] knowledge of all [illegible] and an extensive [illegible]

native and European, accompanied the deputation as its privy counsellor and guide. The whole history of his adventures, as above sketched, was implicitly believed; he possessed the most ridiculous influence over the measures of the English army, and, as it will be unnecessary to recur to the operation of his suggestions in each individual case, we shall comprise and dismiss his true character in the single word, *impostor*.

In entering, however, on the narrative of these operations, the reader must not be left in the error of imputing to the Government of Madras, during the *whole* of the period which had elapsed from the departure of Hyder in January, the wilful apathy of failing to take some sort of advantage of the open field, which was left for their operations : such were the defects of the plan of intelligence pursued by Mohammed Ali and the English, and such the unrivalled excellence of Hyder's police, that the very instructions to the field deputies, dated the 7th of April, enjoin the necessity of watching the motions of Hyder, to prevent his marching to Bednore, and overpowering the troops from Bombay, nearly three months after his departure for that purpose : and one of these personages, on the 22d of the same month, when communicating with Mohammed Ali at Arcot, officially reports as an article of news,* that Hyder *was said* to have recently marched in that direction : but the general impression continued to correspond with the tale which Hyder had caused to be propagated, of his having moved in a N. W. direction to oppose the Mahrattas.

On the 8th of June, the advanced division of the British army, under Colonel Donald Campbell, ascended the pass of Boodicota : on the 16th he had reduced, and occupied as a post of communication, Vencatagherry, a mud fort without a glacis, three marches to the northward; and from thence sent back a detachment, to open the direct road from the vale of Vellore, by the pass of Pedanaickdurgum, and to reduce the rock of that name. These arrangements being accomplished, his next objects were the droog of Mulwagul, situated two marches north of Vencatagherry; and Colar on the plain, about the same distance to the N. W.; the lower fort of Mulwagul was possessed without any resistance; but, on reconnoitring the rock, it was, in Colonel Campbell's judgment, too strong to be attempted by open force; the provincial commander† of both these places was on the rock, and officiated as its killedar or governor : it was discovered that he was disposed to open a secret negotiation for

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* The fact, however, is stated in Captain Cosby's journal, on the 24th of March.

† *Jaffier Hussein Khan.* Abdul Wahab Mohammed Ali's brother, had married this person's sister, and when foujedar of Arcot, had conferred on him the fiscal government of Trinomalee. When Abdul Wahab was removed to his small jageer of Chittoor, his brother-in-law went over to Hyder, that he might not have to render his accounts to Mohammed Ali : he was now tired of the service, and offered to betray his trust, on the condition that these accounts should be considered as closed ; to which Mohammed Ali consented.

its surrender: and the terms were adjusted without much difficulty. For the purpose of favoring the plan, Colonel Campbell moved off to Colar, professing to abandon his designs on the rock; and leaving a garrison in the lower fort, which is so situated as to be in a great degree independent of the droog, and not at all commanded by it. The killedar was the only unfaithful man of the garrison; but it so happened, that he had been commissioned by Hyder, to obtain, during his absence, the greatest possible number of recruits for his infantry; and to give special encouragement to men who had been disciplined by the English, to come over with their arms, from the service of Mohammed Ali, in which the killedar had many connexions. In conformity to these views, a pretended negotiation was communicated to the officers under his command, by which he was, on an appointed night, to receive the important acquisition of two hundred recruits, composing two complete companies, with their native officers; who were to ascend the rock by a concerted route. Captain Matthews* dressed and painted like a soubadar, headed this party of faithful English sepoys, and obtained admission about four o'clock on the 23d of June, but abstained from any discovery until there was sufficient day-light clearly to distinguish all objects; he then whispered his orders for the disposition of attack, and directing the grenadiers' march to be beaten, as a sudden and terrible evidence of the presence of English troops, he had the satisfaction of securing his object without the necessity of taking a single life. On the same day Colonel Campbell arrived before Colar, and on the 28th the place surrendered at discretion, after regular approaches had been carried to the crest of the glacis. Meanwhile the Nabob Mohammed Ali, and the field deputies, moving with suitable dignity, with the commander-in-chief in their train, had ascended the pass of Boodicota, and moved on the direct road to Colar, as far as Arlier, where they heard of its surrender, and Colonel Campbell was directed to join the head-quarters of the army. Muckhdoom Saheb, who had returned from a plundering expedition into the lower countries when he heard of the ascent of the army, was now reported to Colonel Smith to have taken post under the walls of Baugloor, about eighteen miles S. W. of his present encampment, and Captain Cosby, with a light and well-equipped detachment, was sent in the evening of the 28th, to beat up his quarters during the night. Owing however to the unexpected length and impediments of the route, the day had dawned before he came in presence of the enemy, and after a vigorous effort in which Muckhdoom sustained a trifling loss, Captain Cosby perceiving the attempt to be fruitless, desisted from the pursuit. Baugloor was the seat of a Poligar to whom Hyder had continued a restricted permission to govern the district, and occupy the fort, as his dependant; and this person very prudently abstained from hostility to the English detachment, professing to Captain Cosby, whom he accompanied to

* The same officer who was taken in Bednore in 1783.

head-quarters, his best wishes for their success; but at the same time representing to Hyder his inability to resist, and the necessity of temporizing, until he had a better opportunity of evincing his allegiance. On the 3d of July, the army, joined by Colonel Campbell moved by Baugloor, for the siege of Oossoor, which fell on the 11th, and a detachment skilfully conducted by Captain Cosby, afterwards succeeded in obtaining possession of Anicul and Denaikancota, to the west and south of Oossoor. The Poligar of the former place accompanied him to head-quarters, and reported to Mohammed Ali the existence of a series of other positions, commanding some revenue, to the southward as far as the Cavery, in the continuation of a narrow stripe from Oossoor, which was actually encompassed to the east, west, and south, by impenetrable woods and mountains; but which positions, according to Mohammed Ali's ideas of military and fiscal policy, were to form a chain of defence for the lower countries in connexion with the conquests of Colonel Wood to the southward of the Cavery; and a division of the troops under Colonel Lang was sent to realize this strange project, which detained the body of the army for some days longer at Oossoor.

The serious inefficiency which Colonel Smith had experienced in all his operations, from a total want of cavalry, had induced him, when last at Madras, to recommend that some of Mohammed Ali's irregular horse should be disciplined by English officers; and a small body, thus organized, had already attained habits of order and obedience, which made them useful in the field. He had also, at an early period of the war, recommended to Government to endeavour, if possible, to obtain the services of Morari Row, of whose efficiency in the wars of Lawrence, he had the frequent means of personal observation. A negotiation had accordingly been concluded with that chief for his personal service, with a body of his select troops. Yoonas Khan, with the advanced-guard of 300 men, joined the army while it was still at Oossoor, and returned with it to Ooscota, two marches in a northern direction. On the 4th of August, a junction was here formed with Morari Row, whose force consisted of a nominal 3,000 horse, with the proportion of irregular infantry, amounting to about 2,000, which was necessary for their system* of warfare; and the novel incumbrance of a few bad guns. But the reader will be prepared, from what has been developed of the Mahratta character, to expect that not one-half the number for which this chief was paid, could ever be faithfully mustered.

The interval of inaction which had occurred since the reduction of Oossoor, was partly occasioned by the unfortunate combinations of military supply, which left, in the first stage of their progress from Madras and Vellore, the battering train destined for the siege of Bangalore, and intended to proceed by the intermediate posts of Vencatigherry and Colar, to Ooscota, the most ad-

* See vol. i. p. 173.

vanced depôt in this chain of connexion; and partly by the indisposition* of the Nabob Mohammed Ali, which subsequently fixed the army for a month to this encampment. Colonel Wood also, whose operations to the southward had now terminated with the capture of Dindigul, was on his march by the pass Tapoor, and the province of Baramahal, to be re-united to the main army, which would even then exclusively of Morari Row, not be so strong as at the battle of Trinomalee. It was the opinion of Colonel Smith, that at whatever period the siege of Bangalore might be attempted, the force ought to admit of being formed into two divisions, one for the operations of the siege, and the other to oppose the field army of Hyder, who would unquestionably make the greatest efforts for its preservation; and he doubted whether the greatest force which could be collected, would be sufficient for the accomplishment of this double purpose. The reader has had the opportunity of observing, that the scene of these operations corresponds with that of the local government which Shahjee† the father of Sevajee had established in the early part of the seventeenth century: when, however, Ecojee, on transferring the seat of a new government to Tanjore, had sold Bangalore and its dependencies to the Raja of Mysoor, in 1687,‡ a reservation was made in favor of grants which had been conferred on various branches of the house of Shahjee, and its officers; and the numerous and successive Mahratta invasions of Mysoor had facilitated the continuance of these possessions, to the successors of the original grantees, under the declared protection of the head of the Mahratta empire, but in the essential objects of tribute and obedience, they were under the virtual government of Hyder. Such is the origin and history of the various towns which, in the English records of these times, are described as belonging to Madoo Row; and among them was Ooscota, where the army now lay, whose governor found it expedient to consent to its occupation by the English, for the purposes which have been described.

On the very day that Morari Row formed his junction with Colonel Smith, Hyder with the light troops of his advance had entered Bangalore. On the 9th, they made their first appearance to reconnoitre, and from that period continued the usual practice of harassing the skirts of the camp. Colonel Smith, on the first junction of Morari Row, earnestly recommended to him to encamp in communication with the English line, and within the protection of its piquets, but that chief smiled at the apprehension conveyed by this advice, and answering that he knew how to manage the *Naick*, established his camp about half a mile to the right of the English line, and in consequence

* The early part of this indisposition was no more than a foolish ceremonial of mourning for the death of a relative. Afterwards it was real.

† See vol. i. p. 45.

‡ See vol. i. p. 56.

of their remaining stationary from the illness of Mohammed Ali, had thrown up a slight line of works for its protection. On the night of the 22d of August, Hyder made a disposition for the attack of Morari Row's camp, in the following order; 6,000 horse in two divisions, preceded by elephants, to break down the flimsy works of Morari Row, were followed by two columns of infantry; and Hyder, with the body of his army, remained in reserve, to support the attack, and counteract any movements which should be made by Colonel Smith. The position had been previously examined by all the officers employed, and the cavalry was ordered to penetrate direct to the tent of Morari Row, whose head was the great object of the enterprise; to overwhelm the whole camp, and prevent their mounting, while the infantry should enter in succession, and complete the destruction of the whole. Morari Row, an officer at all times quick in perception, and fertile in resource, no sooner found that his camp was attacked by *cavalry*, than he gave instant orders that not a man should mount; but as the best means of defence, and the most certain of distinguishing friends from enemies, that each man should remain at the head of his horse, and cut down without distinction every person on horseback. The irregularity of the tents* and huts, and the interspersion of the Beder peons opposed abundant impediments to the progress of cavalry in the night; and the confusion was increased by Morari Row's State elephant receiving an accidental wound, and breaking loose from his picquets; in this state he ran furiously through the camp; and seizing the chain in his trunk, wielded it to the discomfiture of the mass of cavalry which he met, and threw them back headlong over the columns of infantry, which were just entering, and ignorant of the cause of this retrograde movement, retired in dismay, considering the attack to have failed. Hyder was enraged at the pusillanimity of the infantry, but as the alarm was now given to the English camp, he did not think proper to renew the attack: the cavalry withdrew as they could from the embarrassment in which they were involved, and his loss in this most injudicious attempt, amounted to near 300 men killed and wounded, and 80 serviceable horses secured by the enemy, independently of the hurt. Morari Row's loss amounted to no more than 18 men, and 30 horses killed and wounded, but among the latter was himself slightly in two places, his nephew severely, and the brave and experienced Yoonas Khan had his right arm nearly cut through by a sabre in two places, and the bone irretrievably destroyed. Colonel Smith had to lament the loss of his aid-de-camp Captain Gee, an intelligent and promising young officer, who rode into Morari Row's camp on the first alarm, to ascertain the nature of the attack; and was cut down in the dark, in consequence of the judicious but indiscriminate orders which have been noticed.

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* For the description of an Indian camp, see vol. i. p. 181.

Foiled but not discouraged in this first effort, Hyder continued to be occupied in revising and perfecting all the appointments of his army, and announced to his troops a campaign of more than usual activity, in which it would be necessary to divest themselves of every incumbrance. As the movements in his contemplation embraced an extended field of action, and the enemy had established himself in the vicinity of Bangalore, he even calculated on the possibility of an attempt being made on that fortress, while he should be too far distant to afford a timely relief; and accordingly directed the removal to the rock of Savendydroog, of that branch of his seraglio which was lodged in the palace, and of the treasure and great mass of valuable articles which had been accumulated in this early centre of his power. For the fortress itself he appointed a sufficient garrison, under the nominal orders of his son, and the real command of his maternal uncle Ibrahim Saheb; on the 3rd of September he made a circuitous march in a southern direction, with the hope of cutting off the division of Colonel Wood, now ascending from the Baramahal. The illness of Mohammed Ali could no longer be permitted to paralyze and ruin the whole campaign, he was sent on the same day under a strong escort with the field deputies to Colar, while Colonel Smith covered the movement by an intermediate march by Maloor in the direction of his reinforcements.

On the 5th it was expected that Colonel Wood would be at Boodicota, and move towards Maloor on the 6th, but as Hyder's motions for the two last days were unknown to Colonel Smith, he threw his baggage into Maloor on the 5th, marched a few miles farther on the same day, and early on the next morning was in motion towards Boodicota. The route of Colonel Wood to form the junction was through a long defile, which pointed north-west for a few miles, and at a comparatively open spot, where another road opened to the north-east, made an obtuse turn in a direction due west. Hyder, calculating on Colonel Smith's waiting the arrival of his reinforcements near to Maloor, had taken the most effectual means to conceal his own movements, and assumed a position to the north-eastward of the angle of the defile which has been described, with the intention of seizing the proper moment, for opening an enfilading fire on Colonel Wood; from positions previously chosen, and availing himself of the consequent embarrassment, completely to overpower him, while his own rear was open to the north-east in the event of failure.

The hills which formed these defiles, were interposed between Colonel Smith and Hyder, as well as between him and Colonel Wood; and as he sent persons early in the morning to their summits for intelligence reports were brought him of both Hyder's army and Colonel Wood's division, being seen in motion in the directions described. He perceived from these reports, that he should be able to reach and clear the angle of the defile, sooner than Hyder, and to assume a position to receive him with advantage. He accordingly quickened his pace and sent scouts across the hills to apprise Colonel

Wood of his intentions ; but he had scarcely reached the angle of the defile, and was making dispositions for a formation, in the open country to the north-east, when he and Hyder were equally astonished at hearing a regular salute, in the defile to the south-east, which Colonel Wood had thought proper to fire, in honor of Colonel Smith, on receiving the message of his approach. The indignation of the latter was scarcely inferior to the disappointment of Hyder, the head of whose columns had just appeared, when he instantly countermarched to assume a more respectful distance. Colonel Smith made an immediate disposition for a vigorous pursuit, fruitless as usual, and remarkable only for the careless precipitancy of Colonel Wood's division, who out-marched their guns, left two of them without protection, which were charged, and the artillerymen all destroyed, before the guns could be rescued.

After halting the next day, to make a proper distribution of the united force into two divisions, Colonel Wood's* division now placed under Colonel Long, was ordered to pursue Hyder in the direction which he had taken by Batemungul, midway between Vencatigherry and Colar, while Colonel Smith should march in a separate column by the latter place, and regulate his movements according to circumstances. This pursuit, if such it may be called, led the two divisions considerably to the northward; but finding Hyder still to precede them, with a rapidly increasing interval, they once more returned towards Colar, having established a post at Moorgamalla, two marches to the northward of that place.

Hyder had been drawn still further to the north, by an object which was of the most essential importance to his affairs ; the defection of his brother-in-law Meer Saheb, and his establishment at Goorumconda, deprived Hyder of the most distinguished and efficient corps of his army. His wife had, in corresponding with her brother, exerted all her eloquence, to detach him from the unnatural connexion which he had formed with the Mahratta State; she assured him, that Hyder was disposed to consider with reverence his attachment to the place which contained the ashes of their forefathers, and to believe, as she had endeavoured to impress, that when he surrendered Sera as a matter of necessity, he stipulated for the government of his ancestors, in the direct hope of thereafter being permitted to hold it as a dependency of Mysoor; and she pledged to her brother the influence which she possessed with Hyder, as the mother of his children, for the continuance, and even the enlargement of his present jageer, if he would return to his allegiance at this critical period of her husband's affairs. Meer Saheb, having no immediate hope of relief from any quarter, long hesitated between the fear of extinction and the hope of independence: on Hyder's march to Goorumconda,

* That officer had desired permission to resign his command, in consequence of the displeasure expressed by Colonel Smith, at the incomprehensible salute which deprived him of a probable victory.

he even wrote to invite the English to fall upon his rear; but on his nearer approach, the terms of reconciliation were finally adjusted, and in the event were mutually and faithfully observed, during the remainder of their lives. This important object being accomplished, Hyder, after deviating to the right, to destroy the largest possible portion of Morari Row's territory, returned, respectably reinforced, towards Colar, where the battering train of the English army was drawn out, and the field deputies continued to report their confident expectation of the early investment of Bangalore.

The affairs of Hyder were, according to superficial observation at least, certainly in a critical state: one-half of his territory and some of his places of strength, were in the possession of his enemies: a chain of posts had been established, and a battering train advanced for the siege of the second place in his dominions; and an officer of merited reputation was at the head of the hostile army. Hyder knew that the greater part of these imposing appearances rested on no solid basis; that not one of the captured places was adequately occupied; that the possession of territory under such circumstances, was but a fleeting vision, and that a respectable defence at Bangalore would enable him to destroy the whole chain of communication, and starve the besiegers, while his lighter troops should carry fire and sword into the open and defenceless territories of the enemy, and extinguish their resources. He understood also the nature of those impediments which palsied the arm of the able officer who was opposed to him, but external pressure might produce united effort, and in the midst of well-founded hope, the chances of war exposed him also to disaster. It is certain, therefore, that in the advances for peace which Hyder now made to the English, he was actuated by a desire of making moderate sacrifices for its attainment. In an early part of the negotiation, he professed his readiness to cede the province of Baramahal, and pay ten lacs of Rupees to the English (not to Mohammed Ali, whom he refused to admit as a party to the treaty), and to this proposal he continued steadily to adhere to the last moment of the discussions; but his adversaries who were the substantial aggressors, demanded reimbursement of the expenses of the war to an enormous amount, and a line of territory which should at least include Kistnagherry, Sunkerydroog and Dindigul, numerous concessions on the coast of Malabar, the payment by Hyder of that tribute to Nizam Ali which the English had engaged to pay in the event of their conquest of Mysoor, together with some important cessions to Morari Row. The negotiation consequently failed; military operations had not been discontinued, but nothing serious had been attempted on either side during its progress; and soon after its close, about the end of September, the Government of Madras saw abundant reason to regret, that they had not been more reasonable in their expectations.

The rock of Mulwagul was one of those which Colonel Smith had deemed it necessary to occupy with his own troops; but during his absence, the field deputies had thought proper to relieve that garrison, with a single company in the service of Mohammed Ali; and Hyder, on his return from Goorumconda, found means to practise on the Mussulman officer who commanded, so as to carry the place apparently by surprise. Colonel Wood, who had resumed the command of his division, and was nearest to the place, made a movement on the first alarm, to relieve or recover it; he was too late for the first, but recovered the lower fort, near to which he encamped; and, on the same night, was beaten off with loss in an attempt to carry the rock by escalade. On the ensuing day, the 4th of October, a light body of troops appeared in motion towards the rock, as if covering a convoy to be thrown into the garrison; and Colonel Wood, who had no suspicion of Hyder's army being near, moved out himself, with two companies and a gun, to reconnoitre; and with this insufficient escort, allowed himself to be drawn to the distance of two miles from his camp, when he perceived a body of 3,000 horse, followed by a heavy column of infantry, in motion to surround him. In this situation, he galloped back to the nearest picquet, consisting of two companies and a gun, from whence he sent orders for the line to be formed, and the baggage to be thrown into the lower fort; and returned with the picquet for the support of the party which he had left. He found it completely surrounded, but penetrated through the enemy, and joined it. By this time Hyder's whole army appeared, advancing over an eminence about a mile in his front, and sending reinforcements to overpower him; thus circumstanced, to retreat with celerity seemed to be the single chance of safety: he accordingly formed his four companies into a little square, abandoned his two guns, and commenced his retreat at a quick pace. The battalion of Captain Matthews, detached from the line to his support, saved him from impending destruction, by attacking in flank the body through which he was attempting to force his way; and the united corps, although hard-pressed, were enabled, by successive stands, to continue their retreat until within reach of further support from the line. The whole extent of the ground, which was the scene of the farther operations of the day, consisted of a congeries of granite rocks, or rather stones, of unequal heights and dimensions, and every varied form, from six to sixteen feet diameter, scattered like "the fragments of an earlier world," at irregular intervals, over the whole surface of the plain. Obliquely to the right, and in the rear of the situation in which the advanced troops were engaged, was a small oblong hill, skirted at its two extremities with an impenetrable mass of such stones, but flat and covered with earth at the top, to a sufficient extent to admit of being occupied by rather more than one battalion: the rocky skirts of this hill extended in a ridge of about three hundred yards towards the plain of stones, and under its cover the Europeans had

been placed in reserve, until the action should assume a settled form. Hitherto amid a mass of cover and impediment, which bade defiance to a regular formation, the intervals between the rocks and sometimes their summits were occupied by troops; the smaller openings were converted into embrasures for guns, and support successively arrived from each army to those who were engaged: it was a series of contests for the possession of rocks, or the positions formed by their union, without any possibility of the regular extension of a line on either side; so that a rock was sometimes seen possessed by Mysoreans within the general scope of English defence, and by the English among the Mysoreans. Point after point was however yielded by the English to superior numbers and increasing energy. The action had commenced under the most unfavorable circumstances, and no [illegible] of exemption from pressure had allowed time for a more skilful disposition. Hyder's guns were served with skill, spirit, and decision, and being superior in number, had obtained a manifest superiority over those of the English. His infantry, as occasion offered, were led to the charge of the bayonet, or forced forward by the [illegible] of their own cavalry in the rear; a column accompanied by cannon had made a circuitous movement, and pressed on the flank and rear of the European reserve; no successful effort appears to have been made for restoring order and confidence; every where the tendency was retrograde, and the [illegible] desponding; nothing seemed to remain but the [illegible] and [illegible] when the whole was saved by one of those happy expedients which bring the knowledge of human nature into the ranks of mechanical destruction and [illegible] the proud [illegible] of [illegible]. Captain Brooke had received [illegible] the preceding night, four companies of his battalion formed the baggage guard in the lower fort, and these, [illegible] sent to the same [illegible]. He saw the [illegible] of the enemy [illegible] guard [illegible] the [illegible] and wounded men who were [illegible] two guns which had been [illegible] the [illegible] and [illegible] with this [illegible] equipment [illegible] summit [illegible] at [illegible] two guns with grape [illegible] with the utmost vivacity on the [illegible] every [illegible] *Huzza [illegible] S[illegible] S[illegible]* [illegible] the [illegible] masses of the [illegible] with [illegible] from [illegible] that his [illegible] had arrived; order and energy revived together; regulated movements ensued, and in a few minutes the hordes which had pressed forward with impatience on their destined victim, were

by a spell more potent than the force of magic, driven outwards in every direction, excepting that of the supposed Smith. Colonel Wood, on discovering the stratagem to which he was indebted, availed himself of the respite thus acquired, to assume a more regular disposition : the oblong hill, which has been described, formed the centre of the new position, and the remainder of the force was disposed in connexion with it, in such a manner, as to give entire confidence to the troops; the slope of the hill towards the enemy, which was tolerably free from stones, being the most accessible part of the position. Hyder was not slow in discovering the error, which had rescued the English troops from his grasp, and returned with indignation to resume the attack : the whole of his cannon, including those captured in the early part of the day were brought to bear upon the position; and he even made the desperate attempt to charge up the hill with his cavalry; but the day closed upon these ineffectual efforts, and left Colonel Wood in possession of the field of battle : the loss of Hyder was estimated at a thousand men, that of the English amounted to eight officers, two hundred and twenty-nine rank and file, and two guns; and both had expended nearly the whole of their ammunition. Colonel Wood, aware of his own inability on this account to maintain a second action, and ignorant of the same impediment to its renewal by the enemy, sent dispatches by separate messengers to Colonel Smith, who was then at Colar: the first of these reached him on the forenoon of the sixth; he moved on the same day, and early on the seventh, encamped near Mulwagul. Hyder had in the intermediate time continued closely to reconnoitre the position of Colonel Wood, now connected with the lower fort, for the purpose of making another effort with his remaining ammunition; but found it too strong to be attempted until he should receive a fresh supply; and by the time of Colonel Smith's arrival, he was again invisible.

From the earliest opportunity of examining the army and equipments of Hyder, distinct from these of Nizam Ali, since his return from the west, Colonel Smith had stated his opinion, in the council of field deputies, in three distinct propositions; first, that with the relative force actually possessed by the contending armies, the siege of Bangalore could not be safely undertaken, unless Hyder should be previously beaten in a general action: secondly, that it was impracticable, while moving in one body, to force him to a general action contrary to his inclinations: and, thirdly, that the only hope of such an event rested on moving in two divisions, and seizing such accidental opportunities as had been marred by the unfortunate salute of Colonel Wood. The steady behaviour of the enemy's troops in the affair of Mulwagul, so much exceeded all calculations founded on former experience, as considerably to detract from the security of moving in two divisions; but the action had been commenced by Hyder, under circumstances

which in their effects gave him advantages nearly equal to those of a surprise, and was not a fair test of the result of a regular contest with one of these divisions. Colonel Smith, however, deemed it prudent to summon a council of his principal officers, and to hear their opinions regarding the most eligible course of measures. The result was a determination to persevere in those which have been stated, to collect every disposable man, for the purpose of strengthening the divisions; to obtain from Veneatigherry supplies of ammunition and stores, (which, in two separate letters* written by Colonel Smith to the Government on this occasion, for the purpose of desiring the interposition of their authority, are described to be insufficient for the current consumption of the army, notwithstanding his incessant remonstrances;) and to divest the army of every possible incumbrance, by taking that opportunity of sending the sick and wounded by Veneatigherry to Vellore. The report of Colonel Smith on the subject of this consultation, adds a modest hint of the advantages which might be derived from the presence of Mohammed Ali near to Madras, for the purpose of enabling the Government to reflect, that he and the field deputies were not only the most ponderous of his incumbrances, but withdrew from his disposable force a body for their protection at Colar, little inferior in strength to one of his divisions.†

On the 14th, the two divisions were again in motion to the northward, and continued throughout the remainder of the month, by a series of movements which, being productive of no definite result, it is unnecessary to describe the vain attempt of endeavouring to force or entrap the enemy into a general action; every attempt at pressing Hyder to the northward, almost necessarily drove him on the territory of Morari Row; and he never failed to improve these opportunities, by indulging in the most merciless depredations. Incessant complaints of deficiency in every species of equipment and supply, served only to embitter the regret of the English army, and to diminish, at every successive march, the faint hope of succeeding in their efforts. Hyder outstripping their crippled movements with his main body, and keeping each division perpetually harassed by his light troops, made a circuitous movement, in which he amused himself on the 5th of November, by alarming the Nabob and the field deputies at Colar, chiefly with the intention of drawing Colonel Smith from the country near Deonhully, which it was his wish to preserve, but he was also prepared, if he saw a favorable opportunity, to attempt the place by escalade. A cannonade on the pettah, or walled town annexed to the fort, enabled him to observe, that the military arrangements were directed by Colonel Campbell with a

* 9th and 11th October 1768.

† Captain Cosby's journal states the force in Colar, at the time of Hyder's appearance before it on the 5th of November, to have been 200 Europeans, and five battalions of sepoys, of the latter, one was a Bengal battalion, and another the 11th regular corps. I cannot trace whether the other three were Nabob's or Company's battalions.

degree of confidence and skill, which afforded little prospect of success in a more serious attack; and he retired on the 7th, after having driven off the *wulsa*, and burned the villages, in a circuit of several miles around, for the purpose of augmenting the incipient distress for food, of which he possessed the most accurate information; his measures having for some time been directed to deprive this place of all material supplies, but those which were received in regular convoys by the route of Vencatigherry.

Colonel Smith was recalled by the intelligence of this alarm, and returned to Colar on the 8th, through a continued deluge of rain. The geographical position of this district, subjects it in a considerable degree to the influence of the north-east monsoon; and the periodical storms had burst with violence at this period, and continued for a week longer to fix the whole army at Colar. Mohammed Ali and the deputies, although abundantly stationary throughout the greater portion of their visit to Mysoor, had not found a campaign to be so pleasant an amusement as they had anticipated: they had hinted a wish to return, which was now complied with. The report of Colonel Smith from Mulwagul, placed facts upon the records of Government, the examination of which could not well be evaded; he was directed to submit a plan for more successful operations, with his present means; and in such event he was invested with *the direction of the war:* but if he could suggest none that could be immediately carried into effect, he was requested to repair to Madras, for the purpose of aiding the deliberations of the Government. Colonel Smith, whose continuance in a nominal command, under the degrading tutelage which has been described, cannot even now be contemplated without sorrow and surprise, had not the farther meekness to undertake the sole responsibility of operations, which the misguidance of others had brought to the verge of disaster. He distinctly and practically understood the sources of counteraction, which would convert into mere mockery the delusive professions of investing him with the *direction* of measures; and he most properly determined to adopt the latter branch of the alternative, and proceed to Madras; where without animadversion on the past, he distinctly stated how they were to succeed in future. The regiments of his own army were reduced to mere skeletons, but if the detachment under Colonel Peach, still in the northern circars, could be spared, he risked the opinion, that no probable impediment could prevent his bringing the war to an issue, by penetrating from Coimbatore to the enemy's capital, excepting the want of provisions; and notwithstanding the lamentable failure which had hitherto been felt, he distinctly stated that this want "could be abundantly provided against."

General opinion ascribed the ostensible demand for Colonel Smith's advice at Madras, to the desire of leaving the command of the army to Colonel Wood; whose career in the southern campaign

and personal attentions to the deputies, and the Nabob, had established with them, and with the members of Government, the reputation of transcendent military talents. The Nabob, the deputies, and Colonel Smith, accordingly departed on the 14th of November, under the escort of a division (accompanied by Morari Row, whose corps however remained with the army,) for the purpose of ostensibly removing this movement from its actual character, or in the language of the deputies to prevent any bad impression from the return of the Nabob, the Chevalier de St. Lubin being the only personage of this retiring conclave whose name a sense of shame appears to have excluded from the records.

The general tendency of Mohammed Ali's military talents may be traced throughout every part of his history; and in tracing the effects on the fortune of the war of the unhappy commission whose operations were thus closed, I have endeavoured to restrain as far as stubborn facts would admit the mixed tone of ridicule and indignation which their proceedings were calculated to provoke; seeking the light of truth as my single guide, I have been jealous of the possible influence of professional prejudice in the opinions which I have formed, and I seek for security against that influence in describing these effects in the language of the authors of the measure. The Government which formerly professed to have accomplished a great political object [illegible] Mohammed Ali to accompany the army, [illegible] in their letter to Colonel Smith [illegible] that before that time [illegible] Nabob [illegible] and their letter to the deputies of the same date [illegible] that the passage shall be cited at length. "We cannot help expressing our amazement and great disappointment that [illegible] should now be discovered [illegible] was to be one great [illegible]

[illegible]

The departure of Mohammed Ali and the deputies had caused the movement of Colonel Smith's division to the eastward of Colar: in the first march intelligence had been received, that Hyder was besieging Oossoor, and Colonel Wood's division was in consequence reinforced by the 2d regiment of Europeans, and Captain Cosby's battalion of sepoys, in order that he might move for its relief; the remainder of Colonel Smith's division, under Major Fitzgerald, the senior officer, continued at Vencatigherry, to cover the retreat of the Nabob and the deputies, and furnish escorts to place them in a situation of security.

Colonel Wood marched for the relief of Oossoor, on the 16th, with two regiments* of Europeans, five battalions of sepoys, and their usual field-pieces; to which were added two brass 18-pounders; he reached Baugloor, on the 17th; and in order that he might be divested of all incumbrances, in the night attack, which he meditated on Hyder's camp, he ordered the whole of his baggage, camp equipage, and surplus stores, into the walled town, or pettah of Baugloor; the two 18-pounders being now classed and deposited among the incumbrances. Having given these orders, he proceeded at ten on the same night, towards Oossoor, which he did not reach till seven in the morning of the 18th, and was of course foiled, in the design which he had planned, of a night attack, on an army embarrassed in the operations of a siege. Hyder had, on the preceding evening, withdrawn his preparations for the siege, and remained on his ground of encampment, north-west of the fort, until Colonel Wood's advance was entering Oossoor. The march had been so hurried, that a small portion only of the provisions and stores intended for the relief of the garrison was brought up; and while these were entering the place, and the requisite arrangements were in preparation for giving repose and refreshment to the troops, the whole of Hyder's cavalry were making demonstrations in various directions, while his infantry, by a circuitous movement, turned the flank of the English, and got between them and Baugloor. Clouds of dust, indicating the movement of troops in that direction, had been observed, and reported by the out-posts; but disregarded by Colonel Wood. About two o'clock, however, repeated and heavy discharges of canon and musketry, explained the circumvention, and obliged him to retrace his steps with fresh precipitation.

Baugloor, like most of the fortresses in that country, above the rank of a walled village, had a little fort or citadel, the habitation of the chief, his officers, and garrison; and a walled town connected with it on one side, the residence of the agricultural, commercial, and mixed classes of the community; and the place was garrisoned by one of the best corps in the service of Mohammed Ali, under the command of Captain Alexander. It had been found, on trial, that the gate of the pettah was too narrow to admit the eighteen pounders, and they were accord-

* The two regiments were about 700 men, the five battalions about 4,000.

ingly left with a guard at the outside. Some of the most portable of the stores were removed within the fort: the mass of stores and baggage was deposited, without much order, in the streets, and the draught and carriage cattle had chiefly taken shelter under the walls; but when the enemy's columns appeared, returning from Oossoor, the cattle were driven, with precipitation, within the town. These apparent ramparts are generally no more than mere single walls of mud, from fifteen to twenty feet high, and not exceeding a cubit in breadth at the summit: the gateway is converted above into a turret for musketry; and if at the exterior angles there be other similar turrets, these, with the distant fire of the fort, hardly ever furnishing a true flanking defence, are considered a respectable protection against cavalry, which they are chiefly intended to resist. But it is evident, unless time be given for erecting platforms for musketry, along the interior of the curtains, that the infantry without and within such a line of defence are not far removed from a state of equality. Hyder approached in several distinct columns, preceded by cannon, and attended by pioneers, and ladders to clear the breaches, or surmount the walls. Captain Alexander personally directed his chief attention to the preservation of the eighteen-pounders; but on finding that the enemy had penetrated in the rear of both his flanks, he retreated with haste, towards the fort: the officer left in charge had fortunately ordered the gate to be shut, on the first moment of his perceiving an enemy within the pettah wall; without this precaution everything must have been lost: the few sepoys that had been left within the fort now manned the ramparts with confidence and kept up a brisk fire, which assisted in preventing the enemy from cutting off Captain Alexander's retreat. The camp followers, and many of the inhabitants, on perceiving the entrance of the enemy, pressed into the pettah towards the gateway of the fort, men, women, and children, driving camels, horses, and oxen, with the hope of obtaining admission. This was prevented by the precaution which has been stated, and a scene ensued too horrible for description: the heavier and more active animals pressed forward on the weaker, until they were piled on each other in a mass of dead and dying, of which the human beings formed too large a proportion; and the perils which the retreating party encountered in clearing this dreadful scene, to be drawn up by ropes into the fort, were not inferior to those which they sustained from the pursuing enemy. Hyder made no attempt on the fort; but the eighteen-pounders were quickly put in motion, the mass of baggage in the pettah was placed upon his own carts and tumbrils, [illegible] the gun carriages which were [illegible] carry and [illegible] arrangements [illegible] of eight [illegible] [illegible]

carriage bullocks, two eighteen-pounders, and nearly the whole of the stores, baggage, and camp equipage of his army. On the 20th he returned to repair one of the errors of his precipitation by throwing some ammunition and stores into Oossoor. On the 21st, he measured back his steps to Baugloor, now destitute of provision for the use of his troops, and on the same evening prosecuted his march to Arlier, an intermediate post on the road to Colar, where there was a small supply. Hyder had by this time disposed of his trophies and his spoils; and while Colonel Wood believed him to be at the distance of twenty-five miles, suddenly made his appearance about noon of the 22d, his cavalry and light troops driving in the outposts, for the purpose of masking, according to his usual custom, the movements of his infantry and guns. Two batteries, consisting of twelve of his heaviest pieces, and among them those which he had taken at Baugloor, soon opened, from an eminence too distant to be returned with much effect by the English field pieces. Colonel Wood's line was entirely exposed, but he had no baggage to impede his movements, and the relative situation was such, that, divested of the depression which seemed to have overwhelmed his faculties, no English officer would have hesitated many minutes in making a disposition for advancing on the enemy's guns. In this situation however, Colonel Wood, whose greatest military fault had hitherto been deemed a too ardent courage, remained the whole day wasting his ammunition in returning this absurd cannonade, in which he lost in killed and wounded, one captain,* six subalterns, twenty Europeans, and two hundred sepoys; at night the enemy made a show of retiring to a distant encampment, and, at ten on the same night Colonel Wood resumed his march; but had scarcely cleared this ill-fated ground before Hyder's infantry commenced a fire on his rear and right flank, which they continued throughout the night, obliging him frequently to halt, and repel their attacks. At day-light on the 23d, being still pressed in the rear, he was moving, with a ridge of rocky hills on his right, which seemed to promise a temporary respite from attack on that flank. The order of march was in two columns, with the small remnant of baggage, and Morari Row's horse interposed, and the advanced and rear-guards covering the intervals, and forming what is not very scientifically termed an oblong square: but just as the advance had passed an opening in the hills, the flower of Hyder's army was perceived pressing in mass through the opening, with a view to intersect the English columns, and destroy them in detail. The bravery and the bayonets of the European troops rendered this effort abortive, and the columns continued their march, again, however, hard-pressed, upon the right as well as rear, after clearing the hills. At the distance of two miles more, another similar range afforded cover to the left, when Hyder, one of whose columns had succeeded in gaining a

* Captain Cosby severely wounded by a contusion in his side, from a cannon ball.

position, which arrested the English front, brought forward the whole of his infantry, and compelled Colonel Wood once more to halt, and take post among the rocks. The attack was here resumed with redoubled fury and perseverance. Colonel Wood's ammunition began to fail, and the confidence of his sepoys to decline, when about noon, without any visible cause, Hyder drew off his troops, and commenced his retreat to the south-east. For upwards of an hour, the joy of this deliverance was unmixed with any other feeling than that of wonder; but as the atmosphere began to clear, with the recession of Hyder's troops, an approaching column of dust from the north-east explained the arrival of succour. Rumour had quickly conveyed to Major Fitzgerald at Vencatigherry, the unfortunate events at Baugloor, and successive reports concurring in all the material facts, left him in no doubt that Colonel Wood had sustained the loss of some of the most important equipments of his army, and would probably be in distress for provisions. He accordingly recalled all detachments within his reach, collected the largest possible supply of rice and on the 22d made a forced march, in a direction which left Colar a little on his right. On the ensuing morning he was again early in motion; the fire of the contending armies, which soon became audible, furnished the point of direction and quickened the pace of his troops; the relief was most critical, for the lavish expenditure of ammunition in the disgraceful [illegible] of the preceding day, had left Colonel Wood but two rounds for his field guns. The manifest despondency of the officer commanding had produced its inevitable effects, and the native troops in particular evinced a visible want of confidence in the talents of their leader. The direction of Hyder's march was towards [illegible] and the situation of that place became the [illegible] Major Fitzgerald, a firm and [illegible] officer, on the [illegible] ground of his division being comparatively [illegible] with the [illegible] of the European flankers [illegible] the disciplined [illegible] Captain M[illegible] relieve and withdraw the [illegible] when the remainder of the army should [illegible] Colonel Wood [illegible] from risking a division [illegible] was insufficient [illegible] Hyder [illegible] aspect of this [illegible] that M[illegible] on him to address a [illegible] Colonel Smith, stating the [illegible] troops under other [illegible] Colonel Smith [illegible] arrival at Madras [illegible] Government, who immediately [illegible] Colonel W[illegible] to Madras and [illegible] the command

* He was tried [illegible] Colonel Wood [illegible] not [illegible]

of the army early in December. Previously however to this supersession, Colonel Wood had once more put in motion the united divisions; and by a series of fatiguing movements, productive of no effect, had repeatedly been in sight of Hyder, who amused himself with leaving his tents standing until the English columns were within random shot, when he would strike the encampment, and be in motion in a few minutes, for the purpose of exhibiting the perfection of his own equipments, and his derision of those of his enemy. While the divisions were separate, Hyder was in the habit* of declaring, in ordinary conversation, that he desired no contact with that of Colonel Smith, but would not fail to attack Colonel Wood wherever he could find him. On the approach of Major Fitzgerald, he supposed the division to be still commanded by Colonel Smith, and that impression caused him for some days to observe a respectful distance; but when he received authentic information of that officer's departure, he had no longer any anxiety for Bangalore, and prepared to execute, without delay, the farther objects of his campaign.

* The uniform statement of all his principal officers.

CHAPTER XVII.

Hyder's General, Fuzzul Oolla Khan, descends from Seringapatam to Coimbatore—His success over the unmilitary dispositions of the English—Interesting anecdote of Serjeant Hoskin—Gujjelhutty—Orton, prominent commander, retires to Erode—Treachery at Coimbatore, &c.—Captain Johnson at Darapoor—Bryant at Palghaut—Singular retreat round Cape Comorin—Faisan at Caveripoor holds out—The minor posts fall—Hyder descends the pass of Policode into Baramahal—and turns towards Coimbatore by the pass of Topoor—Government of Madras awakes from its dream of conquest—Corps of Major Fitzgerald follows Hyder from Mysoor—Places fall to Hyder in rapid succession—Fitzgerald's reasons for inclining towards Trichinopoly—Hyder towards Erode—takes Caroor—destroys the corps under Nixon—appears before Erode—Strange conduct of Orton—Surrender of Erode—and of Caveripoorum—Breach of capitulation—justified as retaliation for a breach of parole—Reflections on that transaction—Hyder desolates the country to the east—Military contribution on Tanjore—Major Fitzgerald, as usual, in want of food—Contrasted conduct of the belligerents—Attempt at negotiation through Captain Brooke—Statesman like conversation of Hyder—Mission of Mr. Andrews in consequence—Cessation of hostilities for twelve days—Resumption of hostilities—Smith in command—Hyder frequently embarrassed by the superior skill of his opponent—sends to the westward the mass of his army—and suddenly appears at the gates of Madras with cavalry alone—Mr. Du Pre sent out to negotiate—Smith orders Lang to attack Hyder's army when entangled in the pass—himself follows Hyder in person—stopped by the positive orders of his Government—Negotiation and treaty of 1769—discussed—Short review of the conduct of the war.

HYDER, on his return from the west, had relieved Fuzzul Oolla Khan from the command of Bangalore, and sent him to Seringapatam. The commandants of all the principal garrisons and field corps, had, in conformity to a general instruction, been employed, since the commencement of the war, in procuring new levies, which were now sufficiently instructed to take the garrison and provincial duties; and the old troops, including the respectable detachment from Malabar, had been directed to repair to Seringapatam, where Fuzzul Oolla Khan continued to be actively employed, in giving them the requisite organization and equipments, as a field force. Early in November, this officer took the field with a well composed corps of 7,000 cavalry and infantry, and ten guns, and a command over the irregular infantry, which was intermixed with the mass of the inhabitants below the ghauts: he knew that he should be aided by the active exertions of this numerous class, and by the best wishes of a population driven to despair, by the horrible exactions of Mohammed Ali's collectors of revenue, whose system of misrule left at an humble distance all the oppression that had ever been experienced from the iron government of Hyder: but proceeding with a skilful caution, he moved towards the passes of Caveriporam and Gujjelhutty to obtain a perfect knowledge of the number and

nature of the English *posts** *before he should* attack them. At the former of these, an honest aud brave serjeant, named Hoskan, who commanded the advanced post of two companies and one gun in a ruined mud fort, repelled the attempts of Fuzzul Oolla to take it by a *coup de main;* and without the most remote suspicion of his perilous situation, after modestly reporting the fact to his officer, adds, with the most interesting confidence and simplicity, "I expect them again to-morrow morning in two parties† with guns: I will take the guns from them with the help of God." But his confidence was disappointed, for after the post had been made a heap of ruins, it was carried by a sanguinary assault; but I am unable to satisfy the reader's anxiety for the fate of the brave serjeant. The other posts fell in succession: that at Gujjelhutty, where a Lieutenant Andrews commanded, stood two regular assaults; but he was killed in the second, and the place surrendered on the 19th of November. The troops in the pass, under the command of Captain Orton, who, until the moment of attack, continued to maintain the absurd doctrines of Colonel Wood, successively abandoned their positions and their guns, and retreated with precipitation to Satimungul; and from thence to concentrate the remaining force at Erode. Among the strange military anomalies of Colonel Wood and his coadjutor the fiscal agent of Mohammed Ali; the former commandant of Coimbatore, who had betrayed it to the English, was continued in the command of the irregular troops of his former garrison—as *killedar of the place*, exercising a joint non-descript authority, with the European officer, who commanded the regular troops. While the greater part of these were out at exercise on the 29th of November, with the willing aid of the inhabitants, he seized the occasion to massacre all those within,‡ to shut the gates, and, assisted by a body of cavalry, who had approached for the purpose, made prisoners the men at exercise, who, as usual, had only blunt cartridges. Fuzzul Oolla Khan who had concerted the plan, waited for its accomplishment before he should descend the Gujjelhutty pass, with his main body, and immediately sent a dispatch to Hyder, to report that he should have completed his descent§ by

* The unmilitary disposition of those of Caveripooram, are thus described by Captain Faisan, the officer commanding on the 5th of November. "My present situation is such, that I am unable to move to the assistance of any post, I have one serjeant and one company at Caveripooram; one company at the first pass, ten miles from hence; one company at the second pass, with one gun and one tumbril, 25 miles distant; one serjeant and one company at Allembady, 40 miles north; and one serjeant and two companies at Adjipooram, 55 miles west."

† 700 horse, 3,000 regular infantry, 2,000 irregulars, and 3 guns, 12-pounders, was the detachment he reported; but they had been reinforced with 4 additional guns.

‡ Among the unfortunate victims was Mr. Hamilton, the paymaster of the district.

§ It was then so precipitous that the gun carriages were taken to pieces, and sent down piece-meal on sledges.

the 4th of December; the treachery at Coimbatore, and a similar exploit at Denaikancota gave just cause of alarm to all those officers whose garrisons were not exclusively composed of English sepoys; all of them being aware, that they had no means of defence. In a few days the rumour of Hyder's approach from the north was abundantly confirmed. Captain Johnson who commanded at Darapoor, with 400 faithful sepoys; made good his retreat to Trichinopoly, in the face of Fuzzul Oolla's whole force; a gallant and skilful achievement, which deservedly fixed the reputation of that respectable officer. Lieutenant Bryant who commanded at Palghaut, with a small detachment of his own sepoys, and the remaining part of the garrison, composed of Nabob's troops, and irregulars hired in the country, having certain intelligence of a plan of massacre within, and the evidence of being invested without, concerted with his faithful sepoys the means of escaping from these complicated dangers: they withdrew unperceived in the night, and following a secret path known to one of the sepoys, through the woods and mountains, to the south-west, arrived in safety at Travancore; and thence returned by Cape Comorin to the south-eastern dependencies of Madras. The option had been given to Captain Faisan of evacuating Caveripoor, and joining Captain Orton at Erode, but he preferred to await the events of war, in the post which he had been ordered to defend. All the minor posts throughout the country, successively fell without resistance.

On the 6th of December, Hyder descended eastward into Baramahal, by the excellent pass of Policode, and thence southwards through that of Topoor, through a chain of hills running east and west, which at this place connects the first and second ranges of great mountains, whose direction is north and south; and Colonel Lang who now command in Mysoor, on receiving intelligence of this event, which had long been foreseen, detached in the same direction a light but efficient division, composed of the best troops of the army under Major Fitzgerald, which marched on the 10th. No adequate means had been adopted for repairing the losses to be expected in the sepoy ranks from the ordinary casualties of war, and by a [illegible] necessary augment[illegible] in the last campaign by the change of climate [illegible] sensibly by the Indian troops [illegible]. After therefore furnishing to Major Fitzgerald an efficient corps of 5000 men,* Colonel Lang found himself under the walls of

* [illegible] cavalry [illegible]
The 3d [illegible]
[illegible]
Five sepoy battalions [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] six-pounders [illegible]
with the best [illegible] of the army [illegible] could be
[illegible]

Vencatigherry reduced to a force, exclusively of garrisons and detachments, of 370 Europeans, and 900 sepoys; two 6-pounders, one 3-pounder, and two howitzers.

On Colonel Smith's arrival at Madras, the Government were roused to the consideration of an opinion, which although he had never attempted to conceal, he ought never to have suffered the deputies to over-rule; that Colar was no place of safe deposit for stores, without an army in its vicinity; and they awoke from the golden dreams of conquest in Mysoor, to the sad reality of providing for the security of these means which had been ostentatiously prepared for the capture of the capital. A light corps under Tippoo, ranging round his head-quarters at Bangalore, was the only force in those provinces, and Colonel Lang was directed to withdraw the battering train from Colar, while Hyder's absence rendered it practicable; but it was determined to risk a garrison there, under the command of Captain Kelly, for the purpose of resuming offensive operations in that direction, if the future chances of war should justify the attempt; and the egregious improvidence of scattering troops over a country in untenable posts, which promoted no one object of the war, was now evinced, by the necessity of sending directions to all the garrisons to escape by night, as they could, to the nearest places of strength.

Hyder, in descending through the pass of Policode, was preceded by emissaries in every direction, who announced the intelligence of his having defeated and destroyed the English army, and of his approaching to re-occupy his own posts in the lower country, preparatory to the conquest of Madras. The garrisons, with the exception of Erode and Caveripooram, were composed, in various gradations of inefficiency, of the same materials as those which have already been described, excepting that in those of the provinces of Baramahal and Salem, the garrisons were of Nabob's troops, without any intermixture of regular English sepoys: they followed the same disgraceful fate as those in the province of Coimbatore, and fell, as if a magic wand had accompanied the summons. Major Fitzgerald, who followed with rapid strides, had the mortification to hear at each successive march, of the surrender* of the place which he next hoped to relieve. As he approached the Cavery, he had intelligence that Hyder had crossed, or was about to cross the river, a little to the eastward of Caroor; and had determined to leave Fuzzul Oolla to invest that place, and Erode, and to proceed himself with the main army to attempt Trichinopoly, or levy contributions on Tanjore, and the southern provinces. Deeming Erode to be safe for the present, from his knowledge that at least 200 Europeans, 1,200 regular sepoys, eight pieces of good battering cannon, and two mortars, had been allotted

* Their surrender is reported by Major Fitzgerald on the following dates. On the 6th Darampoory—7th Tingricotta—12th Oomaloor—15th Selim—17th Namcul—19th Caroor—25th Erode—31st Dindigul. Caveripoor and Palghaut are not mentioned in his dispatches.

for its defence; and knowing Trichinopoly to be in a defenceless state, from having been drained of its troops, for the service of Coimbatore, he inclined to the eastward for the protection of that more important object. This movement determined Hyder to the opposite direction; Caroor fell without much resistance, and he moved up the right bank of the Cavery for the siege of Erode.

On the departure of Colonel Wood from this province, Colonel Freschman had been appointed to succeed him; and after the descent of Fuzzul Oolla had retired sick to Trichinopoly, leaving the command of the troops in the province to Captain Orton, whom we have already noticed, as retreating from the passes, to concentrate his force at Erode. The cruel rapacity of Mohammed Ali's government had caused provisions to disappear over a province not exceeded in fertility and abundance by any portion of the earth; and Captain Orton, who had been assured by the fiscal officers of an ample supply of provisions at Erode, found the quantity totally insufficient, even for a short siege, and had sent to Caroor, a distance of 40 miles, a detachment under Captain Nixon, composed of 50 Europeans, 200 sepoys, and two three-pounders, to escort a supply from thence. The approach of Hyder was known, but it was expected that before his arrival there would be time to bring up two or more convoys from Caroor, and the force was deemed sufficient to oppose any detachment which could be sent against it by Fuzzul Oolla, who was supposed to be yet some distance. It had not, however, proceeded much above [illegible] its march, before a [illegible] ment was observed to the westward, of about a thousand [illegible]; these were soon [illegible] and after examining the face of the detachment withdrew, disappearing as they retired for [illegible]. There was between Caroor and Erode a small intermediate post, where Captain Nixon intended to halt; and as he had just reached the summit of a rising ground from which he [illegible] the distance of two miles [illegible] marked [illegible] formed [illegible] he had the [illegible] pieces [illegible] flank. He [illegible] some [illegible] could [illegible] he [illegible] body [illegible] Oolla [illegible] Hy[illegible] minutes [illegible] march [illegible] moving [illegible] The English [illegible] of the [illegible] enemy [illegible] within [illegible]

50 heroes gave their fire, rushed in with the bayonet, and caused the column opposed to them to break, and fly with the utmost precipitation : unhappily this effort of useless gallantry only accelerated their destruction ; the cavalry of Hyder seized that moment to charge the left and rear of the sepoys ; and the rest was such a scene of carnage, as always follows the triumph of such troops. Not an officer or man, European or native, escaped without a wound, with the single exception of a Lieutenant Goreham, who by speaking the language, an attainment rare in those days, was enabled to explain himself to an officer of rank, who had the humanity to preserve him, by desiring that he would mount behind himself on the same horse. The wounded were immediately placed in litters, or other conveyances, and Hyder, who always availed himself of recent impressions, hurried off to display his barbarous trophies, before the walls of Erode : and for the purpose of distinctly unfolding the facts, a flag of truce was sent in for an English surgeon, to dress the wounded. In a sufficient time after his return, Lieutenant Goreham was enjoined to translate into English, a summons in Hyder's name, demanding the surrender of the place, and inviting Captain Orton to repair in person to Hyder's tent, under the assurance that if the terms of capitulation could not be adjusted, he should be at liberty to return for the defence of the place : there is too much ground for believing the report, that Captain Orton had dined when he received and accepted this strange invitation. His next in command was Captain Robinson, who had capitulated at Vaniambaddy in the preceding year, under his parole not to serve during the remainder of the war, and was now acting in violation of that parole, necessarily under the authority of his Government, who had thus appropriated all that they could of his dishonor. The knowledge of this fact was Hyder's chief motive for desiring the conference, to which Captain Orton had so absurdly consented; but effecting to have first discovered it in the course of conversation, he declared that he considered this violation of compact to absolve him from the obligation of observing his own ; but if Captain Orton would write an order for the surrender of the place, he would still engage for the safe conduct of the whole garrison, with their property to Trichinopoly. Captain Orton resisted this dereliction of duty throughout the first day ; and the modes cannot be distinctly traced, but may well be imagined, by which, in the course of the next, he was induced to write the order; which no officer ought to have regarded ; and least of all an officer in the predicament of Captain Robinson. Such, however, is the fact, that the garrison surrendered* on the same evening. All this intelligence preceded the arrival of Hyder before Caveripooram, a place possessing not half the means

* The French author of the life of *Ayder*, makes the capture of Captain R. to have occurred in a march from *Madras* to *Madura*; and the incidents relating to Erode, at *Elrassinoor*, near *Tiagar*. Captain R. is said to have been immediately hanged on a tree. It is not the justice of the sentence, but the truth of the fact that is in question ; he died in prison.

of defence, but commanded by an officer who was animated by another spirit. This place had long been besieged by the main body of Fuzzul Oolla's corps; a whole face of the miserable rampart had been laid open; successive lodgments had been cut off by corresponding retrenchments, until Captain Faisan, converting the houses into lines of defence, prolonged his resistance in a remnant of the ruins; till having intelligence more authentic than that announced by the enemy, of the actual state of affairs, he felt the duties which he owed to the surviving troops, and capitulated on the condition of being sent himself, and the whole of his garrison, as prisoners on parole, to Trichinopoly. Hyder's convenient casuistry found no difficulty in maintaining the justice of retaliation on an enemy, in all cases, in more than an equal degree; and the garrisons of Caveripooram as well as Erode, were sent, without compunction, to the dungeons of Seringapatam, in return for an individual violation of a parole of honor. It is not intended to insinuate, that a violation of honor by one party is an excuse for it in another; nor can it be safely affirmed, that Hyder would have regarded the faith of the capitulation, if unprovided with the plea afforded by Captain Robinson. In his general character he was as ostentatious of good faith, as he was prompt in seizing a pretext for its violation: but how culpable soever he may have been, or would have been, the Government of Madras had no ground of complaint; since, by their employment of Captain Robinson, they converted his individual guilt into national disgrace, and furnished a perpetual motive for distrust of their own faith and perpetual ground for retaliation.

The year 1768 closed with these events. Of the territorial possessions which had been wrested from Hyder in the course of two campaigns, he had recovered the whole in about six weeks from the commencement of Fuzzul Oolla's operations, and in little more than three from his own descent: not one of the [illegible] which had overspread so much paper in the [illegible] of the two preceding years now remaining to the English, except Colar and Vencatagherry, two unimportant posts, and Kistnagherry, where the garrison might remain safely perched on the summit of the rock without any probable influence on the future [illegible] of the war. These places were left with [illegible] to be [illegible] by the provincial troops. The corps of Fuzzul Oolla was [illegible] to operate from Dindigul upon the provinces of Madura and Tinnevelly; and Hyder recrossing the river Cavery, directed his march to the eastward, along the northern bank of that river. Major Fitzgerald, who had been under the necessity of detaching from his small force for the security of Trichinopoly, and Madura, was at Munsoorpet opposite the former place, and [illegible] Hyder's nearer approach that he pointed to [illegible], moved with all diligence to place himself farther [illegible] for the purpose of intercepting his direct progress to Madras. Hyder [illegible]

the career of destruction which he meant to pursue, all routes were for the present indifferent, crossed to the south-east, in the rear of Major Fitzgerald's tract. A wide expanse of flaming villages marking the direction of his course, he descended by the branch of the Cavery, which here assumes the name of Coleroon, and accepting four lacs of Rupees from the Raja of Tanjore, for sparing his country, returned to the situation which Major Fitzgerald had been obliged to abandon, to seek for food, at Cuddalore, on the sea-coast; according to the wretched combinations of mis-rule, by which an English corps has so often been made to starve in the midst of an abundance which was professedly its own.

At this critical period, the belligerent powers pursued a course, which furnishes a tolerably accurate criterion, of the political wisdom by which they were respectively directed, in the course of the war. The Government of Madras, who, in their imaginary career of conquest, had rejected the most reasonable terms, now made advances for accommodation; which Hyder in that course of prosperity, which had excited their alarm, received with moderation and complacency. He returned through Major Fitzgerald a suitable answer to the Governor's letter; and requested that a confidential officer might be sent to his camp, to whom he might explain the grounds of accommodation to which he was willing to consent. Captain Brooke, whose prompt and judicious conduct at Mulwagul had produced such fortunate effects, was selected by Major Fitzgerald for this purpose; and his report of the conversation furnishes at once some features of Hyder's character, and a tolerably correct abstract of the conduct of the parties.

Hyder began the conversation by observing, that for the last four years,* Mohammed Ali had been incessantly engaged in endeavours to create a rupture between him and the English; that he had failed in his attempts with Mr. Pigot, and Mr. Palk, the preceding governors; but had unfortunately succeeded with Mr. Bourchier, who was too manifestly the aggressor in the present war. That he (Hyder) had for many years kept an envoy at Madras, for the express purpose of endeavouring to establish a solid and lasting amity with the English; but his efforts were perpetually counteracted by Mohammed Ali. That since the commencement of the war, he had made two unsuccessful overtures for accommodation, the first to Colonel Smith, at Kistnagherry, and the second to the field deputies at Colar; in which, although the party aggrieved, he had consented to considerable sacrifices: that on the western coast, the commercial establishments from Bombay had long been in the habit of exchanging the manufactures of Europe for the sandal, the pepper, and other products of these provinces; that the intercourse was equally advantageous to both parties; and promoted the good-will which he desired to cherish; until the influence of Mohammed

* The commencement of the sovereignty of the treaty of Paris.

Ali extended thither also, and compelled him to return from the east for the preservation of his western possessions; that during his absence a large portion of his country was over-run and exclusively of the destruction inseparable from war, Mohammed Ali had levied pecuniary contributions to the amount of twenty-five lacs of Rupees; that notwithstanding these injuries and his recent successes, he was still willing to make peace with the English if they would look to their own interests; exclude Mohammed Ali from their councils, and send up Colonel Smith,* or a member of council to the army with full powers to treat. He then proceeded to observe, that the Mahrattas periodically invaded his country to levy plunder; and that his opposition to them rendered Mysoor a shield to Arcot; that they had frequently proposed to him a partition of the latter country, a measure which he had uniformly declined, from the conviction that it would be ultimately injurious to himself; he then dismissed the attendants, and stating that what he had now to say, was in confidence to the English alone, he announced the preparation of the Mahrattas† for a powerful invasion in that direction, a fact he added, of which the English must be perfectly aware from their vakeel at Poona; that his interests were directly opposed to any union with that people, but he was unable to oppose both them and the English at one and the same time; that he would be under the immediate necessity of making his election of a friend between the two, and that it now depended on the English whether he should make . . . whether as heretofore to shield them from danger for the preservation of his own interests, or in a more important pursuit of the same interests to combine for their destruction. To these open and statesmanlike remarks Captain Brooke replied in a suitable manner that being furnished with no powers he could only observe from himself that from Hyder's own statement of the case it was his obvious interest [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

‡ [illegible]

therefore that he wished Colonel Smith in particular to come up to the army, invested with full powers. Captain Brooke intimated the probable expectation of his sending a vakeel to Madras; to which Hyder replied, that he never would so negotiate a peace; because independently of the umbrage it might give to the Mahrattas, in consequence of the expectation of confederacy which he had found himself obliged to encourage, he knew that at Madras every effort would be frustrated by Mohammed Ali; who would always desire to keep the English at war, in order that he might himself plead poverty, (as he was now doing after having rifled the richest provinces of Mysoor,) and thus keep them in a state of perpetual dependence, poverty, and impotence. Captain Brooke, on taking leave observed, that it would be an acceptable evidence of his friendly disposition, to put an end to the plunder and violation of the defenceless inhabitants; to which Hyder significantly replied, that his treasury was not enriched by such excesses; but that the exigency of his affairs had obliged him to accept the services of some volunteers,* whose conduct it was difficult to restrain. The report of this conversation was forwarded to Madras, and Captain Brooke was again ordered to repair to Hyder's camp, to communicate an outline of the terms to which the Government was willing to agree; these terms, which Hyder deemed to be totally inconsistent with the actual condition of the parties, were positively rejected; but Hyder said, that he would be still ready to receive Colonel Smith, or a gentleman of rank, charged with reasonable proposals, and full powers. The Government accordingly determined to send Mr. Andrews, and once more requested Colonel Smith to assume the command of the fragments of their armies, which were directed to reunite at Chittapet a fort about 70 miles to the S. W. of Madras, and conveniently placed for the junction of Colonel Lang's small division, then at Vellore, which was eventually destined to proceed towards Madras. Colonel Smith assumed the command on the 1st of February; and after some manœuvring productive of no results, Mr. Andrews passed to Hyder's camp on the 14th. The Government had proposed, that during the conferences, his army should retire to Ahtoor, within the first range of hills, while Colonel Smith's should remain at Tiagar, not far to the eastward of that place. Hyder proposed to Colonel Smith to substitute Poloor, and Conjeveram, respectively 80 and 40 miles from Madras, which he rejected; and another series ensued of fatiguing movements, followed by no consequence. On the 22nd, Mr Andrews agreed to a cessation of arms for twelve days, and proceeded to Madras to report Hyder's ultimatum and receive orders; this interval was employed by Hyder in receiving a pompous deputation from the Council of Pondicherry, in which place the plunder of the country found a ready and convenient sale; but the Government at

* Meaning the Pindaries, who serve without pay, on the condition of being permitted to plunder at large.

Madras having refused to accede to the propositions conveyed by Mr. Andrews, notice was given of the cessation of the truce. Hyder without intimating the least desire of prolonging it, took the opportunity of sending a vakeel to Colonel Smith stating his wish to receive an answer to his letter then transmitted to the Governor, before he should make a final determination. He assured Colonel Smith through the vakeel, that he was sincerely desirous of peace with the English; that he had rejected, and should continue to reject, the large pecuniary offers which he had received, for consenting to the mediation of Mohammed Ali; of whose political existence he recognized no trace, but in secret mischief: that his treaty must be directly and exclusively with those with whom he had been at war, and not with a person who would frustrate their mutual desire of amity; and finally he requested, through Colonel Smith, an early reply from the Governor, which should determine his future measures.

Hostilities were resumed on the 6th of March. The country was once more in flames; and as it was known to be Hyder's favorite object, to burn the black town and suburbs of Madras, the garrison was reinforced, and the division of Colonel Lang, now reduced to 300 Europeans, two battalions of sepoys, and the troops of Morari Row, was destined as a moveable corps to cover the Presidency, regulating its operations by the orders of the Governor and Council, while Colonel Smith was master only of the movements of his own corps. On the subject of arrangements so strangely unmilitary, and so destitute of political wisdom, we find it authenticated by the public records, that this corps was placed under the orders of Colonel Smith, on the 16th of March, because Colonel Lang had reported on the preceding day, that he could not move from the spot where the Council had placed him, namely Conjeveram *distant 40 miles from Madras*, in consequence of the sudden interposition of Hyder. Colonel Smith had so skilfully availed himself of the resources of Madras, that his infantry and guns now moved as rapidly as those of Hyder, and being directed by superior skill he had more than once in the course of manœuvres between Gingee and Madras involved the enemy in perplexities from which the efforts of Hyder's cavalry had relieved him with considerable difficulty. The movement which had alarmed Colonel Lang and the Council had apparently been forced upon Hyder, and Colonel Smith knowing Lang's critical situation was close to Conjeveram, before Hyder could by any possibility have seriously menaced him. Confident from experience, that Hyder would have no leisure for serious mischief at Madras before he should overtake him, Colonel Smith pursued the enemy's route which had doubled to the southward, directing Colonel Lang to follow him at the interval of a day's march. The risk which Hyder had occasionally incurred, determined him to avoid future dangers of a similar kind, and to make the experiment of working on the fears of his enemies. The movements to which we have adverted, had again brought the armies nearly 140 miles to the southward of

Madras; and from thence Hyder sent off the whole body of his infantry, guns and baggage of every description, together with the great mass of his cavalry with orders to retire through the pass of Ahtoor. The whole force which he reserved with himself consisted of 6,000 chosen horse; and of infantry precisely *two companies of one hundred men each*, selected from the distinguished corps of Jehan* Khan, and Mân Khan, who themselves commanded these detachments as Hyder's personal night guards. Not one gun, or impediment of any description, accompanied this chosen corps; with which he moved 130 miles in three days and a half; and on the 29th of March appeared with his cavalry within five miles of Madras; his companies of infantry not arriving till the succeeding day. He had, since the renewal of hostilities, again written to the Governor, to express his desire for peace; he now sent another letter to announce, that he had come for that express purpose; desired that a person might be sent to negotiate the terms; and in order that nothing might be wanting to the character of perfect dictation, he himself nominated the English envoy; viz., Mr. Du Prè; who proceeded, according to appointment, to attend him at St. Thomas' Mount.

Although nothing can relieve from the character of dictation Hyder's nomination of the English envoy, his real desire for peace may justly be considered as the chief inducement for making choice of a man to treat with, on whose good sense he could confidently rely, when the object of both parties was peace upon fair and equal terms. The natives of India are expert in appreciating character, and Hyder possessed this talent in an eminent degree. It is also to be observed that Mr. Du Prè was nominated to succeed to the Government of Madras, and Hyder had an interest in becoming acquainted with the talents and influence of those men whose counsels might affect his destinies.

Two days before the separation of Hyder from his army, Colonel Smith had reinforced the division of Colonel Lang, and sent him in the direction of Tiagar and Trinomalee, with orders to take post at either, if a greatly superior force should appear, and to act on the communications of the enemy, with the passes of Ahtoor and Changama. When apprised of the decision of Hyder, which was correctly reported to him on the very day of its execution, he sent orders to Colonel Lang, to risk an attack on these unwieldy bodies while entangled in the passes; in his narrative he complains that Lang made no attempt to annoy them; but in justice to that officer, we must recollect the fearful insufficiency of his force, for a contest with the main body of Hyder's army, which he must necessarily have risked, by moving under these circumstances to a distance from Tiagar. Colonel Smith himself, followed Hyder with his usual celerity, and early on the 31st, was met within ten miles of his camp by a

* This officer has personally related to me all the details of this severe march.

mandate from the Government, written at Hyder's solicitation, and dispatched on one of his own dromedary couriers, to desire that he would halt wherever that letter should meet him. The objects of Colonel Smith, in this campaign, induced him, on most occasions, to choose the road on which he was not looked for; and the courier, who expected to find him at the distance of 30 miles, had missed him by pursuing the ordinary tract. Hyder, on discovering that Colonel Smith's force had approached so near, frankly declared that no consideration should induce him to remain within twenty-five miles of that army: a fresh order was accordingly dispatched at his request, to desire that it might move beyond that distance, and Colonel Smith who received this order on the 1st of April, answered that he would obey it on the ensuing day. Hyder however observing that he did not move on the 1st, jealous of so close a vicinity, and meditating a fresh experiment on the issue of the negotiation, was in motion to the northward early on the 2d, and the Government, very needlessly alarmed for the black town, dispatched instant directions to Colonel Smith to march to the northward, or direct to Madras, as he might judge most expedient. That officer, who had uniformly recommended peace, but had never suppressed his indignation at the circumstances of unnecessary and insulting degradation under which his Government were now treating, obeyed the order with alacrity; but had not moved more than half-way to his object before he was met by another order directing him to halt. Hyder had waited to observe the effect of his movement, before he announced it, and on ascertaining the alarm it created, and the consequent movement of Colonel Smith, sent to explain that he had only moved ground for the convenience of forage, to a place about six miles to the northward of the black town. The treaty was in fact concluded on the same evening, and executed by both parties on the following day.

Considerable difficulties occurred in determining who were to be the parties to this treaty. Hyder in the first instance having declined the instrumentality of Mohammed Ali, and he in return having affected to object to be a party to any treaty in which Hyder should be styled a nabob, it was at length agreed by Mohammed Ali, that the Company should negotiate in their own name *[illegible] possessions, [illegible] for the Carnatic Payen ghaut*, and that he should by letter to the Governor officially signify his consent to this procedure, a promise which, after the execution of the treaty, he refused to perform.

The motives assigned by Hyder in his first conversation with Captain Brooke were the true grounds of the genuine moderation observable in this treaty, which provides for a mutual restitution of places and prisoners, with the single exception of Caroor, an ancient dependency of Mysoor which had been retained by Mohammed Ali since the last war by treaty [illegible] as it was now to [illegible] Mysoor. Hyder [illegible]

his ships of war, but receded on the representation that they had probably long since been sold for the benefit of the captors; and finally consented to regulate his concessions and demands on the other coast, by a treaty of similar import, to be concluded with the Government of Bombay; and which was executed some time afterwards. The only article of the treaty with Madras, which demands observation, is the second; which stipulates, " that in case either of the contracting parties shall be attacked, they shall, from their respective countries, mutually assist each other, to drive the enemy out;" the pay of the auxiliaries to be defrayed at fixed rates, by the party demanding assistance. Hyder's first demand, was for an alliance offensive and defensive, which, after much discussion, Mr. Du Prè distinctly refused; and declared, that if persisted in, the negotiation must there cease. Now as it was notorious to all India, and openly avowed by Hyder himself, that his country was periodically invaded by the Mahrattas, it is obvious, and the sequel will abundantly unfold it, that by the article ultimately adjusted, the Company subjected themselves to all the embarrassments of an offensive alliance without any of its advantages: and that Mr. Du Prè had acquiesced in the spirit of an article, to the letter of which he had objected, as fundamentally inadmissible. Historical justice demands this reluctant notice of an error committed by Mr. Du Prè, to whose profound wisdom and distinguished talents, the subsequent narrative will bear a willing testimony.

During the negotiation, Hyder had strenuously demanded the release of the wife and family of Chunda Saheb, and of a long list of Nevayets,* the descendants and adherents of the former dynasty of nabobs, who were imprisoned or detained in various fortresses by Mohammed Ali. Mr. Du Prè sought to evade this demand, by observing that they were in the custody of a person who was not a party to the treaty; and Hyder so far acquiesced as to expunge the article which related to their liberation; but explicitly declared that he should understand it to be essential to his release of the English prisoners. Mr. Du Prè on the other hand professed that he could only engage for the request being made; and the subject was not resumed until after the execution of the treaty, when Hyder declared that unless every Nevayet detailed in his list should be permitted to accompany him to Mysoor, not one Englishman should return from thence; and after much opposition from Mohammed Ali they were actually released. It will be recollected that Hyder's mother was a Nevayet, and the parade of belonging to that respectable family was strengthened by the solicitations of Reza Saheb, the son of Chunda Saheb who was still in Hyder's service: but with the exception of the close prisoners, few of them had reason to rejoice at their change of situation; their polished manners but ill accorded with the gross habits of Hyder's court; his notions also of liberal provision fell far short of their

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* For an account of this race, see vol i. p. 150.

decent expectations; and in the language of one of the sect,* "they almost all died of hardship, broken hearts, and repentance."

Mr. Du Pré, who negotiated this treaty, (in which we have ventured to suggest a serious misconception,) had lately arrived from England as a member of council, and provisional successor to the Government; and although he found the state of public affairs too unfavorable to admit of being speedily restored by any talents; we find, from the period of his arrival, a tone of enlightened reasoning to pervade the records of Government, which is not so observable in the consultations of the preceding years. A passage in their general letter, dated on the 8th of March, contains the following striking commentary on the imbecility and improvidence of all their previous arrangements regarding Mohammed Ali: "the forces in the field are under the direction of your servants, but the means by which they must be supported are principally in the Nabob, (Mohammed Ali,) whose idle vanity, desire of power, and jealousy of control, render all dependence on him precarious: the Company, they observe in a subsequent letter, dated the 17th June, is subject *to all the inconveniences, without any of the advantages of figuring in the character of a great European power*." And resuming the subject two years afterwards they judiciously remark, that "in the late war your *servants were, step by step, and by remote causes, drawn into measures by far too extensive for their means, depending on the support of an ally* WHO OUGHT NEVER TO BE DEPENDED ON." The liberal assistance derived from Bengal alone enabled the Company to continue this ill-fated war. Mohammed Ali, as the general letters record, wished them to carry it on with their own resources, and they, on the other hand, deemed it "unreasonable to exhaust their treasures for the support of countries, and the acquisition of others from whence they were to derive no advantage." But it is the most remarkable feature in the conduct of this remarkable ally, that although during the war he could furnish neither pecuniary resources nor military supplies, yet on the point of concluding it, when Hyder [illegible] rejected his participation, he then pledged himself to furnish all the expenses of the war, and to subsidize the Mahratta army, provided the Government would consent to break with Hyder [illegible] for the purpose. Mr Du Pré had at this time [illegible] in the councils of Madras, and on a [illegible] it is necessary to remark that when Mohammed Ali [illegible] to the Company came to be discussed he had [illegible].

On reviewing the [illegible] war [illegible] may be risked that Hyder [illegible] mistake and that of his military [illegible] to be ascribed to his past diffidence in the [illegible] than to any misconception of [illegible] with better instruments. And of the [illegible] Smith [illegible] may as safely be

* [illegible]

affirmed, that he cannot be charged with one fault exclusively military; and, although his general views regarding the conduct of the war appear at an early period to have been extremely defective, it may yet be presumed from the confident judgment, which he was provoked to record at the most unprosperous part of the contest, that his diffidence of more decisive measures at an earlier time was exclusively founded on his conviction of the radical and incurable vices of the system of command, as well as of supply, which rendered movements of calculation and concert altogether impracticable. The strange combination of vicious arrangements, corrupt influence, and political incapacity, which directed the general measures of the Government of Madras have been too constantly traced to demand recapitulation.

Hyder returned at his leisure to Colar, for the purpose of concluding the arrangements consequent on the peace; and from thence proceeded to Bangalore, where he gave his army some repose. His intelligence from Poona satisfied him that the visit of Madoo Row was not relinquished but deferred, and he determined to employ the intermediate time in levying such contributions, as should prepare his military chest for the heavy demands which it must sustain in the succeeding year.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Hyder, after a short repose at Bangalore, makes a tour, for the purpose of levying contributions to the N. E., N. and N. W.—beaten off from Bellary—Conjectures regarding the secret treaty between Hyder and Nizam Ali—Invasion of Madoo Row—Hyder retires to Seringapatam—attempts negotiation without success—Observations on Mahratta claims—Reza Ali—the destined Nabob of Arcot—and one of Hyder's envoys—abandons his service, and remains with Madoo Row—Designs of that Chief—reduces the range of N. E. forts—Resistance at the obscure fort of Nidjegul—which is at length carried—Anecdote of the commandant—Madoo Row taken ill, returns to Poona—leaving the army under Trimbuc Mama—who takes Goorumconda—and returns to the western part of Mysoor—Destruction of a detachment from Bangalore—Hyder takes the field—position near Surendy Droog—Trimbuc Mama declines to attempt it—moves across his front to the west—Hyder moves to the strong position of Milgota...in which he is invested—attempts a retreat to Seringapatam—drunkenness—savage conduct of his son—his army entirely destroyed at Chercoolee—Escape of Hyder—of Tippoo in disguise—Curious appendix, illustrative of the characters of Hyder and Tippoo—Curious surgical incident—Conduct of Fuzzul Oolla Khan—Errors of the Mahrattas—Hyder recovers the panic—ventures on two detachments from Seringapatam—Tippoo to Bednore succeeds—Mohammed Ali to Periapatam compelled to return after a severe conflict, and murdering his own prisoners—Minor operations omitted—Peace of 1772—gives to the English the contract of a Mahratta frontier, in return for their infraction of their last treaty with Hyder—Murder of the pageant Raja—Successor—Horrible exactions—Base ingratitude to Fuzzul Oolla Khan—Rapacity proportioned to insecurity.

THE secret articles of the treaty between Hyder and Nizam Ali for the joint invasion of Coromandel, provided for the transfer to the former of Kurpa, Kurnool, and other places between the Toombuddra and the northern limits of Mysoor, as nominal dependencies, on terms which I have not been able correctly to ascertain; but probably conditional; depending on successes which had not been achieved. Hyder however deemed it expedient to substantiate the existence of the right, by its early exercise; and moved to the north-east levying contributions on Kurpa, and Kurnool, the territories of the Patan Nabobs; and Gudwall, the possession of an Hindoo Poligar, thence he inclined westward, for a similar purpose to the Hindoo Poligars of Coticunda, and Cuppethal, and deviated to Gooty, on which he was not yet prepared to execute his intentions; and therefore received with apparent complacency the amicable advances of Morari Row. The deep and determined animosity of these rival adventurers was veiled by an intercourse of pretended reconciliation, and confirmed by a personal interview, and an interchange of costly presents. From Gooty, Hyder proceeded to Bellary, a dependency of Adwanee, the jageer of Basalut Jung, where his demand of contribution being refused he prepared to enforce it, and was beaten off with

great loss, in an attempt to carry the place by a general assault. This unexpected failure, and the pressure of time, disposed him to compromise the reputation of his arms, by accepting the professions of dependency, and *the promise only* of future contribution. This event, however, would seem to throw a faint light on the obscure character of the compact between Hyder and Nizam Ali: the latter chief continued to view with jealousy and apprehension, the means of eventual rivalship which were still possessed by his brother; and secretly to wrest them from him by the hands of another, was perfectly congenial with the charater of Nizam Ali

From Bellary, Hyder moved in nearly a south-western line, securing the contributions from the Poligars dependent on Sera, and assuming a direction apparently intended to oppose the invasion of Madoo Row, beyond his own frontiers, in the province of Savanore: but the forces of that chief were too superior in number and in quality to admit of open competition in that plain country, and Hyder had once before suffered by the experiment of resisting him in the woods of Bednore. The military talents of Madoo Row were certainly of a high order; and Hyder did homage to those talents, in retiring as he advanced along the skirts of the woods, to the protection of his capital in January 1770. He persevered in the former plan of destroying his own country, without essentially impeding the progress of the enemy; but on this occasion, his own presence enabled him more effectually to enforce the destruction of its resources; and as this would necessarily compel the Mahrattas to preserve a constant communication with their own territory, he left Meer Saheb and Tippoo in the skirts of Bednore, to hang on their rear, intercept their supplies, and cut off their detachments. The charge of the heir apparent, and of the most important division of his army, was thus committed to the person, who not three years before, had betrayed an important trust, and had recently submitted to a forced reconciliation; but Hyder was a master of human character; he saw that Meer Saheb disgusted with the Mahratta connexion, had returned with delight to his natural attachments, and took a more than ordinary interest in the future hopes of his nephew; the whole of his subsequent life evinced the sound penetration of Hyder, which, by reposing confidence, irrevocably fixed the allegiance of this his most valuable adherent.

At a very early period of this contest, and throughout its long continuance, Hyder was incessant in his demands of assistance from the English, for the expulsion of the Mahrattas, in conformity to the second article of the treaty of the preceding year; but the intricate discussions which occasioned its refusal, will most conveniently be postponed, in order that we may continue without interruption the narrative of Mahratta transactions.

Hyder understood too well the character and forces of the chief by whom he was opposed, to hope for a successful termin-

ation of the war by his own unaided efforts, and at an early period deputed Reza Ali Khan (the son of Chunda Saheb) and Apajee Ram, to treat for an adjustment of his demands. Madoo Row demanded a crore of Rupees, on the ground, that Hyder had levied on *his* Poligars a large sum of money, and owed on his own account two years' tribute, which was always estimated by Madoo Row at twelve lacs, for the dominions possessed by Hyder, above and below the ghauts. The former of these demands will be partly explained, by observing that the dependency of the Poligars to the N. W. of Sera, was a contested claim between Hyder and Madoo Row, and most of them were now serving with the army of the latter; and both demands will be illustrated by recollecting that the Mahrattas, by the conquest of Vijeyapore, claimed to succeed to all the rights of that Government; and among them, to the sovereignty of Mysoor, under the general designation of Carnatic Vijeyapore; it should also be invariably remembered, that wherever Mahratta claims are concerned, there is always the reserved demand of *chout*, (in itself an assertion of sovereignty, as we shall hereafter explain) and a multitude* of appended claims, which are either added to other more regular tribute, or substituted for it according to circumstances. Hyder, in answer to these exorbitant demands, observed, that he was a soldier of fortune, and possessed no treasure but his sword, that his territories had been too recently ravaged, and his treasury exhausted, by Madoo Row himself, to admit the possibility of complying with such unreasonable expectations; but that if twelve lacs would satisfy him for the present, he would endeavour to collect it. Hyder had in 1767 consented to the payment of a large sum for the purpose of averting a confederated attack [illegible], which would probably have succeeded, but he had too much sagacity and spirit to comply with demands which would [illegible] increase in the exact ratio of his means, while the least hope remained of averting the evil by a manly resistance. The negotiation accordingly failed, and Apajee Ram returned, Reza Ali remaining in the Mahratta camp under pretext of renewing the conferences, but in fact [illegible] for ever the [illegible] Hyder [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

those who were most intimately acquainted with Hyder's character and habits, that he never would have conferred during his life-time, on either of those persons, that or any other authority which he could himself retain. The proposed marriage of Reza Ali with his daughter, was the bond of union by which Hyder persuaded that person, that the dignity was intended for him; and since the peace which terminated the project of sovereignty, that of the matrimonial union had been revived; but now that the connexion was shorn of of its political lustre, Reza Ali, who had been reconciled to it by that single consideration, was alive to nothing but disgust at the degradation of the alliance; and having resolved to avert it by flight, availed himself of his present situation, to remain under the protection of Madoo Row; whose proceedings seemed to abandon the ordinary routine of Mahratta plunder, and to point to the fixed conquest of the whole country. Among other arrangements he was accompanied by garrisons regularly organized, and independent of his field force, for the occupation of the principal posts; the woody tract on his right, was passed for the present; but he proceeded to occupy all the posts in the districts of Cuddoor, Banavar, Hassan, and Beloor, and from thence eastward; passing for the present, Savendydroog and Bangalore, he reduced Nundidroog, the two Balipoors, Colar, Mulwagul, which he carried by assault and gave no quarter, and nearly the whole range of open country to the eastern boundary. His progress was, however, arrested for a considerable time, by the obscure fort of Nidjegul. The renter of the eastern district, named Narsena, had found it convenient to fix his residence at this place; and as it was thus the occasional deposit of treasure, he had been authorized to improve the works, and had rendered it a tolerably respectable fort. After the commencement of the siege, Sirdar Khan, an officer of reputation, had been detached from Bangalore, to throw himself into the place, by a forced night march, and assume the command. His force, including the former garrison, amounted to three thousand men; and he continued for three months to foil the efforts of the Mahratta chief, whose talent did not consist in the science of attacking fortified places. It happened that Narrain Row, his brother, was wounded in directing the operations of the siege after an unsuccessful assault; and Madoo Row, already sufficiently indignant at being detained by this wretched place, ordered it to be instantly stormed, and no man to return at the peril of his life: the assault was nevertheless, again repulsed, and Madoo Row, in a fit of increased rage, ordered fresh troops for the storm, and was placing himself at their head, when the Poligar of Chittledroog* interposed to solicit the post of danger, and requested that Madoo Row, would, with his own hand, inflict the penalty of his returning from the

* Named Bedjcutty Berma. This was one of the Poligars, whose dependance was contested. Hyder never forgave this memorable instance of attachment to his enemy; and it was the ground of the subsequent destruction of that Poligar.

breach; this chivalrous offer was accepted, and the Poligar placing himself at the head of his brave beders, carried the place on the first of May, in a style of gallantry, which deservedly fixed the admiration of the whole army. In retaliation for a barbarous custom of Mysoor, to which we have formerly adverted, and which Hyder had lately ordered to be practised on some Mahratta plunderers, Madoo Row directed the noses and ears of all the survivors of the garrison of Nidjegul to be cut off on the spot: Sirdar Khan was last led out, and approached with a firm step, and undaunted aspect. Is it not consistent with just retaliation said Madoo Row that you also be thus mutilated and disgraced? The mutilation will be mine, the disgrace your's, replied the Mussulman, and Madoo Row immediately ordered his unconditional release.

This chief continued his operations, with the success which had hitherto always attended his invasions of Mysoor; but, being taken ill, he was no longer able to direct in person the progress of the campaign; he accordingly retired from the army to Poona, accompanied by his brother, who also required repose in consequence of his wound; and left Trimbuc Row, usually called Trimbuc Mama,* with the whole army to prosecute the war. His first enterprise was the attack of Goorumconda, commanded by *Seyd Saheb*,† the nephew of *Meer Saheb*, which sustained a siege of two months, and then capitulated, through the intervention and guarantee of Morari Row, (whose recent reconciliation with Hyder, had been followed by an immediate junction with his enemy Madoo Row) for the personal safety of the commandant; *Seyd Saheb* in consequence of this guarantee retired for the present to accept the hospitalities of Basalut Jung at Adwanee; and did not return to Seringapatam, till the conclusion of the war. From hence Trimbuc Row returned to the west, and was occupied for several months in possessing himself of Toomcoor, Devarahdroog, and the posts and territories, to the northward of those which had been occupied in the first instance by Madoo Row. Exclusively of the main army at Seringapatam, Hyder had a considerable force at Bangalore, and detachments were made from each of these places, as opportunity occurred, to beat up the Mahratta quarters or attempt the recovery of some of the neighbouring places. In the end of January 1771, a strong detachment had been sent by night from Bangalore in the expectation of being able to carry great Balapoor twenty four miles distant by surprise; the enterprise however entirely failed

* *Mama*, in the Mahratta language [illegible] to Madoo Row, and [illegible] of nick name [illegible] *Trimbuc* [illegible] among the Mahrattas, and are not [illegible].

† His name was *Meer M*[illegible] appellation for the convenience of the English reader. He was called *Seyd Saheb* to distinguish him from his uncle *Meer Saheb*, whose name was *Meer Aly Reza Khan*. *Seyd* and *Meer* [illegible] the descendants of the prophet.

in its object, but the detachment exhausted with fatigue, suffered itself to be surprised in its return, and was entirely cut to pieces by Trimbuc Row, who from thence moved to the plain immediately N. W. of Ootradroog.

Hyder, whether feeling himself relieved from the superior genius of Madoo Row, or more confident in his strength from having completed the equipments of his army, resolved to make trial of his good fortune and military skill against Trimbuc Mama, with a force of 12,000 good horse, 15,000 regular infantry, 10,000 peons, or irregular infantry, armed with match-locks or pikes, and 40 field guns. Of the precise strength of Trimbuc Row's army I possess no information, which I can offer to the reader as authentic; and therefore deem it more safe to rely on the general impression of both armies, that his disposable force was nearly double that of Hyder.

In conformity to the plan which he had formed, Hyder moved in the direct line by Cenapatam, and the strong country between it and Savendydroog, to assume a position to the north-west-ward of that impregnable rock, for the purpose of securing his retreat to its protection, in the event of disaster; and in this situation offered battle to the Mahratta army. Trimbuc Row perceived at the first glance, that no impression could be made on the enemy, while he occupied his present ground; and resolved to draw him from it, by moving across his front, and appearing to disperse his army, for forage and subsistence, over the whole face of the country to the north-west, which was visible from the top of the rock. Hyder was not deceived by this demonstration, but deeming the reputation of being able to keep the field to be essential to the success of the negotiations in which he was engaged; he determined to move from one strong position to another, in the hope of at length provoking the Mahrattas to attack him at a disadvantage. The moment that intelligence was conveyed to Trimbuc Mama of Hyder's being in motion to the westward, across the plain country towards Milgota, he collected all his detachments; but was too late for any operation, excepting an unimportant attack on the rear guard, as it was entering the winding eastern pass of Milgota.

The hills which take their name from this celebrated Hindoo temple, run in a direction nearly N. W. and S. E. extending four or five miles in each direction, from the pass by which Hyder ascended: another pass at right angles with this, west of the principal ridge, and parallel to its general direction, leads to Seringapatam: a rugged table-land, overgrown with jungle, extends for about two miles from the summit of these passes, to the westward, overlooking the low country, and descending with an easier slope to the plain. The whole of this elevated position may be considered as nearly inaccessible from the east, and south, excepting through the two narrow and difficult passes which we have noticed;

and the approach from the west, although far from being easy, is the most practicable to an enemy. Hyder's disposition of his force formed nearly a crescent, facing the west, his flanks resting on the portion of the hill which was most inaccessible, and the two passes being in the rear of his left and centre: a strong but most hazardous position, which in the event of discomfiture, left scarcely the possibility of secure retreat; inasmuch as one only of the passes could be safely used for this purpose: for if both should be employed, the respective columns would be entirely separated, by an impenetrable range of hills, with the risk of being cut off, before they could re-unite.

A detached hill, which formed the winding of the eastern pass, where the rear-guard had been attacked, overlooked a part of the bason enclosed by Hyder's position; and this hill, rugged on its western face, had a more practicable slope to the eastern plain. Instead of making their attack from the west according to Hyder's expectation, the enemy attempted to dislodge him from this position by a teazing daily cannonade from the hill which has been described, conducted in the usual Mahratta style, of withdrawing the guns to camp every evening, and bringing them forward again every morning, about eight o'clock; but during the intermediate time rocket men, penetrating in various directions through the woods, near to the skirts of the position, continued, throughout the whole night, to keep the camp in perpetual agitation. The whole number of guns employed was but ten, of large calibre, which necessarily firing at a considerable elevation, plunged shot into all parts of the camp from a distance which Hyder's light artillery could not reach. The annoyance was without an interval, and however slovenly, was extremely harassing, and not ill adapted to the single object of driving him from the position, without risking an action, or exposing a point to attack. For eight days Hyder permitted himself to be thus incessantly insulted, without an effort of any kind to retaliate on the enemy, or [illegible] from their discouragement which the pressure of want [illegible] considerably to augment. He at length determined to retreat to Seringapatam, distant about twenty-two miles [illegible] the [illegible] pass and the route of the [illegible]* on the 5th of March 1771. The troops, with the [illegible] rear-guard moved silently off at [illegible] o'clock at night with Hyder himself at their head. Tippoo was charged with the care of [illegible] the baggage in motion and [illegible] was directed to [illegible] at midnight after beating the [illegible]† [illegible] as an indication to the enemy [illegible] there. It [illegible]

* T[illegible]

† A [illegible] stratagems [illegible] which [illegible]

that Hyder's plan would have been realized, of finishing the greater part of the march before day-light; but when the head of the column of infantry had marched about four miles, had cleared the narrow part of the pass, and was entering on the plain, Narrain Row, the officer commanding the whole regular infantry, fancying that he saw or heard the enemy in his front, most inexcusably, and not without the just suspicion of treachery, opened a gun, the report of which communicated to the whole Mahratta army, intelligence of the march, and to that of Hyder, already discouraged by a movement which indicated the fears of its leader, the certainty of being overtaken in its retreat. The infantry cleared the pass, and reached the open country, about six miles from the ground of encampment; but the baggage, embarrassed by the woods, and wandering in the dark, made no progress. Hyder had drank* in the evening to an imprudent excess; and not having relieved the effects by his usual period of sleep, was in a state of stupid inebriety. Repeated messages had been sent, to order Tippoo to the front, but in the confusion of the night, he was not to be found, and none had reached him till the dawn of day; when on his approach, Hyder not only accosted him in a strain of the lowest scurrility, but in a paroxysm of brutal drunken rage, seized a large cane from the hand of one of his attendants, and gave the heir apparent, a most unroyal and literally most unmerciful beating.† Tippoo, as soon as he durst, withdrew from his father's rage, and at the head of his division, dashing on the ground his turband‡ and his sword, "my father," said he, "may fight his own battle, for I swear by Alla and his prophet, that I draw no sword to-day:" he kept his oath, and the division was commanded by Yaseen Khan.

The whole infantry in four divisions, had already formed with sufficient laxity, the sides of an enormous square, into which not only the baggage, but the cavalry of the army was received; a misapplication of a good principle of formation, which rendered it the

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* Hyder was addicted to drinking, but these excesses were so prudently managed, as to be known to few; the time was soon before his usual hour of retiring to rest, and he slept off the effects. Whether the use of strong liquors at the time of retiring to rest, was intended exclusively as a sensual indulgence, or partly as a soporific, is a question on which his old associates are not agreed. Abbas Ali relates, (on the authority of Gholaum Ali, one of the most familiar of his companions), that he was frequently in Hyder's tent, when after fatigue he would lie down in the day and take a short repose; on one occasion he observed him to start, and be much disturbed in his sleep; and on his waking, he took the liberty to mention what he had observed, and to ask of what he had been dreaming. "My friend," replied Hyder, "the state of a yogee, (religious mendicant,) is more delightful than my envied monarchy; awake they see no conspirators; asleep they dream of no assassins."

† I have conversed with persons who saw his back in a shocking state upwards of a week afterwards.

‡ Our fair country-women, who adopt the turband, are not, perhaps, aware that it is exclusively a masculine habiliment. Mohammedan ladies only wear the—pantaloons.

very worst that could well have been devised: and Hyder, instead of assuming the post where his presence was most necessary, went off to the front, giving no other direction than *chellaou, chellaou*, get on—get on—the very watchword of panic, when retreating in the presence of an enemy. This enormous and unwieldy mass continued, however, to move on. The Mahratta cavalry, covered the face of the country in every direction: they had captured, and dragged on one of Hyder's guns, which had been abandoned near the pass, which, together with four or five of their own, opened at a great distance, and plunged shot into the interior of the square; their rocket men had also arrived, and contributed by flights of these missiles, to the general embarrassment. During all this time, no sort of effort was made; no orders were given; and the commandant of every corps was left to his own measures, to keep at a distance the heavy bodies of horse, which hung upon every portion of the square, ready to charge, whenever a favorable opportunity should occur.

The front at length arrived near the hills of Chercoolee, about eleven miles from Seringapatam: the direction of these hills was oblique to the route of retreat, the high road doubling round the western end of the range, and leaving it on the left: the left face of the square, which ought to have formed a considerable angle with that range, had become nearly parallel to it, and Hyder for some unexplained reason, was now with this division: it is obvious, that the square was now in a position to secure by the most simple change of disposition the free movement of the baggage round the point of the hill of Chercoolee; but now as in the former part of the march, the army was without any orders. In this situation, a shot struck a tumbril within the square, which exploded, and communicating with some camel-loads of rockets, increased the general confusion. The followers, and those nearest to the left, perceiving themselves to be close to a hill, which here, as in most parts of India, is skirted by a mass of loose angular stones or rocks inaccessible to cavalry, pressed through the troops of the left face; who suffered themselves (nothing loth) to be carried away with the crowd, and to ascend the hill: the flight of the left division being seen by the rest of the army completed the general panic. Under its unreflecting impulse every one, as if by common consent, began to press through the crowd to gain the hill: orders were no longer heard: the confusion was irretrievable: and the Mahratta horse charged in on the three remaining faces of the square. The rest was a scene of unresisted slaughter: and happily for Hyder, of promiscuous plunder, with which every one was too much occupied to think of struggling fugitives. Personally he ascended the hill on foot, and by the greatest good fortune found at the opposite side one of his own led horses, with a faithful and intelligent groom, escaping in the confusion round the point of the hill, had brought thither from foreseeing the point at which his master would attempt his

escape. He mounted alone, and set off at full speed for Seringapatam, which he reached without interruption, being joined in his route by a few well-mounted fugitives.

When Tippoo, in the early part of the day, threw down his turband and sword, he also disrobed himself of his outer garments of cloth of gold, tied round his head a colored handkerchief, and, as is customary in the ostentation of disgrace, assumed the guise of one who had renounced the world: he was therefore prepared for the character, which at this critical moment he was advised to assume, of a travelling mendicant, the son of a holy fakeer, attended by his faithful friend, Seyed Mohammed;* who, after slaughter had ceased, and plunder began, begged his way, as the servant of the young mendicant, through the mass of the spoilers and the spoiled, and conveyed him in safety to Seringapatam on the same night. Hyder, having in the meanwhile given him up as lost, long continued passionately to exclaim, in terms which indicated more resignation than his manner evinced, "God gave him, and God hath taken him away," himself remaining at a small mosque to the north of the river, and refusing to enter his capital.†

I have gone over the ground which was the scene of all these operations, accompanied by men of observation and intelligence, who witnessed them, in situations of high rank in Hyder's army, in order that I might obtain some distinct notion of a battle, on which the Mahrattas ground so much of their military fame, and which is the subject of general conversation among Indians of every sect. If the impressions which I have received be correct, and if I have been able to render them intelligible to the reader; he will be prepared to concur in the conclusion which I have formed, that this was no battle;‡ and that although the day was lost by Hyder, it was not won by the Mahrattas.

In resisting the ultimate charge of the Mahrattas, there were of course some examples of individual merit, forming honorable exceptions to the general panic. We have incidentally noticed the

* Afterwards killadar of Seringapatam, from whom I take this part of the relation. Many narratives state, that he, and some that Hyder, fell for a moment into the hands of Morari Row, who released his prisoner, on the promise of two lacs of Pagodas. This tale is pretty generally believed among the Mahrattas, but respecting Tippoo it is certainly unfounded; and on a comparison of living authorities I entirely disbelieve it with regard to Hyder also.

† Some curious facts, highly illustrative of the characters, both of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun, at this period, which could not with propriety be interwoven with the historical narrative, are thrown into an appendix at the end of the volume.

‡ Both Hyder and Madoo Row describe it in their official letters to the Government of Madras, and of course in very different colors: Hyder as a trifling affair, in which, although he lost some guns, the advantage was on the whole in his favor; and Madoo Row as a sanguinary action, in which his own army lost 2,000 horses killed and many officers killed and wounded, among the latter Trimbuc Row.

loss of an eye sustained by Yaseen* Khan, in the command of Tippoo's division. Lalla Mean, whose daughter Tippoo afterwards married, made a most gallant defence, at the head of his corps of infantry, and refused to receive quarter; he was at length taken, after being desperately wounded. In this state, a low Mahratta horseman ridiculed his situation, taunting the prisoner with the particular wounds which he himself had inflicted; and the indignant soldier accelerated his own death by the fury with which he rushed to seize the ruffian. *An English gentleman*† commanded one of the corps, and was most severely wounded, after a desperate resistance; others in the same unhappy situation, met with friends, or persons of the same sect, to procure for them the rude aid offered by Indian surgery; the Englishman was destitute of this poor advantage; his wounds were washed with simple warm water, by an attendant boy, three or four times a day; and under this novel system of surgery, they recovered with a rapidity not exceeded under the best hospital treatment.‡ The only person, however, who is known to have conducted himself with successful judgment and entire self-possession, was Fuzzul Oolla Khan, who, as we shall presently have occasion to explain, was in disgrace, and followed the army by order, without exercising any military command.

He was within the square, and near to the western point of the hill, at the period of the general confusion, and being attended by a few friends, whom degradation had not separated from his fortunes, and surrounded by a considerable number of unattached§ horsemen, who foresaw defeat and looked to him as the leader who was to extricate them from disaster, he formed these adherents into a compact body, and cutting through the enemy, retired, in perfect order, by the ford of the river Cavery at Caniambady, only four miles distant, where he crossed, and continued his retreat, without further molestation, along the right bank, to Seringapatam; the Mahrattas being intent on more valuable game, than the pursuit of men who had no plunder but their swords.

After the affair of Cherkooly, in which Trimbuc Row received a slight wound, the Mahrattas, more intent on plunder than improving the successes of the day, suffered the unarmed fugitives to reach Seringapatam on the same night, and gave to Hyder the long interval of ten days, in which they were absorbed in the division and disposal of spoil, to collect, arm, and reform a sufficient number of men for the defence of the place, which had been left absolutely without the means of resistance, if the panic of Cherkooly had been followed up by a great and vigorous effort on the capital. At the expiration of that period Trimbuc Row appear-

* Vol. i. p. [illegible]

† Afterwards known by the appellation of Lucky Stuart.

‡ Related to me by the late Sir Barry Close.

§ There are many such in all Indian armies, under the designation of *Mellet-ees*, [illegible] pay to that of ordinary horsemen and expectants of command.

ed before the place, and continued, according to his fashion of warfare, to cannonade the fort every day, from the nearest heights, and to withdraw his heavy guns at night. This miserable and ridiculous semblance of what he called a siege, was of service to Hyder alone, by affording to his troops the opportunity of partial encounters with the enemy, and of recovering in some degree from the panic of the late disaster. At the expiration of a month, however, the Mahratta discovered that this notable operation was only restoring the spirits of the enemy; and he divided his army, for the purpose of attacking such forts as were necessary to his purpose, and ravaging the open country, both above and below the mountains. Although the views of Madoo Row extended to the fixed conquest of Mysoor, the semblance of permanent occupation had not restored the ordinary progress of agriculture, nor prevented the necessity of large and incessant convoys from the north; which, after Tippoo had been withdrawn from Bednore, continued to proceed without an escort to the Mahratta camp. Hyder was desirous of again disturbing these communications, but Trimbuc Row continued himself to watch the capital, with a corps of observation, which rendered small detachments hazardous. Hyder, however, risked two corps; one under the orders of Mohammed Ali, an experienced officer of infantry, who was directed to attempt the recovery, by surprise, of Periapatam, thirty miles to the west, or if he could not effect this object unobserved, the movement would serve as a feint to draw off Trimbuc Row, and enable the other detachment, under Tippoo,* with 3,000 irregular horse, and five battalions of infantry, to get clear off to the woods of Bednore, to act on the line of the enemy's supplies. The latter branch of the plan was successful, and the detachment, among other services, captured a convoy of one hundred thousand oxen, laden with grain, which they conveyed in safety to Bednore. The detachment of Mohammed Ali, consisting of only four battalions, was overtaken, on the morning after its march, at about twenty miles distance from Seringapatam, and attacked with great energy by Trimbuc Row, with the whole force which he had been able to bring up: Mohammed Ali took post in a ruined village, and made a gallant resistance throughout the day; at night his preparations seemed to announce the intention of attempting a retreat; and his numerous wounded, on receiving this intelligence, began to utter the most dreadful lamentations at the fate to which they were destined. In order that the alarm might not by these means be communicated to the enemy, he went round to assure them, that they should not be abandoned to perish by famine. The fearful mental reservation of this assurance referred to a plan of novel barbarity, exceeded only in later times, by an atrocity which has been ascribed to a people

* He was on this occasion put under the tuition of *Sree Nawas Row Berkee*, a noted partizan, who, as well as his troops, were better qualified for this description of service than Meer Saheb.

calling themselves more civilized. When everything was ready, he sent round a certain number of persons properly instructed, who at a concerted signal murdered all the wounded. In the horrible silence which ensued, he commenced his retreat by an unsuspected path and taking a circuitous route, reached Mysoor by day-light; a respectable garrison having always been kept at that place, which was too near* Seringapatam, to be well suited for the operations of a Mahratta siege.

It is not intended to fatigue the reader's attention by a detail of the minor operations of this desolating war, which offer no illustrations of character: fifteen months had elapsed after the defeat of Cherkoolee, before Hyder, wearied with a hopeless warfare, and mourning over the destruction of his resources, saw any reasonable prospect of being able to effect a peace. Apajee Ram was again his confidential envoy: Morari Row had engaged to employ his good offices; and Trimbuc Row had also a secret reason (the dangerous illness of Madoo Row) for listening to these advances: a treaty was accordingly concluded, in the month of June, which stipulated the payment of thirty lacs of Rupees; one-half in hand, and the remainder *hereafter*; a species of Grecian calends which Hyder well understood: there was however another head of charge, the prompt payment of which could not be evaded, namely five [illegible] chiefly to the civil officers of the Mahratta [illegible] which custom had so familiarized, that it became a [illegible] negotiation, under the courtly designation of [illegible] an example, which, although [illegible] then been totally excluded from English negotiations in [illegible]. Of the territory Hyder was [illegible] possession of the Mahrattas, [illegible] Mudgerry, Sera, and even Ooscota [illegible], with their dependencies [illegible] limits than those which had been [illegible] of Mysoor at the commencement of the [illegible] had thus acquired by their [illegible] ing the stipulated [illegible] Mahratta frontier to the [illegible] of the ghauts, from the [illegible] doorgum.

We have seen that in 176[illegible] Hyder was [illegible] the war of Malabar [illegible] of the pageant Raja [illegible] Wadeyar, who had [illegible] consequence of [illegible] state of Hyder [illegible] 23 years of age [illegible] with Trimbuc Row [illegible] Hyder [illegible]

* N[illegible]

† See the [illegible] Mysoor in 179[illegible]

pageant, ordered him without hesitation to be strangled in the bath; and his brother *Cham Raj* to be registered as the successor to this perilous distinction.

After the peace with the Mahrattas, Hyder resided for some time at Seringapatam. His finances had suffered severely; but he seldom failed in devising extraordinary means to meet extraordinary occasions: many still remained of those who had held offices of trust under the ancient Rajas; and had amassed considerable wealth; the exterior appearance of disregard during a period of twelve years, had rendered them incautious; and Hyder had taken secret means, to ascertain with precision their actual funds, as a resource in the day of exigency. The torture was applied in cases of doubt, and a large sum was realized by these means. His old benefactor Nunjeraj was privately compelled to contribute his full proportion; and the death of that person in the succeeding year, relieved him from the last of his ancient rivals. Among the cases which contributed to replenish his coffers on this occasion, one exhibits too striking a picture of the general character of Asiatic courts to be blended with the general mass.

Fuzzul Oolla Khan (Hybut Jung) entered as we have seen into Hyder's service, or rather became his associate,* at the lowest ebb of his fortune, when he had fled from Seringapatam to Bangalore: this officer had stipulated for the singular distinction of sitting on the same musnud, and having two honorary attendants standing behind him, with fans composed of the downy feathers of the humma. No individual contributed so largely as Fuzzul Oolla to the subsequent aggrandisement of Hyder, by his military talents, and by a genuine zeal for the cause in which he was engaged. By the friends, and what was a higher testimony, by the enemies of Hyder, Fuzzul Oolla was esteemed the first officer in his service; and continued to be treated with the accustomed honors, until the arrival of the Nevayets from Drauveda. These persons, envious of the state which he assumed, compared his ancestry with their own; represented the indecorum of treating the son of Chunda Saheb with inferior distinction; hinted at the new arrangements of etiquette and consequent new relations, which ought to result from Hyder's rank and title of Nabob; and at length prevailed on him to send a message to Fuzzul Oolla, intimating that he must discontinue these privileges. The following reply has been repeated to me by many concurring authorities. "The morechal," (fan) said Fuzzul Oolla, "is no more than a handful of useless feathers, but it has been the constant associate of my head, and they shall not be separated: he who takes one shall have both; in the pride of my youth I stipulated for one of the side pillows of the musnud; and I have not disgraced the distinction. Instead of depriving me of that one, it would have been more gracious, as well as more necessary, to prop

* See vol. i., p. 261, for the terms; and for the ludicrous circumstances which led to his title of Hybut Jung, p. 270.

up my age and infirmities by a second. There is [illegible] imp[illegible] [illegible] of obeying the mandate. I will never again enter a court where ancient benefits are forgotten." Fuzzul O[illegible] had his house in the fort, in which his family always dwelt; but his tents, w[illegible] at Seringapatam, were at all times pitched on the esplanade and there he himself usually preferred to reside; there he received the order; and although he lived four or five years afterwards, he never after that period entered a house. On the present occasion, Hyder sent to demand from him eight lacs of Pagodas. The requisition was not unexpected, and Fuzzul Oolla gave the messenger an order to his sister, who presided over his family in the fort, to give up, without reservation, every Rupee he possessed. How much was r[illegible]d, I have not been able to ascertain, but even the N[illegible] were satisfied that he retained nothing. During the remainder of his miserable life, he subsisted by selling the few articles of camp equipage, horses and household furniture, which were not swept off in the general plunder. He died in a wretched pal, or private tent, a patched remnant of his former splendour. An humble t[illegible], erected by the pious care of his family, marks the pr[illegible] on which he received the order of d[illegible]; and where, a[illegible] to his solemn injunctions, they received his last breath and [illegible]ed his earthly remains.

These hideous examples of ingratitude and [illegible] abundantly efficient to the extin[illegible] of p[illegible], but not of [illegible]. The object of human pursuit is always [illegible] good, and [illegible] probity fails to command di[illegible] and reward, the reputation of that virtue will rarely be [illegible] among the [illegible]; wealth abstractedly considered, would [illegible] than while it may be freely enjoyed; where [illegible] sure to be plundered, as [illegible] as they are sufficiently r[illegible] would at first view appear to be [illegible] but on a closer scrutiny, the [illegible] with much wealth the [illegible] the views of the government [illegible] measure of the in[illegible] of the [illegible] Hyder from exacting [illegible] ostentatiously reward[illegible] tinguished them[illegible] emissaries into Dekan to [illegible] horsemen, whether Mussulman, R[illegible] M[illegible]

CHAPTER XIX.

Death of Madoo Row—Conjuncture favorable to Hyder—Invasion of Coorg—Decapitation—Conquest—Detachment descends to Calicut...Rapid restoration of authority in Malabar—Tippoo's operations to the north—entirely successful—recovers all he had lost by the Mahratta treaty—Ragoba moves against him—met by a negotiator, who succeeds in consequence of unexpected events at Poona—Treaty with Ragoba—Insurrection in Coorg—quelled by a movement of his whole army—Death of the pageant Cham Raj—Ridiculous ceremony of choosing a successor—Embassy to Kurreem Khan—Obtains a corps of Persians—His opinion of the specimen—Their extinction—Rapid march to Bellary—Its causes and result—Defeats Nizam Ali's besieging army—and takes the place for himself—Goes against Gooty—Siege—Obstinate defence of Morari Row—Treaty—broken off by the imprudent disclosures of the negotiator—Unconditional surrender—plunder—Fate of Morari Row—Ragoba, a fugitive from the Mahratta territory, concludes a treaty with Bombay, 1775—annulled by the Government of Bengal—who conclude a new Treaty through Colonel Upton, 1776—Remarks... Renewed treaty with Ragoba in 1778.—In consequence of the first, Ragoba invites Hyder to advance, and in 1776, he invades Savanore—occupies one-half—interrupted by the monsoon—returns to Seringapatam—Fiscal measures.

MADOO Row died on the 18th of November, 1772, his brother and successor, Narain Row, was killed on the 30th of August 1773, and succeeded by his uncle Ragonaut Row, or Ragoba, who afterwards made so distinguished a figure in the English transactions at Bombay.

There was more in this conjuncture than the mere invitation of fatalism to try a new scene. The keen perception of Hyder penetrated the sources of internal discord, which were generated by this event; and the whole of his leisure, since the conclusion of the war, had been devoted to preparation for whatever event the page of fate* should unfold. The pretended arrangements for paying the balance due under the treaty, were no longer even ostensibly continued; and he put forth his whole force at once for the recovery of all the territory which he had lost, in consequence of the English and the Mahratta wars. Among his first arrangements was an embassy to Madras, which will be most conveniently discussed hereafter. Tippoo was detached in September to the northward, for the recovery of the places recently ceded to the Mahrattas; and Hyder assumed in person the direction of operations preparatory to the recovery of Malabar.

His former communications with that territory were by two long and circuitous routes, passing through his own dominions, in

* His own words, as stated to me by several of his associates: "We will open the book of fate, and see what is written there;" alluding to the practice of opening the Koran, or frequently the poems of *Hafiz* for a fâl, or omen, in the manner of the *sortes Virgilianæ* of the Romans.

the lower countries, into the northern extremity from Canara, and near to the southern from Coimbatore. The great road to Canara crosses the hills of Bullum, south of Bednore; and to the left of this route the separate principality of Coorg, and the province of Wynaad, form the continuation down to the borders of Coimbatore, of a narrow stripe of woody mountainous country, of the same climate and character as Bednore, interposed between Mysoor and Malabar.

For the purpose of direct communication, and permanent conquest, it was necessary to possess this interjacent country, and Hyder accordingly entered Coorg in November 1773. The invasion was entirely unexpected; and the chief body of the Coorgs, without any previous arrangement, assembled on a woody hill, which Hyder encompassed with his troops. In imitation of the northern hordes, whose manners the Mohammedans of India affect to imitate, he proclaimed a reward of five Rupees for each head which should be brought before him, and sat down in State, to superintend the distribution of the reward. About seven hundred had been paid for, when a *peon* approached, and deposited two heads, both of them of the finest forms; Hyder, after scrutinizing the features, asked him, whether he felt no* compunction in cutting off such comely heads; and immediately ordered the decapitation to cease, and prisoners to be brought in. From whatever motive the order may have been derived, it is the only feature in his whole life that incurs the direct suspicion of pity. The apparent conquest was of little difficulty; the Raja Divaia betook himself to flight, and Hyder, whose chief object was to tranquillise the country, erected the fort of Mercara in the most central situation; and, confirming the landholders in their possessions at a moderately increased revenue, returned to Seringapatam, whether the fugitive Raja was soon afterwards brought, having been discovered in his place of concealment in the territory of Mysoor.

A force was immediately afterwards detached under Seyed Saheb, and Sreenewas Row Berkee through Wynaad by the pass of Tamberchery; which descended at once on Calicut. The place soon fell into their hands; the Nair chiefs, who, during their short relief from foreign conquest had only increased their misery by intestine feuds, were in a fit state to be acted on, by the skilful application of political division; and in a short time, the greater part of them arranged the terms of their future dependency on Hyder. Sree Newas Row was accordingly left as foujdar, or military governor of the province, and Seyed Saheb returned with the cavalry and disposable troops to Seringapatam.

This important acquisition having been achieved with a success more rapid than even Hyder had anticipated, he moved with his whole force to give effect to his own operations in the north; his approach had its due effect, and before his junction, Tippoo had reduced Sera, Mudgerry, Chenroydroog, Goorumconda, and then

* [illegible]

dependencies, leaving nothing for Hyder in person to accomplish, but the easy service of reducing Ooscota, and Great Balipoor. Thus, in one short campaign, from September 1773 till February 1774, he not only completely reconquered every place that had been wrested from him by the Mahrattas, but recovered, with increased stability, the province of Malabar, which he had wisely abandoned, during the pressure of difficulties, in his former war with the English.

An intercourse of civility had long subsisted between Hyder and Ragoba; it was through his mediation that the* peace of Bednore had been effected in 1765; and since that period, Hyder's envoys at Poona had been directed to conciliate his good offices in the customary Mahratta form. On succeeding to power, he had been early in the field against Nizam Ali; and although unsuccessful in an action with that chief, he terminated a short campaign by an advantageous peace; and was drawn to the south by the hostilities of Hyder; who was far from expecting so prompt a visit; and prepared to break the fury of the storm, by an early negotiation. His mission, headed by Apajee Ram, met Ragoba in full march to the south, at Calliandroog, to the south-east of Raidroog, on the exact day, when by a singular coincidence, he received information of the confederacy at Poona, which had openly announced their determination to depose him. The conferences had not commenced, when considerable corps of the army had begun to withdraw under their respective chiefs, to join the opposite party. Apajee Ram was too acute a negotiator to overlook the opportunity which was thus presented, of improving the political relations of his master; he saw that the aid which Ragonaut Row would require, and his master could confer, formed the most solid basis of conciliation; he fairly and openly explained the reciprocal interests, which would be promoted by their union, and a treaty was concluded, by which Hyder acknowledged Ragoba as the exclusive head of the Mahratta State, and agreed to pay him, and him only, the reduced tribute of six lacs of Rupees; on the condition, that he should be ready when required, to act with his whole force in support of Ragoba's pretensions. That chief was under the necessity of moving with haste to the northward; and Bajee Row Burva, his relation, was sent in consequence to Seringapatam, to receive and remit the first six lacs. In the meanwhile, however, the affairs of Ragoba became so desperate, as to oblige him to fly to Malwa, and Bajee Row Burva remained for several years, as his confidential agent, under the protection of Hyder.

An insurrection in Coorg of the most determined aspect suspended for a time the designs of Hyder in other directions. Compared with the revenue in his old territories, that which had been arranged for Coorg was extremely low; but their standard of camparison was not what had been exacted from others, but what themselves had formerly paid: the very highest rate of assessment in Coorg had

* Vide vol. i. pp. 286-287.

been a tenth of the produce: in general it was much lower; and a considerable proportion of the landholders, exclusively of military service, paid an acknowledgment to the Raja, which was merely nominal. Hyder deemed his own moderation to be excessive, in requiring not much more than the old Hindoo assessment of one-sixth. The impatience of the inhabitants, at a detested foreign yoke, inflamed their discontent; for although Hyder trusted no Mussulman in his department of revenue, the Bramins whom he employed were held in still greater abhorrence* and contempt by the natives of Coorg. They destroyed all the minor establishments, which had been spread over the country for the collection of revenue; and surrounded the new capital of Mercara, for the purpose of reducing it by famine: the insurrection in short was universal; and Hyder was never in the habit of employing palliatives. The great mass of the army was at the capital, distant only 30 miles from the frontier of Coorg, and he moved the whole infantry in several columns to penetrate at once into every portion of the territory, and suppress the rebellion at a single blow; the operation was successful, and as his intelligence was always excellent he was enabled among his prisoners to distinguish the leaders; every man suspected as being above the class of an ordinary soldier was hanged; and for the purpose of overawing the natives a chain of block houses was erected, pervading every part of the country, and connected with each other and with the nearest posts in Mysoor. These arrangements being completed he returned to give his army a short repose at Seringapatam about the beginning of the year 1775.

About this period the pageant Raja Cham Raj died. Hyder had hitherto professed to hold Mysoor in behalf of the Hindoo house, and [illegible] every annual feast of the Dessera† by exhibiting the pageant [illegible] on his ivory throne in the balcony of State, himself occupying the place of minister and commander-in-chief. The [illegible] would have [illegible] unhappy Hindoos [illegible] the country [illegible] the scourge of Mahommedan [illegible] Maharatta State [illegible] oppression [illegible] own [illegible] descendants [illegible] semblance of respect. Hyder [illegible] of those [illegible] lineal [illegible] ren to [illegible] who, according [illegible] successor [illegible]

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

however childish, was in perfect accordance with the feelings which he intended to delude, and sufficiently adapted to the superstition of the fatalist. The hall of audience was strewed round, with fruits, sweetmeats, and flowers, playthings of various descriptions, arms, books, male and female ornaments, bags of money, and every varied object of puerile or manly pursuit; the children were introduced together, and were all invited to help themselves to whatever they liked best; the greater number were quickly engaged in a scramble, for the fruits, sweetmeats, and toys; but one child was attracted by a brilliant little dagger, which he took up in his right hand, and soon afterwards a lime in his left. "That "is the Raja" exclaimed Hyder, his first care is military protection; "his second to realize the produce of his dominions; bring him "hither, and let me embrace him:" the assembly was in an universal murmur of applause; and he ordered the child to be conducted to the Hindoo palace, and prepared for installation.* He was of the same name as his predecessor, viz, *Cham Raj*, and was the father of the present Raja, who was placed by the English at the head of the Hindoo house of Mysoor, on the subversion of the Mohammedan dynasty in 1799.

The Mohammedans of India, throughout every succession of shade from fair to black, universally derive their descent from the Arabian, the Persian, or the Mogul race;† and a claim of superiority is asserted, and pretty generally allowed, in proportion to their near approach to the parent stock; Hyder was desirous of improving the composition of his army, by the admixture and example of a body of Persian horse; and for this purpose sent *Shah Noor Oolla*, the son of a native of Persia, on an embassy to that country; he was received with distinction by Kurreem Khan at Shiraz; and permitted to raise recruits for the service of his master. One thousand men, accompanied him in his return: horses, the property of the State, were assigned to these cavaliers, and Hyder was so well pleased with their conduct in the first essay, that he sent a second embassy, with considerable funds, to procure a farther levy: ship, ambassador, and treasure, were however lost

* There was then in existence, and is now living, a grandson of the Raja Chick Kishen Raj, (from whom Hyder had usurped the government,) by a daughter of his first wife, the daughter of Nunjeraj. The descendants of Nunjeraj assert the right of succession in favor of this descendant of a female branch, contrary to the rule of Hindoo succession. And many tales have been related regarding the surviving dowager, (vide vol. i. p. 233,) having interposed in favor of this succession. I have conversed with her on the subject, and she distinctly stated, that from the period of her husband's death, she never had the opportunity or the privilege of remonstrating on that or any other subject, and never did attempt or wish to interfere, in favor of that rival branch, or any other; for she is also stated in these tales to have proposed a relation of her own.

† The Affghan, or Patan, is not an exception; his origin is questionable; but as a Mussulman, he ranks in estimation after them all, being considered a borderer, or half Hindoo.

in the gulf of Kutch, and Hyder did not renew the experiment. On farther acquaintance, he stigmatised the bravery of the Persians, as a sort of courtly virtue, possessing more of stage trick, and interested pretence, than of genuine military daring: making a show of gallantry, for the direct purpose of demanding an increase of pay; vain-glorious, discontented, and unmanageable. He was, however, gradually relieved from their importunities; for though he would not permit their return, the climate successively thinned their ranks; and I have not been able to trace one survivor of this thousand men.

While preparing for a campaign of some importance, Hyder, in November, received an express from the Hindoo chief of Bellary, the equivocal dependant of Basalut Jung, who, as we have seen, after repelling Hyder in 1769, pledged the transfer of his allegiance to him, and made that transaction the excuse for refusing tribute to his former lord. The express informed him that Bojeraj the minister of Basalut Jung, accompanied by the French corps of Monsieur Lally, in the service of that chief, had actually besieged the place; and as the event was unexpected, nothing but the speedy aid of Hyder could prevent the place from falling into their hands. Hyder retained in his service a large corps of Bramin *mutsuddies*, accountants of revenue, as the name implies, but destined, under his direction, to perform the most profligate offices of the most crooked diplomacy. Whenever an adjacent country was to be conquered, a detachment from this corps insinuated themselves into the confidence of one of the two parties, into which every country, free, or despotic, is found to be divided; and by false representations, fomented intestine division, which usually terminated in an application to Hyder to support the declining party, against some domestic danger or foreign oppression. The infamy of this body of men has become proverbial in the south of India, and has not been much exceeded in the revolutionary history of modern Europe. Subsequently to Hyder's former repulse from Bellary, these emissaries had succeeded in deluding the Poligar into the hope of rendering himself independent of Basalut Jung, and in the moment of peril [illegible] of applying to Hyder for relief. On the instant of receiving the express which we have noticed, he issued the order of march; the distance on the map is nearly three degrees [illegible] which was performed in five days: a considerable number of [illegible] of those who marched from Se[illegible] are in the first attack, such [illegible] was the nature of the force [illegible] have so often anticipated their enemies [illegible] such a march [illegible] Hyder was still supposed [illegible] the rear of the besieging army. It was [illegible] which Bojeraj was killed and M[illegible] L[illegible] were

left in the batteries; the approaches and parallels were complete; and Hyder, without giving time for the entrance of supply, announced the object of this timely succour, by instantly manning the batteries, assuming the place of the late besiegers, and insisting on unconditional surrender. The unfortunate chief had already revealed the state of his resources for a siege: farther resistance was unavailing; and Hyder's garrison was introduced into the place on the 8th day after his march from Seringapatam. In the meanwhile, he had not neglected to avail himself of the panic, by sending a light corps in pursuit of the fugitives; and Basalut Jung had reason to acknowledge his moderation, in accepting a *lac of Pagodas*, as the condition of abstaining from the plunder or attack of the remainder of his jageer.

Hyder affected a disposition to compromise in the same manner with Morari Row, by sending to demand a similar contribution from him, which he probably foresaw would be refused. The intercourse was in imitation of the Mahratta style; and it may furnish amusement to some of my readers, to observe how the ceremonial of plunder is clothed in the garb of hospitality. On entering the territory of Gooty, Hyder sent a complimentary message to Morari Row, to announce that he was arrived at his house, (country) that they were ancient friends, and that he would be troublesome to him for grain and forage for his horses; the value of which he estimated at a lac of Rupees. Morari Row understood the Mahratta *jargon*, and replied in plain terms that he also was a *Cena putti** (General), and was in the habit of levying, not paying contributions. On Hyder's nearer approach to Gooty, he repeated a message of similar import, with the same result. He therefore sat down regularly before the place; the guns which Monsieur Lally had employed against Bellary, were a convenient resource; and a battering train for this very purpose had also been ordered from Seringapatam. The fort of Gooty is composed of a number of strong works, occupying the summits of a circular cluster of rocky hills connected with each other, and enclosing a space of level ground forming the site of the town; which is approached from the plain, by two breaks or openings, forming fortified gateways to the south-west and north-west, and by two foot-paths across the lower hills communicating through small sally-ports. An immense smooth rock rising from the northern limit of the circle, and fortified by gradations, surmounted through fourteen gateways, overlooks, and commands the whole of the other works, and forms a citadel which famine or treachery can alone reduce. After a siege of about five weeks, the town and lower forts were carried by assault; and a large booty was found, consisting of two thousand horses, a considerable number of the elephants of State, a vast amount of private property, and a very respectable equipment of garrison and field guns, and military stores.

Hyder continued for two months longer the siege of the upper

* Lord, or head of an army.

fort; and was repulsed in numerous attempts to establish himself in the lowest division of these works; but the improvident measure had been adopted of admitting within the walls of the citadel, an immense number of followers, of horses, camels, and even horned cattle: and although, with ordinary precautions, the reservoirs of water were numerous and ample, the strange absurdity of the measure which we have noticed, had reduced the besieged to the utmost distress, and Morari Row found himself under the necessity of sending an envoy to Hyder to treat for peace. The conditions were settled after much discussion; namely, the payment of twelve lacs of Rupees; eight in cash or valuables, and a hostage for the payment of the remainder. The cash amounted to only one lac, and plate and jewels to the estimated value of the remaining seven were sent by the hands of the hostage, the son of Yoonus Khan, the former commander-in-chief, who had been mortally wounded in the affair near Ooscota in 1768.

Hyder received his hostage with great courtesy, and invited him to dinner: the young man, considering hostilities to be at an end, was induced by the gracious manners of Hyder to be unreserved in his communications: the conversation was purposely turned to the events of the siege, and Hyder took the opportunity of paying some appropriate compliments to the experience of Morari Row and the conduct of his troops, not omitting to observe, that he frequently noticed the exemplary gallantry of the young man himself. This of course induced some corresponding civilities, and in the warmth of discussing the past, he was so imprudent as to observe, that there was no want of troops or provisions, and nothing short of being reduced to three days' water could have induced Morari Row to agree to such hard conditions. Hyder heard all this with his accustomed command of countenance, and after dinner referred the young man to the proper department for the delivery of his charge. The description of the valuables had been generally stated in the negotiation, and it was [illegible] at a fair valuation the amount [illegible] short of the seven lacs. Hyder would still receive it, and accept the hostage for the remainder. The period of inspection was designedly prolonged; the appraisers on Hyder's part were duly instructed; he himself testified great impatience for the adjustment, and when the appraisers, accompanying the hostage, returned to report the total amount, declaring each to be only five lacs, Hyder affected the greatest disappointment and anger, said that Morari Row was trifling and deceiving him, and ordered the hostage immediately to return with the valuables, and announce the negotiation to be at an end.

He now [illegible] taking more care to prevent [illegible] hollows in the rock, which [illegible] for a scanty supply of water [illegible] approaches [illegible]

which he had proposed, of prolonging his defence, by secretly dismissing the greater part of his garrison.

On the third day after this mode of warfare had been adopted, Morari Row could no longer restrain his men from exclaiming, even from the parapets, to the besiegers, that they were dying of thirst, and begged to capitulate. Hyder coolly directed them to be informed, that there was abundance of water below; and if they desired to quench their thirst, they must all descend unarmed, with Morari Row at their head: that he would fire at any flag of truce, and reject all advances, except in the form which he had prescribed. In the course of the day, Morari Row accompanied by his son, and followed by his unarmed garrison, descended and threw himself on Hyder's clemency. Every individual, before being passed, was separately searched, and plundered for Hyder's sole benefit, of the trifling sum they possessed. His garrison then ascended the rock, accompanied by a deputation to take an account of all property, public and private, and even the apartments, and *persons*, of the women were plundered of their remaining jewels and ornaments, to the amount of 5,000 Rupees only. The official servants of revenue were placed in separate custody; and Hyder, whose own experience enabled him to calculate the amount of embezzlement, which each could conveniently spare, satisfied himself for the present with levying on them ten lacs of Rupees. These operations being completed early in the month of April, he received the whole of the prisoners, civil, and military, (their chief alone excepted,) into his gracious favor and service. The departments of the late Government were put into immediate activity, as a branch of the general administration; orders were issued for the future regulation of the revenues, and the command of the subordinate garrisons; not a man attempted to disobey them and all the possessions of the house of Gorepora, were transferred with no other ceremony than the substitution of the seal of Hyder. For the present, the family was sent to Seringapatam; but after Hyder's return to that place, they were dispatched to Cabal Droog; where Morari Row soon afterwards died. Without the aids to which we have formerly* adverted, it is certain that a confinement on this rock is not necessarily a sentence of death; many of the family survived for fifteen years, and were destroyed in the general massacre of prisoners which was perpetrated by Tippoo's orders in 1791.

In the meanwhile the treachery of the Arab troops of Ragoba had precipitated the ruin of all his prospects, by the sudden alarm which caused him to fly, apparently without sufficient cause, from a field of battle to Cambay, and thence to Surat, where, on the 6th March 1775, he had concluded a treaty with the English Government of Bombay, for providing him with aid to recover his authority on terms of reciprocal advantage. An Act of Parliament had, in the year 1773, wisely conferred on the English Government of Bengal,

* Vol. i. p. 145.

now rendered the Government General, a controlling power over the other presidencies, and it was the first exercise of this authority, openly to disapprove and annul a treaty, concluded without their sanction. Colonel Upton was sent, in consequence, as the envoy of the Government General, to treat with the actual Government at Poona, (the ministers or ministerial party, as they are usually named in the records of these times), but all that could give force to a negotiation with such persons, had already been conceded without negotiation. Already the Mahrattas had nothing to fear, and the English reciprocally nothing to hope. The secret history of these events, may be traced in the tortuous policy adopted in England, of sending three councillors to Bengal, ostensibly to aid, but (so far as intention can be inferred from the result) practically to outvote the Governor-General, Mr. Hastings, the most virtuous and most able servant of the State, in the deliberations of the Government; in one and the same act, conferring, and subverting authority; and seeking to establish order through the medium of disunion. However pure the intentions of these gentlemen may have been, and however faulty the previous policy of Bombay, the sagacity was at least questionable, of thus gratuitously throwing themselves on the candour of the most deceitful of the human race and adopting a conduct, which such persons could scarcely fail to attribute exclusively to fear. A treaty was concluded by Colonel Upton, on the first of March 1776, which the Government of Bombay characterize as "highly injurious to the reputation, honor, and interests of the nation, and the Company." An experience of the insolence which such political courtesy inspired, failed to convince the Government of Bengal, that they had begun at the wrong end; and it was not until the Governor-General obtained a majority in his own council, that the discussions terminated in the renewal of a treaty with Ragoba in November 1778. Shortly, however, after the conclusion of the first treaty with Bombay, in 1775, Ragoba addressed a letter to Hyder, through his agent Bajee Row Burwa communicating the nature of this alliance, stating his confident expectation of recovering his rightful possession of the musnud of Poona, and proposing to Hyder an arrangement in perfect consonance with his wishes, namely, that he should take possession of the whole of the Mahratta territory up to the right bank of the Kistna; and be ready from that advanced position to assist Ragoba in the execution of his designs, with military as well as pecuniary aid. Hyder certainly despatched to Ragonaut Row in pursuance of this arrangement, Soucars' bills at different periods, to the amount of sixteen lacs of Rupees. It was understood by him that these countries should remain permanently annexed to the dominions of Mysoor, but, if Ragoba had succeeded in the re-establishment of his authority, it is probable that he would have given another interpretation to the equivocal terms of his letter.

It was in conformity to this arrangement that immediately after

the capture of Gooty, Hyder collected all his tributary chiefs on the northern border, with their respective quotas of troops, and the subjoined statement* of those which were actually assembled, will be the best evidence of his acknowledged dependencies at this period. It had for some time been announced that the fall of Gooty would be the signal of march; and in a few days after that event, the whole was in motion for Savanore. The Patan Nabob of that province had been deprived by the Mahrattas of one-half of his former territory; and for sparing the remaining half, he offered a military contribution of three lacs of Pagodas, which Hyder rejected, and proceeded without distinction of Mohammedan or Mahratta claims to occupy the whole. He had succeeded in making himself master of about one-half of the province, when the monsoon burst with great violence, and the destruction which it produced among the horses and cattle of the army, induced him to break up for the rains. He accordingly left a select corps in Bancapoor, with directions to watch, and as far as possible, intercept, the supplies of the garrison of Darwar, not yet reduced; and inclining to the eastward, re-crossed the Toombuddra in basket† boats; and having dismissed the tributaries, he pursued his march to Seringapatam, where he arrived in the month of August.

He made use of this interval of leisure to summon to the capital the whole of the Aumils‡ of his dominions, and the tributaries in person, or by their agents, for the purpose of adjusting their past accounts and future revenues. His demands on the tributaries under the designation of Peshcush, was far from being the nominal acknowledgment of dependency, tolerated under weaker governments; the example of Anagoondy, which from 7,000 Pagodas was raised to 12,000, exclusively of maintaining the military

	Horse.	Peons.
* The Poligar of Chittledroog	1,000	4,000
Do. Harponhully ...	300	3,000
Dulwoy of Raidroog	200	2,000
Do. Anagoondy	100	1,000
Poligar of Kunnuckgeery ...	200	1,500
Abdul Hulleem Khan, Nabob of Kurpa	2,000	———

To these troops he paid at the rate of four Hyderi Pagodas, or 16 Rupees a month, for each mounted horseman; and one Pagoda, or four Rupees for each peon, while absent from their own territory.

† See vol. i. p. 257. This simple method of crossing wide and unfordable rivers, is recommended to military practice by the facility with which the materials can almost everywhere be obtained; it has been repeatedly adopted by English corps in India, for cannon as well as troops, a basket boat ten feet diameter, being adequate to the conveyance of an iron twelve-pounder on its carriage.

‡ Aumil, or Aumildar, a collector or contractor of revenue, as the case may be; or generally, as with Hyder, exercising a mixed character, composed of both these functions. An Aumil, for example, agreed to give for a district a fixed sum, on the condition that a loss or a gain, not exceeding ten per cent. was his own; if either exceeded that sum, the difference was borne or received by the Government; this practice was introduced by Chick Deo Raj, and continued by his successors with modifications and exceptions.

contingent of troops, (which were only paid by Hyder when called to the field), may serve to convey a general idea of the scale of augmentation in this branch of revenue; it was of course still proportionally increased, where he found it expedient to allow to a Poligar the management of his country, without exacting a contingent of troops. The collectors or contractors of revenue were tolerably well aware, that the surplus demands would fall little short of the sums which they had irregularly exacted, or falsified in the accounts. Hyder was at all times accessible to complaints, and never failed to pursue to its source the history of an irregular demand, and to recover it with additional fines from the exactor. It is true that the amount was never returned to the complainant, but it frequently produced the dismission of the offender; the certainty of investigation tended to restrain oppression, and, as Hyder was accustomed to say, rapacity in this case was nearly as good for his subjects, and much better for himself than a more scrupulous distribution of justice. He left the fiscal institutions of Chick Deo Raj as he found them, adding, however, to the established revenue whatever had been secretly levied by a skilful or popular Aumil, and afterwards detected: this produced a progressive and regular increase, and the result of complaints gave occasional, but also tolerably regular augmentations. On the present occasion he also levied upon the whole country a forced contribution under the name of free gift,* for the support of the war. Few of my readers would feel interested in a more detailed description of these transactions, and the foregoing brief sketch may serve, without much future reference, as a general specimen of the fiscal administration of Hyder.

* *Nazerana*, as nearly as may be, the *benevolence* of English history

CHAPTER XX.

Union of Nizam Ali and the ministerial party at Poona, against Ragoba and Hyder—A corps of Mahrattas invades Savanore—Is attacked and defeated by Hyder's general, Mohammed Ali—Main armies advance in two separate bodies, by the distant points of Savanore and Rachore—first, under Perseram Bhow, retires after some timid skirmishing—second, Nizam Ali's bought off—and Hyder for the present relieved from apprehension—Siege of Chittledroog—Characteristic defence—Composition settled and partly paid—when Hyder hears of the advance of the whole Mahratta army, under Hurry Punt, for the relief of the place—destroys his batteries and trenches—marches off and orders the Poligar to follow his standard—he hesitates and disobeys—Battle of Raravee—Defection of Manajee Pancria—Defeat of the Mahrattas —Backwardness of Ibrahim, the general of Nizam Ali—Hyder pursues the Mahrattas—reduces the whole territory south of the Kistna, conformably to his arrangements with Ragoba—returns to the south—resumes the siege of Chittledroog—Surrender of the place—History and character of the new governor--Hyder sweeps off the inhabitants, and forms the foundation of his Janissaries—Hyder marches against Kurpa—Retreat and surrender of the Kurpa cavalry—Singular attempt of 80 prisoners to assassinate Hyder in the midst of his army—Surrender of the Chief of Kurpa —conditions—subsequent destruction of the males of the family—Character of Hyder's amorous propensities—Refusal and subsequent assent of the beautiful daughter of this chief—Meer Saheb entrusted with the new conquest—Hyder returns to the capital—Revision of civil administration—finance..police—cruel, ignorant and ungrateful exactions—Apajee Ram—The bankers—Embassy to Delhi—Monsieur Lally's corps—anecdote—system of military payments—Double treaty of marriage with the Nabob of Savanore—Embassy from Poona—negotiation, explanatory of the union of Hyder with the Mahrattas against the English.

THE powers of Deckan and the south were ranged according to their interests with the parties which now divided the State of Poona. Hyder supported Ragoba, and Nizam Ali declared for the ministerial party, and the posthumous, or reputed son of Narain Row; for in lodging the widow at Poorunder* for the purpose of producing an heir, she is stated to have heen accompanied by a considerable number of pregnant attendants, to prevent disappointment to the views of the party. A plan for the invasion of Mysoor by the confederated armies of Poona and Nizam† Ali was a consequence of these political connexions, and while the arrangements on a larger scale were in preparation, an army‡ composed of the contingents of four considerable chiefs proceeded to dislodge Hyder's troops from Savanore; and to make such farther progress as might be practicable, before the approach of the main armies.

* Properly, I believe, *Poonadhur*, a hill fort near Poona.

† The restitution of Dowlatabad to Nizam Ali, was the price of his adherence to the ministerial party. Its cession to the Mahrattas had been one of the conditions of the peace with Ragoba in 1774.

‡ The chiefs were, 1st, *Pandrung Tatia*—2d, *Letchman Heri*—3d, one of the *Putwerdun* family—and 4th, a nephew of Morari Row, named *Siveram*.

Hyder* prepared such a force as he deemed sufficient to repel this meditated attack, and conferred the command on Mohammed Ali† who was also invested with authority over the troops at Bancapoor. This skilful officer came up with the Mahrattas at a place called Saunsee, and found them drawn up to offer him battle. He made his dispositions, and commenced the action with his cavalry, by a feint in which he was repulsed in apparent disorder. The Mahrattas pursued with precipitation, in the confidence that the fortune of the day had already decided in their favor; when suddenly the fugitives were received through the intervals of a powerful reserve, and at the same instant a tremendous fire of grape and musquetry opened on the flank of the pursuers, from an ambush previously prepared. The slaughter was serious, and the confusion irretrievable. Mohammed Ali made a determined charge at the head of his cavalry, and completed the rout. The pursuit was continued for nine miles from the field of battle, and the capture of‡ two out of the four chiefs, with a considerable number of subordinate officers, and three thousand horses secured for the service of the State, attested the decisive result of the combat.

The confederate armies were now approaching; that of the Mahrattas, under Purseram Bhow, estimated at 30000 men, assembled near Meritch, on the left bank of the Kistna, for the purpose of penetrating by the province of Savanoor in a south-eastern direction; the army of Nizam Ali under Ibrahim Khan (Dhownsa) estimated at 40000, moved by Raichore, and was to follow a course nearly south; thus the two armies, by following the stated directions, or converging in their approach, would be enabled to enter the territory of Mysoor at points varying in their distance from each other, from 20 to 150 miles. Hyder fixed upon Gooty as a depot and point of support for offensive or defensive operations, and as the rendezvous of all the [illegible] who had attended his standard in the preceding campaign, and thither he also moved with the main body of his army, [illegible] Mohammed Ali with a [illegible] confident with regard to the [illegible] of the attack. Purseram Bhow on reconnoitring the force of Mohammed Ali, and reflecting on the severe lesson which he had recently given to the Mahratta troops, reported to his court that [illegible] and [illegible] some timid manoeuvring [illegible] behind the Kistna. Hyder had in the meanwhile operated on the [illegible] the command-er-in-chief of Nizam Ali by [illegible] and Ibrahim Khan was thus furnished with [illegible]

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* From October 1776 to April 1777 [illegible] were engaged in hostilities with the [illegible] are connected with the [illegible] to revert to [illegible]

† The person who had [illegible] wounded.

‡ The first [illegible]

tary propriety, besides the secret influence of the gold of Hyder, for regulating his proceedings, by the retrograde movements of the Mahrattas. He had advanced as far as Adwanee, when the movement of Perseram Bhow was reported to him; there was no apparent ground for suspicion at Poona, when he declared it too hazardous, under such circumstances, to preserve his advanced position; and he accordingly retired behind the Toombuddra, and subsequently recrossed the Kistna. The periodical floods of the south-west monsoon converted the rivers into barriers shortly after these events, and Hyder was, for the present, relieved from this formidable confederacy.

Of the tributaries who had been summoned to attend his standard on this occasion, two had failed in their allegiance. The Nabob* of Kurpa joined the standard of his Mohammedan adversary, Nizam Ali; and the Poligar of †Chittledroog influenced by the assurances of his agent at Poona, that the first military ‡officer of the State, with an immense army would shortly invade Mysoor, and permanently relieve him from the dominion of Hyder, remained at home. Hyder, who had long and earnestly desired the possession of that fortress (celebrated beyond its real importance), and was jealous of the power and distinguished bravery of the Poligar, and his formidable troops, marched from Gooty to Chittledroog, and rejecting the submissive offers of the unfortunate chief, to atone for his error by a large fine, sat down before the place in the month of July. The siege continued for three months, with more perseverance than military skill on the side of Hyder; and on the part of the besieged, with a mixture of enthusiastic fatalism, and heedless, headlong valour, which is strongly characteristic of the Beder tribe. A temple dedicated to the goddess§ who delights in blood, was erected on the summit of the *Droog*, an appellative derived from an attribute‖ of the goddess; and so long as her rites should be duly performed, they believed that in fact, as well as in name, their fortress would be inaccessible. On every Monday, after performing their devotions to the goddess, the Beders made a religious sortie; this, after a few repetitions, was as regularly known in the camp of the besiegers, as in the fort. A particular sound of the horn¶ always gave intimation that they had finished their preparatory devotions and were about to sally: everything was known, except the exact point of attack, and notwithstanding all the advantages of preparation, on the side of the besiegers, the Beders never once returned without penetrating into the trenches, and carrying off a certain number of

* Abdul Helleem Khan

† Sometimes called Chitrigul. In most of our maps they are erroneously inserted as two different places.

‡ Hurry Punt Purkia.

§ Cali.

‖ *Durga*-Durgum, *inaccessible*, one of the epithets of Cali.

¶ A sort of large bugle, which, when well-sounded, is a fine martial instrument.

heads, to offer at the shrine of *Cali*. After the fall of the place, the heads were found ranged in rows of small pyramids, in regular order, in front of the temple of the goddess, to the amount of about two thousand. In every interval the Poligar repeated his offers of atonement, and every successive sortie evinced increasing ardour, and furious confidence: the point of attack was always judiciously varied; and as they never once failed, the besiegers began to acquire the awkward habit of not awaiting it: and the fury of the assault would frequently fall far from the intended point: because after penetrating, and finding the posts abandoned, the Beders would generally take the trench in flank, and range along a considerable extent, before they could procure sufficient materials for the sacrifice; arrangements however were progressively made, by which the batteries being converted into redoubts, and strongly palisaded, inflicted terrible retribution on the Beders in their return. A composition was at length completed, by which Hyder professed to forgive the past, and accepted as a pledge of future obedience, thirteen lacs of Pagodas; of which five in wrought plate had actually been paid, when intelligence arrived that the ministerial commander-in-chief, *Hurry Punt*, was approaching from Poona with an army rated at 60,000 horse and a proportionate number of infantry and guns; that the rivers had fallen, and were already fordable; and that the advance of the hostile army was within a few day's march of the Toombuddra. Hyder determined to put to a severe and immediate proof the professed allegiance of the Poligar. The whole transaction was probably a snare; but the ostensible facts are that he destroyed his batteries, and trenches, in the greatest haste; marched off to the north, and summoned the Poligar instantly to attend his standard against Hurry Punt. If fortune should declare in favor of the Mahrattas, it is obvious that obedience would be fatal to all the hopes of the *Poligar*; and if Hyder should prevail, to obey, or to disobey, would only leave a choice of ills; namely to pay the remainder of the treasure or to stand another siege. To obey was inevitable evil; to disobey presented a chance of good; and in consequence of this reasoning, which has been circumstantially stated to me by one of his descendants, he promised, but evaded attendance.

Hyder, in the meanwhile, was actively employed through the medium of Rao Row Burva, the agent of Ragoba, in augmenting the discord which then prevailed in the Mahratta armies attached to either party; and a chief of 10,000 named *Moorar Rao*, had been secretly gained by a bribe of six lacs of Rupees, to separate his forces from those of Hurry Punt in the first action, and afterwards serve Hyder and the cause of Ragoba on terms which were stipulated. The Mahratta army [illegible] delay in the arrival of reinforcements and the [illegible] co-operation from the army of Nizam Ali at [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible]

destruction of Hyder. That chief, as soon as he considered the arrangement with Manajee Pancria to be mature, advanced to offer battle to Hurry Punt. The armies came in sight of each other a few miles to the southward of Raravee; and reciprocally commenced their operations by a distant cannonade. The corps of *Manajee Pancria* had its place on the left flank of the Mahratta army, and was observed to leave an interval which was the concerted signal, preparatory to separation; but in its subsequent movements, there was a wavering, the effect of mere indecision, which led Hyder to the groundless suspicion of a double treason; with this impression on his mind, he sought to retort, by demonstrations which should induce Hurry Punt in his turn to suspect the fidelity of his double dealer. Light troops were spread abroad, to cover an apparent communication of dromedary couriers, and to exhibit the appearance of frequent messages from Manajee Pancria. The impression on Hurry Punt was effectual, but it was that of a first and sudden alarm, the more serious from his ignorance of the extent of disaffection; he looked everywhere over the field with similar suspicion, but everywhere else there was an appearance of firmness: what he saw was however sufficient to determine him on a retreat; the disposition which was made in consequence affords evidence of considerable talents, and the most perfect self-possession. A general movement was observed to take place, and Hyder paused to ascertain its object, before he should make any corresponding dispositions. In a few moments an impenetrable cloud of dust arose, both in front and rear of the Mahratta line, which neither decidedly approached, nor decidedly receded; it was evidently the mass of their cavalry in full charge; but not towards Hyder; some time had elapsed before he perceived that the corps of Manajee Pancria had been enveloped, and swept off the field; and that a powerful rear-guard presented itself to cover the retreat of the whole. The armies had not sufficiently closed to render the pursuit decisive, and two guns only were lost by Hurry Punt, in effecting his retreat behind the Toombuddra, where a strong position secured him from insult, and afforded him leisure to investigate the extent of the disaffection, which had produced his retreat. The troops of Manajee Pancria had made a tolerably gallant resistance, and attempted to move in mass towards Hyder; the greater part, however, were cut to pieces, and Manajee Pancria himself, wounded, and accompanied by no more than thirty select friends, had opened a way through the surrounding mass, and made good his escape to Hyder.

These events, however inferior to the full accomplishment of the plan which had been marred by Pancria's hesitation, and Hyder's impatience, were sufficient to defeat the whole project of the Mahratta campaign. Hurry Punt quitted his position, and continued his retreat; and Hyder availed himself with alacrity and judgment, of the opportunity which was thus offered of following up the impression. He hung close upon the rear, and harassed it

with incessant attacks until the whole were driven north of the Kistna, in December 1777. In this second invasion, Ibrahim Khan affected to advert to the danger and disappointment which he had once already incurred, by advancing in the faith of a simultaneous movement which was not made; this time he would wait for the evidence of facts; and the gold of Hyder kept him inactive, until thus relieved by a second apology, founded on the conduct of his allies. The retreat of Hurry Punt was directed to a position thirty miles to the westward of Ibrahim Khan's encampment, and the utmost endeavours of the party at Poona, failed to prevail on Nizam Ali to issue positive orders for his joining, and resuming the offensive.

Hyder had now an open field for the realization of the plan concerted with Ragoba, for the occupation of the Mahratta territory* between the Toombuddra and Kistna; and his victorious pursuit of the main army prepared the minds of men for submission; the absence of all opposition in the field enabled him to detach Sirdar Khan for the siege of Darwar, where he expected a regular resistance, and he proceeded himself to the reduction of the Droogs of Copul and Behauder Benda, which ought to be deemed impregnable but fell in the month of April. The sieges of Gujjendergur, Badami Juilihal and a number of posts of minor consideration occupied a considerable time, but presented little of the description of incident, on which the general reader would consider his attention to be either agreeably or profitably employed. Darwar also fell, after a protracted siege, towards the close of the year, and Hyder in contemplating the fertile banks of the river Kistna, marked it with exultation as the northern boundary of an empire which himself had made his own. The rapidity of the conquest was facilitated by his attention to local circumstances; he found the country chiefly held by hereditary Deshayes,† the same description of persons whom in other provinces we have found under the designation of Wadeyars, Zemindars, Polygars, &c. and Rajas, and he consented for the present to [illegible] from them their accustomed Peshcush on the condition of [illegible] a free gift of a further sum equal to their [illegible].

These arrangements [illegible] completed [illegible] the close of the year he returned to the [illegible]. He [illegible] account of [illegible] to adjust with the chief of K[illegible], in which direction he detached Meer Saheb with [illegible] preparatory progress as he should find to be [illegible], and himself with the main army sat down a second time before Chittledroog.

The Polygar and his adherents conducted the defence with their

* [illegible] Wurda M[illegible]

† [illegible] D[illegible]

accustomed bravery; but, prodigal of life, the greater part of his relations and trusty chiefs were, at length, either killed or wounded in the incessant and determined sallies which he continued to make, and which Hyder had learned by experience to render destructive to the assailants. The Poligar had also a number of Mohammedans in his service, formed into a corps regularly armed, of about three thousand men, whom Hyder found means to corrupt through the medium of their spiritual instructor, a holy and unsuspected hermit,* who resided, unmolested, on the plain below, near to Hyder's encampment. When the Poligar † discovered that he was betrayed, and had evidence, in the failure of a recent sortie, that Cali was no longer propitious to his vows, he ascended his palankeen of State, ordered himself to be carried to Hyder's camp, and threw himself on the mercy of the victor, in the beginning of March 1779. The plunder of his habitation, including cash, jewels, and the personal ornaments of the women, amounted to no more than five lacs of Rupees: the whole family was of course secured, and sent as prisoners to Seringapatam, and Hyder, after making the requisite arrangements for the occupation of the place, prepared to follow Meer Saheb to Kurpa.

Among the prisoners carried off in the first inhuman emigration from Malabar, was a young Nair, from Chercul, who had been received as a slave of the palace, and to whom, on his forced conversion to Islam, they had given the name of Sheik Ayaz.‡ The noble port, ingenuous manners, and singular beauty of the boy, attracted general attention; and when at a more mature age he was led into the field, his ardent valour and uncommon intelligence, recommended him to the particular favor of Hyder, who was an enthusiast in his praise, and would frequently speak of him, under the designation of "his right hand in the hour of danger." Throughout every period of Mohammedan history, we find peculiar confidence reposed in captives separated from their families in early youth: the pangs of an afflicted parent are no part of a monster's care; but he calculates with cold accuracy, that the recollections of infancy are soon obliterated; and that such children, being exempt from the ordinary ties of society, readily transfer the affections, implanted by nature for other purposes, in the form of undivided attachment to a kind protector; for such is certainly the character which the Mussulman assumes towards such of his slaves, whether captives, or born in the family, as evince talents and good dispositions. In the conversation of Mohammedan chiefs, a *slave of the house*, far from being a term of degradation or reproach, uniformly conveys the impression of an affectionate and trustworthy humble friend, and such was Ayaz in the estimation of Hyder. To the endowments which have been stated, incessant and confidential military service had superadded experience beyond his

* I have seen and conversed with this holy personage, whose service on this occasion was liberally rewarded by Hyder.

† Mudgerry Naick.

‡ The same person afterwards Governor of Bednore at the accession of Tippoo, and called in most English accounts *Hyat-Saheb*.

years; and Hyder selected him for the important trust of civil and military governor of the fort and territory of Chittledroog. But modest as he was faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction, as one to which he felt himself incompetent; and particularly objected, that he could neither read nor write, and was consequently incapable of a civil charge. "Keep a corla* at your right hand," said Hyder, "and that will do you better service than pen and ink:" then assuming a graver countenance; "place reliance," added he, "on your excellent understanding; act from yourself alone; fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribblers; but trust in me as I trust † in you; reading and writing! how have I risen to empire, without the knowledge of either?"

During the two sieges of Chittledroog, Hyder had found the natives of the territory, (also chiefly Beders) adhering to their chief with unconquerable attachment; no severity of military execution could restrain persons of each sex, and every age, from risking their lives with the constancy and exultation of martyrs, for the purpose of carrying to the besieged such supplies as an incessant succession of individuals could convey. To subsist his army exclusively on the resources of the country, to consume all its provisions, and to seize all the visible property, to the amount of twelve lacs of Pagodas, was of no avail, and he was at length induced to sweep off the whole remaining population, which now consisted only of those who had the patriotism to devote themselves to the service of their besieged friends; all the rest having long before sought refuge in the woods or in other provinces. The number thus carried off to people the island of Seringapatam, amounted to about 20,000; from the boys of a proper age, he formed the first regular military establishment of captive converts in imitation of the Turkish Janissaries (new soldiers), which, under the name of chela battalions‡ arrived at maturity, and were so much augmented during the government of his successor.

Meer Saheb, who had been detached towards Kurpa, had agreeably to instruction, recruited his cavalry to 5000, but a chosen band of two thousand Patan horse, commanded by the nephew of the chief of Kurpa, opposed such effectual and determined resistance to all his movements, that no impression of importance had been made, excepting on the resources of the country, which had been ravaged with the customary cruelty.

When Hyder had finished his arrangements at Chittledroog he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and by forced marches joined Meer Saheb to the westward of a small river, which passes near

* A long whip of cotton rope, about an inch and a half in diameter at the thick end, where it is grasped, and tapering to a point at the other extremity; this severe instrument of personal punishment is about nine feet long; and Hyder was constantly attended by [illegible] persons [illegible] constantly practised in its use.

† For [illegible] Hyder's [illegible] see note on Tippoo's [illegible] Appendix [illegible]

‡ Chélas [illegible] Hyder [illegible]

to a place called Dooer, and unites farther south with the Pennar. On the appearance of the advanced guard, the Patan troops thinking that they had only to do with Meer Saheb, crossed the sandy bed of the river, and moved on with confidence into the plain. Hyder's advance was ordered to skirmish, and retreat to a concerted point; when the Patans found themselves suddenly encompassed by the whole body of Hyder's cavalry: they commenced however their retreat, with a determined countenance; and Hyder who desired the preservation of these troops for his own future service, and hoped that they would surrender; at first directed his cavalry to abstain from the use of the keroolee (matchlock carbine:) the Patan horse did not however refrain from the exercise of their skill in archery, an ancient and formidable missile of retreating cavalry, not peculiar to the Parthians; and Hyder for the preservation of his own troops was compelled to revoke his first order. No infantry or cannon had yet arrived; the skirmishing of the matchlock carbines sensibly thinned the numbers of the Patans, but they continued their retreat into the town of Dooer; where as they found themselves completely surrounded, and the main army approaching, this brave little band had no alternative but to surrender at discretion. Hyder turned from hence to the south-east, and took possession of the town of Kurpa without resistance; Abdul Helleem Khan, the Patan *Nabob*,* had retired from this his usual residence, to Sidhout, a place of inconsiderable strength to the north-east of Kurpa, whither also a division of Hyder's army had moved, and invested the place, while another was occupied in rifling the capital.

The horse of the Indian cavalier is generally his own, and with his sword, his bow and quiver, or his lance, often constitutes his only property: the reflexion of the separate risks of property, and life, cannot fail to operate most powerfully, in restraining the energy of enterprise: and in a declining cause, Hyder's known

* I am reminded by highly competent authority, that in following the practice of Mr. Orme, and the better sanction of the Company's records, in employing the term *Nabob* as the designation of office, I have been habitually inaccurate; and acknowledging the fault, I know not how to mend it, and to render the narrative always intelligible to the general reader.

Nawab, the Arabic plural of *Naib*, a deputy, is, if I recollect right, employed in Arabia and Persia, simply in its primitive sense. In its acknowledged acceptation in India, it is a title of honor, indefinitely and indiscriminately applied to all persons in high official situations; but in regular form of speech, in letters, and diplomatic writings, never used as a designation of office. It is not, (as my friend remarks,) simply a corruption of language when so employed; it misleads the mind to the conception of rights appertaining to princely relation. These observations might be applied with greater justice to the strange misnomer of *king*, bestowed upon the Raja of Tanjore, the vassal of a vassal; a ridiculous error, which practically invested him with all the rights of royalty, ackowledged by the Company and the ministers of the King of Great Britain. In the text the Patan *Nabob* was properly *foujedar*; but had I so named him, many of my readers would have been at a loss to know who was intended.

policy of neutralizing resistance, by restoring this property to the vanquished, was often his most powerful ally in the day of battle.

Of the prisoners taken at Dooer, he immediately released, and took into his service with their horses, such as had connexions in his own army, who consented to become responsible for their conduct; but among them were eighty ferocious Affghans* of the north whose horses had been killed, and who could obtain no sureties for their release. In the proud spirit of savage independence, they refused to deliver their swords; and as among Mohammedans, a cavalier always ranks as a gentleman, whose honor is outraged by despoiling him of his arms, Hyder in deference to this feeling, and in expectation that the same intercession and pledge which had released their associates would be found for them also, although on the first clamour and refusal being reported, he only cried out, "take a stick to them," subsequently relaxed and did not enforce the surrender of their swords. Such is the explanation of the singular fact, that eighty of the most powerful, sanguinary, fierce and treacherous men on earth, were placed with swords in their hands, under the ordinary guard of head-quarters exactly in front of Hyder's tents, which like those of all chiefs of rank, were enclosed within a large square of tent-wall about eight feet high to veil them from vulgar observation. Offended and inflamed by the attempt to disarm them, the prisoners had marked during their march from Dooer, the arrangements of the tents within the square and secretly concerted their plan of revenge. In the dead of night they suddenly arose, overpowered and slew their guards and rushed towards the sleeping tent. Hyder hearing the alarm penetrated at once the nature of the commotion and with admirable presence of mind, covered with his quilt the long pillow of his bed so as to resemble a person asleep, cut with his sword, a passage for himself through his own tent wall, and that of the enclosure, and escaped to the protection of the nearest corps. Two only of the Affghans entered the sleeping tent, the remainder being disposed according to the preconcerted plan, to cover their enterprise and retreat. The foremost entering the tent, made a desperate cut at the supposed Hyder, and on finding that he had escaped was so stupified at the disappointment as to remain in silent hesitation. One of Hyder's attendants, [illegible] had lain down to sleep, in a corner of the tent with the [illegible] of State by his side, he was roused by the blow at his master's bed and [illegible] light

* Synonymous with P[illegible]. Th[illegible] remarkable, the wh[illegible] ern nations is diffused [illegible] natives of Nepaul and the [illegible] that this peculiar comp[illegible] ation of the Par[illegible] range of hills, south of N[illegible] proach those of the [illegible]

† The [illegible]

discovered to him a stranger and a drawn sword; without hesitation he seized his lance, transfixed the Affghan, and successively his associate, who advanced to his aid. The alarm was by this time given; and in a few minutes the remainder were either slain, or disarmed. On the morning, after his escape from this most serious danger, Hyder ordered some of the surviving assassins to have both their hands and feet chopped off, and in that shocking state, to be thrown into the highway, at considerable intervals from each other, to announce to his new subjects, and to passing travellers the terror of his name. The remainder were destined to a death if possible more horrible, by being dragged round the camp, tied by a short, loose cord to the feet of elephants.*

This, among other incidents, contributed to shorten the defence of Sidhout; many attempts to compromise were disdainfully rejected, and Abdul Helleem Khan surrendered on the 27th of May, on the simple assurance of personal security, and was sent as a prisoner, with his family and connections, to Seringapatam. The characteristic improvidence of the Mussulman is peculiarly observable in the Patan; and the rifling of the whole family, in all its branches, furnished no more than one lac of Rupees. The compact with the chief was literally observed; but Hyder having, on his return to the capital, discovered a new plot of assassination among the relations, caused all the male adults of the family to be secretly despatched.

No prominent occasion has hitherto occurred for presenting to the reader's notice the private consequences of a passion, not clashing with ambition, but exercising a joint and equal dominion over the mind of this extraordinary man. The polygamy and unlimited intercourse, supposed to be authorised by the Mohammedan religion, is restricted, by the positive law of the Koran, to four women at the most, including wives and concubines. A separate revelation extended this indulgence for the use of the apostle himself, and his eventual successors were already provided with about double the prescribed number. Mohammedans of rank accordingly refer to example rather than to precept, and revert to the kings and apostles, (as they hold them) of Jewish history, to justify an unbounded† indulgence. Hyder observed neither limit in the extent, nor principle in the means of gratification; and on the capture of a place, a department charged with the scrutiny of female beauty, discharged their functions with as much vigilance as that which searched for treasure. In the capital and the provinces, branches of the same police con-

* One of these men, left as dead, unexpectedly recovered; the circumstance was some time afterwards reported to Hyder, who observed, that such was the man's fate; and ordered him to be immediately received into his service. General Close saw this person twenty years afterwards, a powerful, healthy-looking horseman.

† There is, however, always a distinction between the lawful wives and those of the imperfect contract; but none in the offspring, who have all an equal right to the inheritance, whether born of legitimate (or primary) wives, or concubines, with no legal difference between them, but that of the males being double the portion of the females.

veyed accurate information of everything deemed worthy of the sovereign's approbation. To Mohammedan families of rank the ceremony of the *nika*, customary and unlawful as they all know it to be, covered with a thin veil the prostitution of their daughters, and obtained a forced and sorrowful consent. Among all the classes not Mohammedan there was no ceremonial but force; nothing escaped his research, and the power and the will were combined in the most extraordinary degree, to render him the secret terror of every family, removed above the lowest vulgar of the sootiest hue. It were unreasonable to expect under such institutions, any touch of that fairy magic of mind, which is capable of transforming animal instinct into the most tender and delicate source of human happiness; but Hyder seems to have been unmoved even by those fleeting partialities, which accompany the grosser pursuits. There was nothing of mind in that which seemed to occupy so much of his thoughts: and neither that, nor any other object, was ever known to encroach on a single moment, which could be profitably employed in the career of ambition.

The right of conquest gave him a claim to all the beauty of this ancient house, and a sister of Abdul Hakeem Khan, eighteen but unmarried, was reputed to exceed anything that had yet entered the seraglio. Hyder considered no formality to be necessary and merely ordered her to be [illegible] of the [illegible] to which she was destined. The lady formed a different estimate of this supposed distinction; her own honour and that of her house were the paramount considerations with which her mind had been imbued; in accepting the [illegible] of [illegible] she declared that she would [illegible] and she informed the [illegible] was provided with [illegible] and infallible means of [illegible] Hyder persevered in his intent [illegible]

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

A negotiation ensued—the ceremony of the *nicka* was performed, and this lady, under the title of *Buckshee Begum*, was soon afterwards placed at the head of the seraglio.*

Hyder's increased confidence in the fixed fidelity of his brother-in-law Meer Saheb, was evinced by his adding the territory acquired by the fall of Sidhout to the seat of his fathers at Goorumconda, and conferring the whole, as a military dependency, on the condition of maintaining for his service, together with the requisite garrisons, three thousand horse of the first order of efficiency; and these arrangements being completed, he returned to his capital in the month of June, to enjoy a year of triumph and of dreadful preparation.

The civil affairs of his government demanded, in his judgment, a deliberate revision, and the description of these arrangements, shall be compressed into as moderate a compass as is consistent with rendering them intelligible. Among the preparatory measures were the appointment of new ministers of finance, and of police, the former named Mohammed Sadik, and the later Shamia: the duties of the former office are sufficiently indicated by the name, and the mode of administration may be illustrated by a retrospective abstract.

Hyder's first dewan or minister of finance, after the defection of *Kunde Row*, was one of the same school, named *Vencatapa*, a bramin, who died in his service in 1765. A few days before his death, he addressed a letter to Hyder, stating, that he found his dissolution approaching, that idle conjectures would be formed with regard to the amount of the wealth he had accumulated in his service, and that he therefore determined, for the repose of his conscience, and the security of his family, to make this dying declaration. The fortune honorably made in his service was 50,000 Pagodas or 18,750*l.* which he invited Hyder to receive into the treasury on his death, and to leave his family in peace. According to English notions, every spark of humanity and honor must be extinct in the breast of a prince, who should despoil the family of a faithful servant, of a sum which the deceased might well be supposed to have fairly acquired. Hyder, on the contrary, conceived it an act of exemplary benevolence to accept the amount, without putting the family to the torture. Vencatapa was succeeded by another bramin named Chinneia, who was tortured, plundered, and dismissed in 1768. His successor, Assud Ali Khan, a Nevayet, was the first Mussulman whom Hyder had ever employed in a civil office of trust and importance; he died in 1772, under the tortures which were inflicted, to extort money which he did not possess;

or the error, in both countries, may have a common source, which it would be at least an object of curiosity to investigate.

* From the period that Tippoo was allowed an establishment of his own, his mother, *Seydanee Begum*, was placed at the head of it; and was succeeded in the charge of Hyder's by *Medina Begum*, formerly a dancing girl, or rather an eleve of that frail sisterhood, selected by Hyder at a very early age: declining health had now rendered her incapable of so active a charge.

and was considered an able and an honorable man. These examples were apparently calculated to produce one of two consequences; either that no person should be found to undertake the office, or that the acceptor should plunder without limit. Neither of these consequences ensued in the next successor. *Sellahyiet Khan*, another Nevayet, was a man of the purest integrity, but of talents not altogether equal to the situation in which he was placed. These reasons for his removal were openly assigned by Hyder; but measuring the principles of others by his own, he was not satisfied with the honest declaration of the minister, that he possessed 10,000 Rupees, 1,250*l*. the exact sum with which he entered Hyder's service. He was imprisoned, but I think not tortured, and on his death-bed, about five months afterwards, made the same declaration; that exact sum was found in his house, and Hyder *took it* without the smallest compunction. The person now chosen to succeed him was *Meer Sadik*, who filled the same office on the capture of Seringapatam in 1799; he was taken from the situation of camp Cutwal, an office compounded of the functions of clerk of the market, police magistrate, and prevôt martial.

We have formerly* had occasion to observe, that the department of police had at an early period been annexed to that of the post-office; Hyder had, at different intervals corrected and improved the details of this office, and with the aid of his new minister *Shamia*, a bramin possessing all the cool acuteness necessary for giving efficiency to his plans, and unfettered by any scruples or compunctions that might obstruct their operation, not only perfected those arrangements for the prevention of crimes, which under all governments are indispensible to a firm administration; but superadded a system of external and domestic intelligence, which pervaded all foreign courts, and penetrated into the inmost recesses of every private dwelling in his own dominions. From the union of these two departments, of finance and police he composed a special commission for the investigation of embezzlements, which was not only successful in the detection of actual frauds but in establishing apparent proof of malversations which never existed. When a public officer of trust was delivered over to the department of torture, a branch of that of police, the reader has probably not inferred, that this was effected without some previous form. For the designation of *[illegible]* the [illegible] of the day had substituted that of *[illegible]* [illegible] quence of the well understood practice of making out a fictitious statement, supported by [illegible] vouchers and [illegible] of witnesses in waiting, and exhibiting a balance against the unfortunate victim of the sum which they calculated [illegible] to extract. Shamia [illegible] these horrible [illegible] statements were [illegible] as to bear in public [illegible] where they were [illegible] of

* Vol. [illegible]

truth and accuracy; and his new and horrible contrivances of torture spread a terror, which sometimes rendered their application unnecessary. That neither talents nor services, however eminent, shielded their possessor from the reach of this frightful inquisition, may be inferred from the single example of Apajee Ram, who actually did not possess half the sum demanded of him, and borrowed the remainder from his friends. He had executed all his trusts with the most scrupulous fidelity; he had rendered to Hyder an account of all the presents which he received in his missions, and had generally been allowed to retain them. Hitherto he had trusted to the force of probity alone; but on this occasion, he declared to a confidential friend,* that he found it to be not only an unprofitable, but an impracticable virtue; and should henceforth avail himself without limit, of the license to plunder, which the conduct of his master had now proclaimed. Military men alone escaped. Hyder's arrangements rendered it difficult for them to be rich; the habits of the profession are seldom those of accumulation; and the extension of such a system to them, would moreover have been unsafe. The superior scale of civil allowances was a topic of ordinary animadversion among them; and it may even be apprehended, that the officers in Hyder's army did not view with the generous indignation, which such scenes are calculated to excite, this mode of refunding emoluments, of which they were jealous. A military officer, a native of Constantinople, and a commandant of infantry, was indeed one of the most noted instruments of the department of torture; and the public notoriety of the number of persons who died under his hands, could not restrain the puns and mongrel jests of the day. This person had been named *Roomee* from his country, and from his buffoonery *Zerreef*, a title which, on this occasion, was changed by common consent to *Roomee Zerree*, or Roomee the *money-finder*. On these transactions one of my manuscripts has an observation which I shall copy verbatim:—"Those who had executed their respective trusts with moderation, and were really unable to pay the sum demanded, died under the torture: and those only escaped with life, who had enriched themselves by exaction, and were compelled to disgorge." Some of the unfortunate persons of the first description saved their lives by prevailing on soucars (bankers) to become their securities. All Indian Governments are aware of the large profits made by these bankers, in consequence of their connection with the administration of the revenue: but a policy obvious to the darkest ignorance had hitherto preserved to them the privilege of security in the midst of exaction. The judgment of Hyder, true to his interests on most occasions, seems never to have been effectually obscured by any passion but avarice: he determined for the first time to levy a heavy contribution on the bankers; and thus gave a destructive blow to all future confidence; to the sources of commercial

* The late minister Poornea, who related it to the author.

enterprise; and to the means of availing himself on any future occasion of the monied interest of the country. Of the sum fixed upon to be exacted from the bankers, a balance remained, for the present unpaid, of twenty lacs of Pagodas, 720,000*l.*; and the consequence of this stupid but effectual banishment of capital from his dominions, was evinced in the well-known fact, that all the subsequent tortures inflicted by himself, and by his successor, failed to realize this balance.

A splendid embassy was in this year despatched to Delhi, for the purpose of obtaining for Hyder, the imperial grants of the soubadaree of the two Carnatics,* in order that an exterior dignity which still commanded some respect, might accompany the possession of an authority, which he had now an early prospect of conferring on himself.

Political considerations had induced Monsieur Lally to leave the service of Basalut Jung for that of Nizam Ali, and he was now farther disposed to leave both for the service of Hyder. He had been detached towards Kurnool and took that opportunity of coming over, with a force of 100 European infantry, 50 European cavalry, 1,000 Native infantry, and two guns, about one-fifth of the number which he had stipulated to bring: in consequence of which Hyder reduced the stipulated pay of the officer commanding.

The Frenchman either outwitted himself or was disappointed by his troops; his proposals of service had included

European infantry - - - - -	500
Native ditto - - - - -	5,000
European cavalry - - - - -	300
Guns - - - - - -	14

and, as the commandant of such a force his monthly pay was fixed at 5,000 Rupees. When the first month's pay was issued he received 2,000 Rupees, he demanded an audience, and talked, and gasconaded. "Be quiet," said Hyder, "and be grateful for getting so much; you have not fulfilled your stipulation, and I have overpaid you in proportion to your numbers. I do not give an officer 5,000 Rupees a month for the beauty of his single nose."

A more convenient [illegible] may not occur for explaining that neither in Hyder's nor in Tippoo's government was the issue of military pay regulated by any calendar: the abstract or written statement of monthly pay, and hence in ordinary acceptation the pay itself, was called a *[illegible]*, a Canarese word which properly signifies a written statement of any kind. The Hindoo calendar for the purpose of its numerous lunar† fasts and festivals attempts to reconcile the solar year with the lunar months, the difference being adjusted at the proper intervals by an intercalary [illegible], which rectifies the calendar. These are [illegible] for an Indian army; for the

* Now [illegible] at Hyderabad.

† Exclusively of the greater celebrations there are two regular fasts in every month: the [illegible] day of the [illegible] moon.

leap year contains a thirteenth or supernumerary month, which has no pay annexed to it, and by the soldiers is nicknamed the *stone* month, stones, as they observe, being the only food provided for them. Hyder made it a merit to abolish the periodical discontents of the *stone* month, but substituted an arrangement no less beneficial to the treasury; instead of one monthly *puttee* he issued to the infantry two *half-puttees* in each month of account. The great convenience of this arrangement to the improvident soldiers, reconciled them to the artificial postponements, for which, festivals, Mohammedan or Hindoo furnished such numerous apologies. A postponement of one or two days in each half month, was scarcely noticed—double that number at the end of a month would have been a more prominent source of inconvenience and discontent. But in process of time the periodical return of the *half-puttee* crept on from sixteen, its original number, sometimes to twenty days; thus reducing the year of account to nine or ten months. The troops were habituated, from the first, to some irregularity in the period, and there was no calculation of arrears; it was a fixed rule, that whenever a *puttee*, or *half-puttee*, was issued, it was a payment in full of all past demands.

To the Silledar cavalry, or men mounted on horses, which were their own property, a whole puttee was issued once in thirty-five, and afterwards in forty, or even forty-five days, under this singular arrangement, that they received Rupees of account, calculated at two-thirds of the actual value. These puttees were called *bees rose*, or *puttees* of twenty days; namely, two-thirds of such a month as ought to have been reckoned and paid for, the remaining third was an arrear to be settled at the end of the year, or sometimes of two years; and the mode of paying these arrears was always in turbands, silks, chintzes, or articles obtained in plunder, perhaps by the very men to whom they were returned, and estimated to the troops at about double their actual value. These troops were allowed to retain half the plunder they brought in, and the knowledge that they themselves were to be again plundered in this form, was their justification for defrauding the Government to the utmost extent in their power. During Hyder's government this was difficult, under Tippoo exactly the reverse.

To the stable horsemen, as those were designated who were mounted on horses the property of the State, the Rupee of account was not issued, and there were no arrears: the payments were regulated on the same principle as those of the infantry, except that they received their *puttee* at the same periods as the Silledar horse. During Tippoo's government, up to the termination of the English war in 1792, the troops of every description received at the rate of nine, and sometimes ten *puttees* in the year; after that period, the number was sometimes as low as seven.

Hyder in this year opened a negotiation with Abdul Heckeem Khan, the Nabob of Savanore, which terminated in a double marri-

age; the eldest son of that Nabob to Hyder's daughter;* and his second son, Kereem Saheb, to the daughter of Abd-ul Heckeem. The half of Savanore, which the Mahrattas had left in his possession, had after the conquest been restored by Hyder, on the annual tribute of four lacs of Rupees: the remaining half was, on this occasion restored to the Nabob, and the tribute reduced one-half, on the condition of maintaining for Hyder's service, two thousand select Patan horse, to be commanded by two of the Nabob's sons. Of the three Patan Nabobs, who had made so great a figure in the transactions of the south, the troops, and the resources of two were now transferred to Hyder; and the third of Kurnool† continued to be a doubtful dependent on Nizam Ali.

On the occasion of this double alliance, Abdul Heckeem and his whole family visited Seringapatam; Hyder went out to meet them, with the greatest demonstrations of respect; and the marriages were solemnized, with a degree of splendour and magnificence, far surpassing all former example. Persons from all parts of the country assembled to witness the festivity. The whole capital was a continued scene of exterior joy and revelry; but the operations of police were not intermitted; and the groans from the dungeons were not permitted to disturb these unhallowed rejoicings.

From the period of the infraction by the English of the treaty of 1769, by repeatedly declining to afford the stipulated succour, Hyder had anxiously wished for a suitable opportunity to retaliate the wrong. But at this time, so far from having meditated the invasion of the succeeding year, his preparations were exclusively directed to resist the formidable invasion, which the ministerial faction of Poona Mahrattas, after the conventional surrender of an English army at Worgaum, and the capture of their opponent Ragoba, had not only meditated, but openly announced to the English, with whom they considered their differences to be adjusted. We shall presently have occasion to revert to those transactions, and in the meanwhile, it will be sufficient to state, that the escape of Ragoba on the 12th of June, from *Cholee Mahesswer*, on the river Nerbudda, where he had been confined by Madajee Sindia, and his reception by General Goddard at Surat, suddenly induced the ministerial party at Poona to propose an union with Hyder, instead of prosecuting military operations against him, as they had previously determined.

It was in the midst of the marriage festivities, that an envoy, named Goneish Row arrived, to offer to Hyder the congratulations of the infant *Sewai Madoo Row*, (the posthumous, or reputed son of *Narain Row*, whom the ministerial party had installed as Peshwa), on these auspicious events. The letter of congratulation concluded, with referring to the verbal communications of the envoy, for the

* The most notorious scold in the south of India.

† At one time this unfortunate chief found it neccssary to pay tribute to three powers; the Mahrattas—Nizam Ali—and Mysoor.

sentiments of the court, on matters of political importance; and a brief abstract of the discussions which ensued, may afford some light to guide us through the maze, both of past and subsequent events.

The envoy represented that the English, again espousing the cause of the murderer Ragoba, now a second time a fugitive, had made war on the Peshwa; that Hyder equally with the Mahrattas, had cause to complain of that nation, for a violation of their engagements; that Nizam Ali was equally well-disposed to the common cause; and that the period had arrived, when it was incumbent on the ruler of Mysoor, to unite with the powers of Deckan, in taking effectual retribution; that it was necessary however as a preliminary measure, that the confederates should have the most perfect understanding with each other; that Hyder owed a balance of twenty-five lacs, on account of the treaty of Trimbuc Mama, besides an arrear of eight years'* peshcush (tribute); that he had levied large sums on the Poligars of Harponhully, and that vicinity, who were properly the tributaries of Poona; and lastly, that he had wrested from the Mahratta State, the whole of their territory between the Toombuddra and Kistna; and previously to entering on the offensive league, which was the ultimate object of the mission, it was necessary that he should evacuate the countries he had seized, and make an amicable composition of the pecuniary claims.

On the part of Hyder, it was replied, in the first instance, that the Poligars in question were the regular dependants of *Sera;* that the grant of the countries between the rivers had been made to him for a valuable consideration, by Ragoba, the heir, and actual head of the Government; and that the account of the tribute had been adjusted with the same person, and the balance acknowledged to be paid,† through the medium of Bajee Row Burwa, his accredited envoy.

Goneish Row retorted, that Ragonaut Row was a murderer, and an expelled usurper, who had fled to foreigners for refuge, and that his concessions were notoriously of no validity.

To these allegations it was replied, that Hyder left it to the contending parties, to decide which of them ought to be considered as *usurpers;* and had no intention to dispute the rights which by the actual possession of the Government, the ministerial party had for the present acquired; or to acknowledge, or reject, the filiation of the present *Peshwa;* but that it was a foul calumny to brand as a murderer, Ragoba, who had actually received a wound in the defence of the person with whose murder he was charged; and that while the convocation of pregnant females, shut up in Poorunder with the widow of Narain Row, had not yet determined whether they should be able to produce a male infant among them, it was

* *Peshcush* from *Pesh kusheeden,* (Pers.) to bring forward or present; the word thus, originally signified an offering, and in its subsequent use, the *voluntary gift* became a *tribute.*

† He had actually paid sixteen lacs.

absurd to question the validity of the acts of the lineal heir, and actual possessor of the power of the State.

Such were the leading features of a discussion, which terminated in an agreement, that the grants of Ragoba to Hyder should be confirmed, with regard to the territory between the rivers; all past demands were declared to be discharged; eleven lacs of Rupees was fixed as the annual payment to be henceforth made by Hyder for the whole of his possessions, (that for the current year to be paid in advance), and on these conditions, Hyder engaged to put forth his whole force, to combine with the confederates, for the expulsion of the English nation from India. Nizam Ali invading the northern circars; the Mahrattas of Berar, Malwa, and the more northern parts of Hindoostan, attacking the territories of Bengal, and Bahar; those of Poona and the south operating on the side of Bombay; while Hyder, accompanied by 2,000 chosen Mahrattas, rather as a guard of observation, than an aid, should direct his whole force towards Madras. The detail of these negotiations was adjusted at Seringapatam; at their conclusion, Noor Mohammed Khan and Narain Row, accompanied Goneish Row to Poona, as the vakeels or ambassadors of Hyder, who commenced the most active preparations for the serious performance of his part of the compact.

CHAPTER XXI.

Retrospect of Hyder's relations with the English, since 1769—Disgraceful intrigues of Mohammed Ali in England—Direct negotiation with the ministry—who sent out Sir John Lindsay as ambassador—Unites in Mohammed Ali's views for the infraction of the treaty with Hyder—Error of the treaty of 1769—now practically discovered in 1770—Discussions regarding Tanjore—siege of that place in 1771—Trimbuc Mama threatens to relieve it—bought off by Mohammed Ali—and sold to both parties—Mohammed Ali fabricates a mock Mahratta invasion—Deception unveiled—Strange proceedings of the royal negotiator—Able statement of the nature of the English connexion with Mohammed Ali—Proposal of the Mahrattas in 1771 to unite with Hyder for the conquest of the South and East—Manly and candid avowals of Hyder to the English—His most advantageous offers rejected—through the influence of Mohammed Ali—Hyder's unfavorable treaty with the Mahrattas in 1772—the consequence of his adherence to these political principles—Tanjore taken by the English in 1773—Hyder's embassy to Madras—renews his offers of alliance—again frustrated by Mohammed Ali—Resentment of the Mahrattas for the capture of Tanjore—Mohammed Ali sends an embassy to Hyder—a mere mockery—they are dismissed in 1775 with an explicit intimation of Hyder's sentiments—Mohammed Ali occupies and improves the fortress of Tanjore—raises an army—determines on resistance to the orders for its restitution—fails when the time arrives—restored to the Raja by Lord Pigot in 1776—cabal of private creditors, and Mohammed Ali obtains the revolutionary arrest of Lord Pigot in the same year—durst not proceed the meditated length of restoring Tanjore—English connexions with the Mahrattas—Colonel Upton's treaty of 1776—Ragoba—Designs of the French connexion with Hyder—with Poona through Mr. St. Lubin, 1777—A party at Poona propose to restore Ragoba—consequent treaty of Bombay—confirmed by Mr. Hastings—correct and enlarged views of that statesman—Diplomatic and military measures, 1778—Designs of the French—discovered—and anticipated—Tardy and weak measures at Bombay—Field deputies—Army advances—is foiled—Convention of Wargaum—disavowed by the Governor of Bombay—Army under Goddard crosses to Surat—Ministerial party at Poona make advances for peace, 1779—and avow their design of marching aginst Hyder—Escape of Ragoba to General Goddard, changes their politics, and makes them unite with Hyder as above related—Relations with Nizam Ali—Guntoor Circar and Basalut Jung—Erroneous views in the connexion of Madras with that chief—March a corps to join him—opposed by Hyder—Returns—Resentment of Nizam Ali—appeased by the wise measures of Mr. Hastings—Return from digression—Correspondence of Hyder with Madras in 1778—evades negotiation—English at length desirous of a treaty with Hyder—but the period had passed away—Capture of Pondicherry stated—that of Mahe announced, 1779—Hyder explicitly avows hostility in that event—Mahe with Hyder's colors displayed with those of the French, falls—Hyder's open declarations of intended hostility—Mission of Schwartz to Hyder—Strange mystery never explained—Mission of Mr. Grey—Negotiation fails—Reiterated hostile declarations of Hyder—Torpor at Madras—roused by the invasion.

THE complex character of the transactions in which Hyder had been engaged with the native powers, since the conclusion of his treaty with the English in 1769, has suggested the convenience of reserving for a separate retrospect an account of his relations with that

State during the same period, in order that we may be enabled to take a distinct and unbroken view of its political condition, at the period of the impending war, which threatened the utter extinction of the British power in India.

The sovereignty of the treaty of Paris in 1763, discovered and communicated to Mohammed Ali by an European adviser, suggested to him the mission of an agent to England in the year 1767, for the purpose of establishing a separate interest in the administration and legislature of that country. To open a direct intercourse with the sovereign of England; to throw off the control of the local English Government, and render it subordinate to himself, to hold the balance between the French and English nations in India; to render them severally his instruments of imperial conquest, afterwards of their own mutual destruction, and ultimately to expel them both,* were the views which at intervals undesignedly unfolded themselves in a long and labored course of intrigue; in which English gentlemen could make open and undisguised offers of their services to become Directors† of the East India Company, and members of a more august assembly, to a Nabob of Arcot, a pageant, if possible, more deceived than deceiving, who is stated to have returned‡ eight members in one British Parliament.

Services§ performed and to be performed in this unhallowed cause, assumed the portentous shape of an overwhelming *private* debt, chargeable by the legislative authority of Great Britain on the revenues of Arcot, to the direct prejudice of national claims: a British administration subverted and undermined the constituted authorities in India, by giving the sanction of the royal authority

* I have stated no inference that does not appear to me to be proved by written documents and indisputable facts, known to persons now living.

† Documents adverted to in p. 329 of this volume.

‡ Burke's speech on the Carnatic debts, the only performance of that great man on Indian affairs, which accords in [illegible] truth, as well as splendid eloquence. Mr. Burke himself was, however, not a mere spectator of the Indian transactions of that period. A complete history of the internal policy of those times, would be highly curious and instructive to the reader, but as yet too obnoxious, "in [illegible]," for a compiler of this day. The materials are perfectly accessible.

§ Besides the speculative property in bonds, for the repayment of money *not lent*, there were more solid remunerations. Three Members of the Council of Government of Madras, obtained a large assignment of territorial revenue in 1767, which gradually emerged to light in the two succeeding years. The Court of Directors comment on the transaction, in the following terms, "the servants of the Company, &c. &c., have in this instance unfaithfully betrayed their trust, abandoned the Company's interest; and prostituted its influence to accomplish the purposes of individuals, whilst the interest of the Company is almost totally neglected, and payments to us rendered extremely precarious."

These transactions afford some partial explanation of two facts relative to the war of 1767, 1st, the want of funds for conducting it, and 2d, the unhappy prevalence of Mohammed Ali's councils in its mismanagement. It is not intended to class all the creditors of Mohammed Ali in one and the same unprincipled mass. A few had an honorable origin

to a plenipotentiary charged with independent, indefinite, and unintelligible powers, to the native States. Majesty was degraded by affixing the royal signatures to letters addressed, as to an equal, to this factitious sovereign of English manufacture. An ambassador, (Sir John Lindsay,) with concealed powers, was deputed in the ostensible character of the commander of a frigate, and decorated with a ribbon and star of the Order of the Bath, a representative of the sovereign of Great Britain to Mohammed Ali. With these dignities, the ambassador burst at once upon the governor and council, as if by ambuscade; and became from that time a partizan of this foreign power to which he was deputed, against the delegated government of his own nation.

When Hyder, on the invasion of Mysoor by Madoo Row in 1770, demanded from the Government of Madras the execution of the treaty of 1769, the erroneous conceptions of Mr. Du Prè in negotiating the 2d article of that treaty began to be distinctly unfolded. Mohammed Ali whose views required the extinction of Hyder as the very first step in his march of general conquest; reminded the government that being no party to that treaty, he was not bound to furnish funds for its execution. (It will be recollected that he had fraudulently refused to execute according to compact the instrument of his participation.) And the King's plenipotentiary ever acting in unison with Mohammed Ali, upbraided the Government with the circumstances under which it was concluded, as an argument to impeach its validity; "the time when, the place where, the peace was made," are the insinuations of the minister; "a peace (as the Directors afterwards remark,) to which the want of aid from *his idol* compelled us;" "such (as they emphatically observed,) are the honors, &c., (of the royal mission) the honor of humbling the East India Company before the throne of Mohammed Ali Khan."* The Nabob and royal plenipotentiary urged not merely a passive infraction of the treaty, but its active violation, without one assignable pretext, by uniting with Madoo Row for the destruction of Hyder; and the Government finding itself pledged to all the practical evils of an offensive alliance with Hyder, which they had so carefully professed to avoid; feeling the impossiblity of executing the treaty in opposition to the Nabob and the representative of Majesty, and resolved not to destroy the power which they were bound by treaty to defend; evaded the whole question, by representing both to Hyder and the Mahrattas the necessity of waiting for the result of a reference which they had made on the subject to their superiors in England.

A long and mysterious reserve, assumed by Mohammed Ali, in consequence of the refusal of the Government to accede to his designs, suddenly changed about the beginning of the year 1771, to the most open and confidential communication, as the prelude to an under-plot which required the employment of the Company's

* Company's Records.

army. A question raised into serious notice, by the gold of the contending parties, and the zeal of their envoys, for many years caused the British press to teem with the erudities of its European advocates, namely, whether, "according to the constitution of the Mogul empire," the Raja of Tanjore were the subject of Mohammed Ali, or an independent prince—whether a creature of the imagination had assigned to one or the other of two usurpers the right to oppress a foreign people. The only constitutional dependence of this Raja, was on the Mahratta State; and this dependence, which the Mahrattas uniformly claimed, and he acknowledged, made him the deputy of an usurping deputy. According to the law of the strongest, the actual payment of tribute had practically established the claim of Mohammed Ali to its continuance as long as he should continue to be the strongest. Long priority of usurpation, and a more just and lenient Government, if such a claim were happily available in such discussions, were on the side of the Raja; and he was encouraged by the vicinity of his countrymen, then campaigning in Mysoor, to resist the demand. The Nabob required from the British Government an army to enforce it; and they, for the first time desired, before a force should be assembled, to be satisfied regarding the resources from which the expenses were to be paid. These were of necessity adjusted; and the army moved in September 1771, for the siege of Tanjore. The Raja had paid Trimbuc Row five lacs in advance on the promise of his marching to raise the siege, and that chief had drawn from the warfare in Mysoor, a considerable body, which threatened to descend into the province of Arcot; but four lacs from Mohammed Ali arrested their progress. The siege was considerably advanced, but was raised on the 15th of November on the payment to Mohammed Ali of a large contribution. Trimbuc Row, like a true Mahratta, had sold himself to both parties, and Mohammed Ali was enabled by the compromise to make a merit with the Poona Mahrattas, the ostensible lords paramount of Tanjore, of having desisted from the capture of that place out of pure deference to their friendship. But the mysteries of the scene were not yet completed. Although the Government of Madras had [illegible] announced to Hyder and to the Mahrattas that [illegible] were to their reference to England, which [illegible] prohibited their assistance to either, they were [illegible] to be frightened into the belief of a Mahratta invasion for the purpose of compelling them to join in the destruction of Hyder; and by [illegible], the Mahrattas even proceeded to plunder a part of the territory of Arcot; but Mohammed Ali, by [illegible] the aid of the [illegible] troops for their expulsion, [illegible].*

During [illegible], the royal plenipotentiary, under the [illegible] of Mohammed Ali opened a diplomatic correspondence with Trimbuc Row, of the progress of which during

* [illegible] immediately following.

its existence, the local Government was kept in profound ignorance, but at its close were gravely informed by the royal envoy, "that he had proposed to the Mahrattas, in His Majesty's name, a cessation of hostilities between their nation, the English, and the Nabob of Arcot, until His Majesty's pleasure should be known; and that he *understood from the Nabob* that they (the Mahrattas) had acceded to these proposals and withdrawn their troops."—"Would it not (say the Government of Madras) have been more conformable to circumstances to have said, that the Mahrattas were desirous, in His Majesty's name, to cease hostilities against the Nabob; for neither the English nor the Nabob have committed any hostilities against them: the Nabob would not even consent to our moving an army to protect his borders, which the Mahrattas were plundering, while we remained peaceful spectators."—"Why (they continue) an answer hath not been returned by the Mahratta general to the minister of the crown, who, in the name of the King condescended to make the proposal; or whether it be consistent with the honor and dignity of the crown of Great Britain, to be only an instrument in the hands of the Nabob of the Carnatic, it may not become us to enquire." The same able performance* contains the following judicious observations, on the nature of the English connection with Mohammed Ali, "Without money or resources, your apparent strength is real weakness; and if we must continue to be charged with the defence of an extensive country, the maintenance of a numerous army, and the support of an intricate political system, without authority, without the command of money or provisions, and without consequence, and what is still worse, in opposition to the power who commands all these: such a system is not to be varnished with specious descriptions; it may subsist for a while on the accidental weakness and embarrassments of our neighbours, but unless some effectual remedy be applied, it must sooner or later end in ruin."

While the Government of Madras were thus restrained by insuperable impediments from the performance of their engagements to Hyder, and Mohammed Ali was thus obstructed by the talents and virtues of M. Du Prè, in his views of uniting with the Mahrattas; that State, whose direct object was the entire subjugation of the south, proposed to Hyder to compromise their differences, and unite for the conquest of the lower countries, to the eastward. Hyder made known these proposals to the English Government; stated that he considered an union with the Mahrattas, to be directly contrary to his interests; and the conquest of Arcot, through the medium of Mysoor, to involve his own inevitable ruin; that he had hitherto opposed their unreasonable demands on Mysoor, in the confident hope of receiving from the English, the aid stipulated by treaty, and would continue resistance as long as hope should remain; that he was aware of the influence which had hitherto

* General letter to England, 28th February 1772.

prevented their performance of the compact, that he was willing to forget the causes of personal animosity towards Mohammed Ali, and to hope that the English would mediate a reconciliation; he authorized his envoys to propose, as the condition of prompt and effectual aid, the immediate payment of twenty lacs of Rupees, and the cession to the English of the provinces of Baramahal, Salem and Ahtoor; and finally, the ambassadors were directed openly to announce, in the event of the rejection of all these advances, Hyder's reluctant determination to throw himself on the French for support.* To these ingenuous proposals, the Government felt themselves unable to make a suitable return: Mohammed Ali admitted the correctness of Hyder's statement regarding the views of the Mahrattas, but "that the friendship of the English ought not to be purchased with money," was an effusion of political Quixotism, not very advisedly risked, by the author of that breach of faith which produced the sordid substitution of interested motives, and who in the whole of his connexion with the English nation, had uniformly tarnished their proudest trophies with moral shame and political dishonor. Hyder evinced the earnestness and the soundness of his political views, by afterwards consenting to the humiliating peace which we have described in preference to the delusive strength which was offered to him by the Mahrattas in their proposal for a joint conquest of Dravida.

We have incidentally noticed the mission to Madras which Hyder deemed material to his interests, when preparing to avail himself of the intestine commotions of the Mahratta State; the same circumstances had suggested to Mohammed Ali, the present moment, as the most favorable, for realizing his long projected design of possessing the fort and territory of Tanjore. An English army under General Joseph Smith, equipped with the means of a regular siege, arrived before the place on the 6th of August, and carried it by assault on the 17th of September. This new ground of jealousy between Mohammed Ali and the Mahrattas augmented the hopes of Hyder with regard to the success of his mission: his ambassadors† arrived at Madras in December 1773, and opened their proposals, which were simply for a treaty [illegible] 1769, to be executed by the English, by Hyder, and Mohammed Ali, and by the two latter to be confirmed by [illegible] Mohammed Ali repeated his former objection to the [illegible] and placed in the front of his argument a reason from which ordinary statesmen would have deduced an opposite conclusion, namely that the Mahrattas confessedly entertaining views of [illegible] the whole south would be too strong for the united force of the allies. In the course of discussion, however, he admitted that after the capture of Tanjore, the Mahrattas would [illegible] in his promises, and that it would be wise to strengthen himself by

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

an alliance with Hyder. So long as these apprehensions continued, he seemed to yield to the opinions of the Government of Madras, regarding the impolicy of increasing a power already too formidable; he passed with facility to the most gracious deportment towards Hyder's ambassadors; he overwhelmed them with assurances of the most inviolable confidence and friendship, to the extent of unfolding all his designs, for the extension of the true faith; and "the delight* with which they should hereafter mutually view, from the terrace on which they were then seated, the expulsion of the last infidel Englishman over the surf which foamed at their feet;" he even submitted to the Government the draft of his project for a treaty: in which it is worthy of remark, that he proposed, as a special article, that the subjects of each who might *fly away in disgust* should be reciprocally given up; confirming with his own hand, a fact which I have stated on other grounds of information, that his interior rule was more oppressive than even that of Hyder Ali. The negotiations were continued; and when Ragonaut Row in 1774 was proceeding south after his advantageous peace with Nizam Ali, he showed his keen resentment for the capture of Tanjore, and the general character of his designs, by the demands which preceded his approach. First, to join in the extirpation of Hyder; second, to restore Tanjore; "which belongs to the Sahoo† Raja:" third, to pay choute, (a fourth part of the revenue), and Ser Deshmoukee (an additional tenth); claims which we shall hereafter attempt to unravel; but the intrigues at Poona compelled him to return; and a series of adventures, not within the direct scope of our design, which were encountered by that chief, would furnish abundant materials for a separate and interesting narrative. Successive and groundless apprehensions of treachery in the moment of victory, seem to have been the bane of his political career; and the abundant occupation of the Mahratta State in these intestine broils, relieved Mohammed Ali from his more immediate fears, and disposed him to resume his former political views.

The British Act of Parliament of 1773, among other remote benefits, had perhaps suggested to His Majesty's ministers the expediency of revoking the powers of their Indian plenipotentiary which certainly had not been creditable to the wisdom of their councils; and the same Act, in its immediate result, had rendered it necessary for the Government of Madras to refer, for the sanction of the Government General at Bengal, the proposed alliance with Hyder; but imperfect communications and inexplicable delays, protracted their decision; ambassadors‡ sent by Mohammed Ali to Seringapatam immediately after the return of

* Letter of the ambassadors to Hyder, found at Seringapatam in 1799. Mohammed Ali, however, made known to the Government, that he *affected* an exclusive attachment to Hyder.

† The pageant Mahratta sovereign, imprisoned at *Sittara*.

‡ Ali Nawaz Khan and Seyed Futte Ali.

the Mysooreans, endeavoured to amuse Hyder with successive evasions; but in May 1775 that sagacious chief disgusted with procrastination, and distinctly perceiving the secret workings of the same crooked policy, which had uniformly impeded his alliance with the English, dismissed the envoys with a civil letter, intimating, in polite terms, that as the climate appeared to be unfavorable to their health, he could not subject them to farther inconvenience: but in his personal audience of leave, he was sufficiently explicit: "you are respectable men" said he: "and have acted in conformity to your orders; for seventeen months you have practised evasion, till you are ashamed of the part you have to perform: I will relieve you from the embarrassment, for I will no longer be trifled with; your master is desirous of shortening the thread of amity, but the time is not distant when he will be glad to renew the advances which I have condescended to press upon him in vain. I have sincerely wished for an alliance in that quarter, but I must do without it, and you must return and say so." One of the envoys was a man of intelligence and observation, and his recorded report on his return, of the views and intentions of Hyder, was absolutely prophetic of every event that subsequently occurred from 1775 to 1780.

The capture of Tanjore had infused the greatest activity into all Mohammed Ali's projects of sovereign rule; he improved the fortifications of that* place at an enormous expense, garrisoned it with his own troops, and augmented his regular force to twelve thousand sepoys, seven regiments of cavalry, and fifteen hundred artillery, the whole of which had now attained a respectable degree of discipline and efficiency, under officers on whose fidelity to their new master, the absurd confidence was apparently reposed of relying on an oblivion of their prior and paramount duties as Englishmen. His plans being matured he stated to the Governor in a public conference, that his second son Ameer ul Omra, who had organized this force, was about to proceed to assume the command of Tanjore, that he [illegible] for the purpose of asking advice but of announcing the fact as an independent* sovereign. The intentions [illegible] have been either expressly known or probably inferred [illegible] orders from England would arrive [illegible] Raja [illegible] the notifi-

* The Sovereignty [illegible] were alternately [illegible] Mohammed Ali [illegible] the former to [illegible] and the latter [illegible] European power [illegible] should be [illegible] to obtain [illegible] Nabob of Arcot [illegible] dependent [illegible] this assertion [illegible] exterminating [illegible] employ [illegible] foresight [illegible]

cation we have stated had any meaning at all, it must have pointed to a resistance of these orders. Lord Pigot arrived in December, charged with their execution; and when the moment for decision arrived, Mohammed Ali discovering the* erroneous grounds of his calculating on the treason of his English officers, suffered all his mighty preparations to dissolve; the fort was occupied by British troops on the 9th February 1776; and Lord Pigot personally superintended the formal restoration of the Raja's authority in the month of April.

A curious evidence of Mohammed Ali's designs was exhibited in his secret transactions with the East India Company of Denmark. A commission for military stores was given through Ameer ul Omra to the Danish Governor of Tranquebar; and the first lot, amounting to seven thirteen-inch mortars, twenty-six brass field pieces, with a proportion of shells and shot, four thousand muskets and carbines, two thousand saddles, &c. &c., arrived at Tranquebar in 1776, *after* the restoration of that place to the Raja by Lord Pigot. All practicable secrecy was observed with regard to these stores until Hyder's invasion in 1780, when Admiral Sir E. Hughes, at Mohammed Ali's request, caused them to be conveyed from Tranquebar to Madras: and Hyder, whose vigilance nothing could escape, obtaining information of the removal of stores belonging to his inveterate enemy, which he deemed to be his own lawful prize, threatened the capture of Tranquebar, and compromised for a fine amounting to about fourteen thousand pounds sterling, which was actually paid.

A singular correspondence ensued in and after 1776, regarding the payment for these stores, and for countermanding the farther orders which had been given, "the circumstances under which the order was despatched, had unfortunately changed, and might never return; but it was still of great importance that the transaction should be concealed from the English." Some instalments were tardily paid; but on the assumption of Carnatic by the East India Company in 1801, the Danes advanced their claim on that Company for the payment of the balance. In 1803, a negotiation was carried on in England, in the course of which the Danes were obliged to produce this secret correspondence as evidence of the debt; and the English East India Company did accordingly discharge the balance then due, amounting to 42,304*l*. 10*s*.

The powerful cabal of private creditors, who united with Mohammed Ali, for the revolutionary arrest of Lord Pigot in the suc-

* When the error was discovered, there was a second plan for getting rid of the European officers. Ameer ul Omra, vain and weak, as he was ambitious and unprincipled, had an ill choice of confidants, and one of them unwarily betrayed the secret, that "in a few weeks the *Feringees'* (European officers,) heads would fly one way, and their *topees*, (hats,) another;" but he found that in this purpose also his instruments would fail him; the men would in preference have retorted such an order on its author. These facts, repeatedly stated to me in India, are supported by the information of one of those officers, now living, and in England.

ceeding August, could not dare to proceed the whole length of replacing Tanjore in his possession. The phantom of sovereignty had suffered a rude assault; but the delusive hope of retrieving the blow, continued to be cherished, in a subtle but weak mind, by a series of corrupt and interested deceptions: a material ground of difference with the Mahrattas, was however removed; and Mohammed Ali returned with ardour to his former policy, of retrieving all past misfortunes, by uniting with them, for the destruction of Hyder, and his other enemies.

While the intrigues of Mohammed Ali, were thus preparing for the English the hostility of Hyder, their transactions with the Mahratta States were encompassing them with additional dangers. Ragoba, supported by some of the most powerful chiefs of the Mahratta State, is supposed to have taken a groundless alarm, in ascribing to them a participation in the treachery of his Arab troops in 1775, which induced him, as we have noticed, to fly to Cambay, and thence to Surat, and ultimately to proceed to Bombay; this imprudence left an open field to the ministers at Poona, who founded their authority on the custody of the reputed posthumous son of the late Peshwa, a third gradation in the scale of usurpation; the guardians, or gaolers of the doubtful son of an usurper. The treaty of Colonel Upton, concluded with these ministers on the 1st of March 1776, among other conditions assigned a provision in a distant part of the Mahratta dominions, for Ragoba, who was in return to quit Bombay, and not to be supported by the English in any future efforts to disturb the government of the ministers. But that person protested against the treachery of thus delivering him up to the hands of his enemies; he claimed at least the protection offered to an ordinary resident, so long as he should give no political offence; and the Government of Bombay, who reprobated the whole transaction, were glad to rest their compliance with the request of Ragoba, on the powerful plea of common humanity.

In the meanwhile the political preparations of the French for the recovery of their lost ascendancy in India were extended in every possible direction. The ill fated councils which had alienated the English from Hyder Ali, had forced that chief into an intimate correspondence with Monsieur Bellecombe the Governor of Pondicherry: military stores of every description required were furnished to him, through the medium of the French factory of Mahé on the coast of Malabar, and the plans were concerted for future operation, at a more convenient season. At [illegible] coast of Coromandel, French troops, as we shall presently [illegible] were introduced into the service of Basalut Jung; and Monsieur St. Lubin, whose adventures in the English service in 1768 have been slightly noticed, had now [illegible] from the court of France, and was negotiating at Poona a treaty with the ministers by which the port of Choul was to be ceded to France for the purpose of

introducing a body of French troops, to unite with that party in their hostile designs against the English power. Towards the close of the year 1777, a party at Poona, who preferred Ragoba under the protection of the English, to a French force for the support of a minister (Nana Furnanese) who had made a large stride towards open usurpation (by announcing his pretension to render hereditary in his own family, the office of minister to an infant pageant, the nominal usurper of the rights of another imprisoned pageant,) opened their views to the British resident at Poona; and proposed a plan for the restoration of Ragoba, with the aid of an English force. The Government of Bombay eagerly encouraged the project; and the Governor-General (Mr. Hastings) now restored to the authority of a casting voice at his own council, although he had disliked the connexion with Ragoba on its original footing, gave to the present plan his unqualified approbation. Uniformly disapproving the treaty of 1776, the Governor-General had recently proposed a modification of that instrument, in which he had introduced a provision against the danger he had long perceived to be most imminent, namely, the actual connexion of the ministerial party with the envoy of France, evinced by their repeated demands of troops; and by the attempt of St. Lubin, to obtain the permission of the Portuguese Government, to pass two French regiments, for a purpose not exactly ascertained by the unsuspected route of Goa from the south, and at the same time to occupy Damaun to the north of Bombay, inasmuch as the establishment conceded to that nation at Choul, was too near to Bombay, and at present too defenceless to be occupied, until some decisive blow should have been struck elsewhere.

The negotiations for counteracting these designs assumed various and fluctuating shapes, adapted to the exigencies of the times. Shabajee Bhoonsla, the Mahratta ruler of Berar, was to be supported in the hereditary claims which he was supposed to possess, as lineal* descendant of the great Sevajee; and was expected to overturn at once the complex usurpation which governed at Poona. A

* Letter from Bengal, 17th August 1778. There are few persons so little likely to have been misinformed on such a subject as Mr. Hastings. The claim is said to have been founded on adoption; but I can trace none to the family of Berar.

Sevajee had two sons, *Sambha* and *Ramah*. The first of these had two sons *Sahoo* and *Sambha*. *Sahoo* died without issue, and I have been able to trace no adoption. *Sambha* adopted a son, from whom descended the family of *Colapoor*, and according to Hindoo law, the present Raja of that place is unquestionably the lineal heir of *Sevajee*, in the elder branch. The line of pageant Rajas, confined in Sittara, being as unquestionably descended from *Rama*, the second son of *Sevajee;* if the claim of Berar be founded on a supposed adoption by *Sahoo*, and that adoption be real; there would then be a precedency of *two* claims to the privilege of incarcerated royalty, over that which has actually been established; the precedency of Colapoor is certain, and if Mr. Hastings ascribed an adoption to Sahoo, he probably did so on good grounds.

respectable force was also prepared in the north-western provinces subject to Bengal, destined to the arduous attempt of traversing the whole of Hindostan, to Poona, or to the western shores of India, as circumstances might require. The professed object of this expedition was the protection of Bombay, ruled by an inefficient government, against the hostile designs of the French; and it commenced its march in May 1778, but was checked by various delays, independently of the death of Mr. Elliot, who was proceeding on a mission to Berar, connected with the accessary object of engaging the interest of Shabajee Bhoonsla. The death of that able public servant, and that of the actual Raja, defeated the first project of placing him at the head of the Mahratta empire: but a better result followed, in the secret separation of this family from the Mahratta co-operation, and its effective support of the English Government, when in 1780 the invasion of Bengal was committed to Moodajee, the successor of Shahbajee, as one branch of the confederacy for the expulsion of the English from every part of India.

Mr Elliot had recently returned overland from England, and in passing through Paris had been confidentially informed by Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, that war with France was inevitable; and shortly before Mr. Elliot's death, while on his route to Berar, he had, by seizing the person of Mons. Chevalier, intercepted a letter from Mons. Bellcombe to St Lubin confirming the same intelligence, and desiring him to urge the Mahrattas to immediate action. This intelligence* induced the English to make those preparations which enabled them to anticipate the blow, by the early reduction of all the French possessions on the continent of India.

In the meanwhile the preparations at Bombay were conducted with a tardiness and imbecility which deprived Ragoba of the advantages of secrecy, and gave to his enemies the opportunity of discovering and destroying his adherents, and organizing at leisure the means of resistance. It has been objected to the cause of Ragoba, that *no army appeared* to join him on his entering the Mahratta territory; but the lessons of history, from the earliest ages, might instruct statesmen in the fallacy of resting in ordinary cases any plan of military operation on the expectation of such assistance: reflection might always suggest, that the organization and equipment of a military force, which requires the whole exertion of the established powers of a State, is not easily achieved by the desultory and sudden efforts of those who are watched and counteracted by those established authorities.

The Government of Bombay had however completed their preparations about the close of the year, and in imitation of the ludicrous policy of Madras in 1768, appointed field deputies from their civil service to direct the military operations in the field, a

* The declaration [illegible] by M. de Noailles, was dated the 13th of March 1778; on the 7th of Aug. the Government of Bengal received official intelligence [illegible] M. Baldwin at Cairo

measure which by a selection, at least as unwise, of a bed-ridden commander had been rendered almost necessary: On the 1st of January 1779, the army, consisting of about 5,000 men, including a small corps with Ragoba, surmounted the hills and moved forwards: the conduct of the officers and troops was highly creditable, and their losses severe; but after penetrating to a situation not twenty miles from Poona, the pressure of the overwhelming force by which they were incessantly surrounded, harassed, and starved, suggested the necessity of retreat, which terminated on the 14th of the same month, in the disastrous convention of Worgaum; this instrument provided on one hand for the safe return of the troops, and on the other for the surrender of Ragoba, the restitution of all former conquests, and the return to Bengal of the troops whose march has been noticed; and for the performance of the latter conditions, two English gentlemen* were delivered as hostages. The government of Bombay disavowed the treaty of Worgaum; and the Supreme Government conceiving that one of the parties to this convention, namely, the field deputies, had exceeded all powers with which they could possibly be deemed to be vested, by stipulating for that, over which the Government of Bombay itself had no authority, determined to sacrifice the hostages† rather than execute the terms of this disgraceful compact.

In the meanwhile the concentration of this Mahratta force in the direction of Poona, had relieved the detachment from Bengal from the presence of the troops, which were otherwise destined to oppose its march; and Colonel Goddard, who had succeeded to the command of this force, deviated from the course towards Poona, which he was pursuing, when he heard of the convention of Worgaum; and by a great and continued exertion arrived at Surat before the end of February.

The means which were thus placed at the disposal of the Government of Bombay, for the renewal of the war; and the powers with which General Goddard was invested for the conclusion of peace, disposed the ministerial party at Poona to an acquiescence in the modification of the treaty of 1776, to which we have formerly adverted. They expressed in a letter to Bombay their earnest desire for an immediate accommodation; and in the confidence of returning friendship informed that Government of the great preparations which they were completing, for marching in full force against Hyder Ali, at the opening of the ensuing season; when the escape of ‡Ragoba from the custody of Sindia, to General Goddard's camp on

* Messrs. Farmer and Stewart.

† It is creditable to the humanity of Madajee Sindia, whose prisoners they became, that he afterwards released them unconditionally. To Lieut. Steward, who expressed to him his scruples, he replied, "*resume your place in the army, your sword is your subsistence.*"

‡ He was accompanied by his adopted son, Amrut Row, then seventeen, and Bajee Row, four years old, born to him after the adoption of the former. *This Bajee Row is the present Pêshwa,* 1816.

the 12th of June, changed the whole plan of their policy; and induced them to depute without a moment's delay, the embassy to Hyder, that terminated in the offensive alliance against the English, which has been already noticed.

But the hostility of these two States did not constitute the only danger which threatened the English power. The interference of France, in the dispute between Great Britain and her colonies, had now terminated in an open rupture between those two States; and although the capture of Pondicherry, after a gallant resistance in October 1778, and the reduction of Mahe in March 1779, had relieved the English from the most imminent of their dangers in Coromandel and Malabar; still the vicinity of the French islands enabled that power to give the most formidable support to the impending confederacy, which was farther strengthened by the active political efforts of Nizam Ali, the result of transactions with the Government of Madras which it remains to describe.

We have seen that in the arrangements which were concluded between Nizam Ali and the English regarding the cesssion of the northern circars; that of Guntoor forming a part of the jageer of Basalut Jung was reserved during the life-time of that chief, but the Company were declared to possess the full reversionary right to that district, and as a guard against the designs of his brother, the jealous condition had been added by Nizam Ali, of the right of the English to dispossess him at an earlier period, if his conduct should be hostile or injurious. The district of Guntoor occupies a considerable extent of sea-coast, between the northern boundary of the dominions of Arcot and the river Kistna, which was then the southern limit of the other northern circars possessed by the English. The trifling sea-port of Mootapillee had been employed by Basalut Jung for the introduction into his service of French officers and troops; and the disciplined corps under Monsieur Lally had attained a respectable degree of force and organization, at the period that we have described it surprised by Hyder in its trenches at Bellary in 1775.

Basalut Jung meditating to render this corps the foundation of retrieving his fortunes, continued to augment and improve it, to every practicable extent; and this incessant introduction of French officers and troops into the interior of the peninsula, and the interposition of a French force, between the different positions of the English territory on the coast of Coromandel, had caused repeated remonstrances from the Government at Madras, both to Nizam Ali and Basalut Jung. The result of some previous negotiations produced, in the early part of the year 1779, an offer from Basalut Jung to rent that circar to the English; and subsequently an agreement by which he engaged to dismiss the French corps from his service, on the condition of being furnished with a body of English troops for the defence of his dominions. The endeavours of the English to obtain an amicable transfer of that life-interest in the district of Guntoor, which con-

stituted the only impediment to their occupation of that territory, was a measure perfectly justifiable: but in connecting that legitimate object, with the loose condition of defending the other possessions of Basalut Jung, they rushed into a wide and dangerous field of political discussion, utterly beyond their competence, as a subordinate presidency.

The improvidence of Basalut Jung in an augmentation of force, disproportioned to his financial means, had caused the French corps to be ill paid and discontented: he hoped to retrieve his finances by stipulating, that the revenues of Guntoor should furnish the payment of his English auxiliary force; and when Lally,* already seduced by Nizam Ali, was about to leave his service, he transferred to the English the possession of Guntoor, and earnestly pressed the immediate march of their auxiliary troops to Adwanee, at the precise time that Hyder, after the capture of Chittledroog, was in motion for the conquest of Kurpa, a country exactly interposed between the ceded province and the capital of Basalut Jung. The tardy arrangements of the Government of Madras had not prepared the detachment until the month of August, when Hyder, after completing that conquest, had long returned to Seringapatam, leaving the provincial command to the care of Meer Saheb. The orders for the march of the British detachment were issued with the same loose unconcern, as if they had related to a simple interior movement: its route, by the provinces of Kurpa and Kurnool, amounting to at least two hundred miles of road distance, was through the most difficult passes of the peninsula, and across the territories of two powers, namely, Hyder and Nizam Ali, who were directly interested in preventing its progress. By a political inadvertence scarcely credible, no previous notice was given, or permission requested, to pass a military force through these foreign territories; the officer commanding was merely furnished with a letter from the Governor to Hyder's manager (as he is named) of the district, requesting that he would allow the troops to pass; a proceeding undignified, as it regarded the Governor, and insulting as it related to Hyder, subversive of all intelligible relations, and only showing that the Governor was aware of the necessity of some sort of permission. Colonel Harper, the officer commanding, was allowed to proceed without molestation, until the whole body was fairly entangled in a deep winding rugged vale, between two precipitous hills; when a breast-work of felled trees, lined with musketry, was seen in front; troops were observed to be in motion in the hills on both flanks, and a larger force to close up the rear; when Colonel Harper, perceiving the perilous snare into which he was advancing, prudently determined on an immediate retreat, which was permitted without serious hostility. The Government, on receiving this report, determined to reinforce the detachment, and

* The Government of Fort St. George, (general letter, 3d April 1780,) stated the reception of these troops by Nizam Ali, to be a direct violation of the treaty of 1768. I cannot find the condition which it violates.

remonstrate with Hyder, assuming in their letter, as an axiom in the law of nations, that friendly States were always at liberty to march troops through each other's territories. Hyder not only resisted this novel doctrine, but announced to Basalut Jung his fixed determination, not to suffer an English corps to pass to Adwanee, nor the district of Guntoor to pass into the hands of his most inveterate enemy; (for the Government had already unveiled the secret mover of the scene, by sub-renting the district to Mohammed Ali). Hyder's declaration was quickly followed by a body of light troops, who laid waste the territory of Adwanee up to the gates of the capital; and by the time that Colonel Harper was reinforced, and had recommenced his march, he was stopped by letters from Basalut Jung, stating that he was threatened with destruction, both by Hyder and Nizam Ali, if he should continue his connexion with the English; and requesting that for the present the Colonel should desist from the attempt to advance. Another letter, to the Government of Madras, implored the restoration of Guntoor, as the only means of saving him from the vengeance of his enemies. But that Government determined to keep possession of the territory in conformity to the treaty, and to announce that the troops which they had agreed to maintain for his service, were ready to perform their part of the stipulation. Nizam Ali resented, as an act of hostility against himself, the stipulation of the English for the unconditional defence of his brother and most formidable rival, and entered with the utmost zeal into the confederacy of the other States.

Such were the formidable combinations which encouraged Hyder to persevere in his part of the general plan, which had for its avowed object the extermination of the British power in India. But in order that our future narrative may not be interrupted by a reference to the subsequent negotiations with Nizam Ali, it may be a convenient anticipation to state in this place that all these transactions were viewed by an unfavourable eye from the Government-General of Bengal, to whom the treaty with Basalut Jung, concluded in April 1779 [illegible] 18th of February 1780; and when [illegible] made, those orders were [illegible] ing the [illegible] of Mohammed Ali [illegible] the Governor Mr Whitehill, was in [illegible] 1780; and the [illegible] Guntoor [illegible] and that by the [illegible] the Supreme Government [illegible] powerful confederacy Nizam Ali [illegible] original adviser. But [illegible] Government-General were [illegible] the effect produced on the [illegible] Nizam Ali [illegible] recently received [illegible] M[illegible], so often [illegible] Hy[illegible] him the whole [illegible] Nizam Ali [illegible]

We return from a digression, necessary for explaining the condition of the British power, which Hyder was about to assail, to resume the narrative of his own direct communications with that Government.

On the departure of Mohammed Ali's ambassadors in 1775, Hyder reluctantly, but finally, dismissed from his mind all expectation of an alliance with the English; and turned his earnest attention to their European rivals, the French; who received his advances with marked encouragement; a vakeel, or political agent, continued to reside at Madras, for the purpose of intelligence; but his intercourse with the Government was limited to those formal communications, which are made as a matter of routine, to all powers not in actual hostility on the occurrence of any important event. On the occasion of his victory and pursuit of Hurry Punt Purkia, he addressed one of these letters to the Governor, in January 1778; which was answered by a letter of congratulation in the following month, from Sir T. Rumbold, who had recently succeeded to the government, and expressed a desire for farther amicable communications. Hyder was engaged in an arduous service (namely, the reduction of the Mahratta territory between the rivers) which rendered it necessary that he should temporize, and he returned to this communication a letter of great civility accompanied by some presents. The same causes which would for a time prevent his aiding the French, in that rupture with the English, which he knew to be impending, induced him to attempt amusing them with other schemes; and in pursuance of this design, his agent submitted to the Governor the project of a joint operation for replacing Ragoba, in the Peshwaship of Poona. This advance was met by the proposal of a personal conference, to discuss the details of a permanent alliance; and Hyder replied, by objecting to the great distance of his present situation, and by suggesting that an envoy should be sent to him for that purpose, as soon as his arrangements should be in sufficient forwardness. In the meanwhile, the urgency to his own affairs of the service in which he was engaged, prevented him from moving to the support of the French, at Pondicherry, during a siege protracted from the 8th of August till the 18th of October.

Although the Government of Madras had recently expressed their conviction to the Supreme Government that Mohammed Ali would never consent to the alliance with Hyder; yet on announcing to that chief the fall of Pondicherry, they pressed its conclusion, by desiring an explicit declaration of his sentiments regarding the proposed treaty. But the period had passed away for the realization of such a project. Hyder had reluctantly engaged in other connexions; and was persuaded, that the secret impediments to a sincere alliance with the English, continued to be insurmountable; although, therefore, he replied in terms of cold and formal congratulation, on the success of the English arms, he evaded the explicit declaration which was required, by saying that he would

write on the subject of a personal interview with the Governor, as soon as he should have finished an expedition on which he was then engaged. The Governor, however, persevered in his desire of farther communication, by proposing to send a resident to his court; and conculded with announcing to him, his intention of sending an expedition for the reduction of Mahé.

Although Hyder had heard with regret of the capture of Pondicherry, his immediate convenience was not materially affected by that event; but if the fortress and port of Mahé should fall into the possession of the English, he would lose the direct source of military supply, and his allies their last remaining point of co-operation: he therefore replied to this intimation, that he considered the various settlements of the Dutch, French, and English, on the coast of Malabar to be equally entitled to his protection as being erected on his territory, and that he should certainly oppose the designs of any one of those powers against the settlements of another; he at the same time directed his agent to announce to the Governor, in the most explicit terms, that in the event of an attack on Mahé, he should not only aid in its direct defence, but retaliate, by detaching a body of troops to lay waste the province of Arcot. That forts and harbours, possessed by European powers, long before Hyder's existence, should pass under his sovereignty, in consequence of a subsequent conquest of the adjoining territory, was a political assumption of sufficient absurdity, and the English Government would have sacrificed all pretensions to dignity and independence, by yielding to a determination founded on such futile pretences. Mohammed Ali was of a different opinion, he recommended that the expedition to Mahé, already arrived on the coast of Malabar, should be postponed; and reverted to the policy so often repudiated, of strengthening themselves against Hyder, by an alliance with the Mahrattas; the service went on, and although Hyder's troops assisted in the defence of the place, and his colors were hoisted with those of the French to indicate his protection, it fell in the month of March. The Nairs in the neighbourhood immediately rose in rebellion against Hyder's Government, in the hope of being supported by the English; but Colonel Brathwaite, who commanded the expedition, did not consider himself justified, under the equivocal aspect of Hyder's policy, to engage in any act of direct aggression; the Nairs were consequently subdued by Hyder's provincial troops, and were afterwards stimulated to attack the English, not only at Mahé, but at their ancient settlement of Tellicherry.

If Hyder did not put into immediate execution his threat of invading the territory of Arcot, he was restrained by motives of a prudential and temporary nature, and he certainly cannot be accused of disguising his intention. In a letter written in the succeeding month, after complaining of incessant impropriety of conduct, on the part of Mohammed Ali's officers on the frontier, he adds, that out of respect to the King of England, and the gentlemen of the council at

Madras, he had *as yet taken no step to retaliate*, reminds the Governor of the notice he had given regarding Mahe; and concludes with the significant observation, that the Governor was the best judge of his own conduct. The reply of the Governor, after expressing surprise at Hyder's partiality to the French, in preference to the English, somewhat awkwardly, complains for the first time, of Hyder's conquest in 1776, of the territories of Morari Row, who was included as an ally, in the treaty of 1769; and also of the conquest of *Kurpa*, which Mohammed Ali with literal truth, but political deception had represented to be an ancient dependency* of Carnatic. The tone of Hyder's last communication was certainly calculated to excite alarm: and the Governor determined to adopt the best means in his power for disposing him to more amicable councils; or at least to ascertain the actual extent of his designs.

Among the Danish missionaries patronized by the English society for promoting Christian knowledge, was a German clergyman, named Swartz, who had his principal residence at Tanjore, but frequently travelled in the exercise of his religious functions, to various parts of the peninsula. He was a man of considerable information, of amiable demeanour, and of a purity of manners, and simplicity of deportment, which emulated the apostolic character. To this respectable person, the Governor intrusted the secret mission of proceeding to the court of Hyder, to "sound" his disposition; to assure him of the amicable designs of the English Government; and if he should appear to be peaceably disposed, to inform him that a deputation of some principal members of the council would be sent to him, to adjust the terms of a lasting alliance. By the most unhappy coincidence of events, Mr. Swartz arrived at Seringapatam, a few days after Hyder had received the intelligence of Colonel Harper's hostile attempt (as it was there considered) to pass without permission through the province of Kurpa, towards Adwanee: this event was not calculated to compose Hyder's resentment on other accounts; but he assured Mr. Swartz, that "if the English offered the hand of peace and concord, he would not withdraw his," PROVIDED * * * * *, but of these mysterious provisos, nothing can now be ascertained.† Hyder was gracious and condescending to the envoy; but his two letters to the Governor, the first delivered by Mr. Swartz, and the second transmitted in the succeeding month,

* He intended to represent it as a dependency of *Drauveda*, now named *Carnatic Payeen Ghaut*, on which it never had depended. It was an ancient portion of Telingana, (see vol. i, pp. 4 and 5,) when the Mohammedan conquerors made the artificial division of Carnatic Vijeyapoor and Carnatic Hyderabad, (vol. i, p. 135,) Kurpa was included in the conquests of the latter, but on no occasion was a *dependency* of the *Payeen Ghaut*.

† The arrival of a private traveller was so little calculated to excite attention, that few persons of Hyder's court could recollect anything of him, excepting that Hyder, who conversed with the teachers of all religions, had about this period some conversations with the Christian priest, who came to instruct some of his European soldiers.

spoke daggers to the most torpid apprehension. He took a review of the conduct of the English, as connected with Mohammed Ali, from the fraud of Trichinopoly in 1752, to their violation of the treaty of 1769; he enumerated their hostile conduct at Mahe, the the attempt to march troops through his territories to those of Basalut Jung; the conduct of Mohammed Ali's officers on the frontiers; and of the Company's servants at Tellicherry, in furnishing protection and aid to his rebellious subjects, as so many evidences of their determination to break with him at all events, and added, "I have not yet taken revenge: it is no matter. But if you henceforth, forgetting all treaties and engagements of the Company, still are intent on breaking with me, what advantage can attend writing to you? When such improper conduct is pursued, what engagements will remain inviolate? I leave you to judge on whose part engagements and promises have been broken. You are acquainted with everything, it is right to act in all things with prudence and foresight." On the return of Mr. Swartz, the Governor communicated for the first time to his council, the result of a mission which had been undertaken without their knowledge: the only documents recorded on the occasion, are the Governor's letter to Hyder, which merely stated the amicable objects of the mission, and Hyder's answers, already adverted to; which add, that "Mr. Swartz would inform him (the Governor) with several matters he had charged him with;" but no entry was made on the records of the information from Mr Swartz, thus directly and officially referred to; not a single line of report or journal, or communication, in any form, from a person who had been charged with a political mission of the greatest importance. In a period abounding with themes of wonder, it is impossible to repress our astonishment, that no individual charged with public authority in India or in England ever suggested the examination of Mr Swartz on these points, or called for a journal or report of his proceedings. A Committee of the House of Commons, [illegible] charged with the investigation of these transactions, [illegible] reports the fact of no such entry having been made, but adds no [illegible] regarding the obvious means of supplying the defect. Although I had the pleasure of Mr Swartz's acquaintance many years afterwards, and have heard [illegible] of this mission [illegible] historical pursuits [illegible] among [illegible] my request,* [illegible] was found [illegible] which unfortunately [illegible]

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

which our information is defective. The whole of these extracts are subjoined* for the purpose of exhibiting the amount of the lights which they afford regarding the nature of the mission, and of furnishing a curious and interesting picture of the mind of this venerable Christian, who seems to have deemed the political mission no farther worthy of notice, than as it tended to promote a particular object of spiritual pursuit.

A point of secret history seems to be connected with the mission of Mr. Swartz, which is not explained by another which immediately succeeded it. Six English gentlemen and a lady had proceeded from Europe to Alexandria, and traversing Egypt to Suez, had there embarked on board a Danish ship bound to Calicut on the coast of Malabar, where both ship and cargo were seized for having English property on board; and all the passengers were plundered and sent as prisoners to Seringapatam. Hyder on their arrival directed the Governor† of Calicut, who accompanied them to the capital, to ascertain how many of them were fit for *gunners*, but on discovering that there was not one military man among them, he gave an early order for their release: there was some hope that their property would also be restored, but unfortunately some of the articles attracted Hyder's fancy, others were probably intercepted in his name without his authority, and the prisoners were dismissed with a very slender wardrobe. On the first intelligence of this capture, the Governor of Madras determined on the mission of an envoy to demand the release of the English subjects, and to embrace the same opportunity of resuming an attempt at amicable alliance. The person selected for this service was Mr. Gray, formerly of the Civil Service in Bengal. He met at Amboor on the English frontier (where he had waited a few days for his passport from Hyder) the prisoners, whose release formed the first object of his mission, but he determined to proceed in prosecution of the second, although limited by the terms of his passports to a retinue which scarcely allowed him the conveniences of a private traveller. On his arrival near the capital, quarters were assigned to him at the distance of two miles, in a miserable shed half filled with artillery ropes, where (according to his journal) "one of Hyder's *chobdars*‡ came and squatted himself by his side and asked a variety of impertinent questions." His own attendants of the same order were not permitted to go with a message to Hyder, according to ordinary etiquette, and not one of his people stirred from the shed without

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sufficiently explicit, if it were permitted to found on the recollection of such conversations, after a long interval, the narrative of an historical fact, of more than ordinary delicacy, involving the reputations of the dead.

* Appendix, No. 2, end of this volume.

† Sirdar Khan.

‡ Attendants with silver or gold staffs, who act as a sort of subordinate marshals and messengers; the attempt of one of these persons to sit down in the presence of a man of rank, would everywhere in India be deemed a broad and deliberate insult.

being openly attended by a spy, to prevent his having any communications, excepting for the purpose of purchasing what he required in the market. He was however admitted to an audience on the succeeding evening, "after (as he reports) being kept in an open veranda two hours to be stared at," and delivered his letter and presents. Of course no business was transacted in this first audience: but on the ensuing morning the presents* were returned, with an intimation that hostility was not to be inferred from that circumstance. It was Hyder's intention to show that the presents were not suited to the dignity of the giver or the receiver, and adverting to customs of which the Governor and his envoy ought not to have been ignorant, they had fairly subjected themselves to this rude retort. A few days afterwards Mr. Gray proceeded to the private audience which he had requested: and after being introduced to the public durbar, and waiting about half an hour, without being spoken to by Hyder, a person came to announce that if he wished a private audience, a person in Hyder's confidence would retire with him into an adjoining apartment, report the result to Hyder, and bring his answer. Mr. Gray expressed a wish for a personal audience, but on being informed that this was not customary, he retired with Mohammed Osman† who brought him the intimation; and who frequently passed to the durbar to refer to Hyder, and bring his replies. Mr. Gray announced the main object of his mission to be a closer union of interests, to which Hyder replied, that he would be glad of the friendship of the English; but of what avail were treaties? of the treaty of 1769, they had broken every article: his affairs had been reduced to the brink of ruin, by their refusal to aid him against the Mahrattas: that was the time for friendship, if friendship had existed: after such an example, it was unnecessary to enumerate minor grievances.‡ Mr. Gray adroitly replied, that he had not come to speak of grievances under former Governments, but to propose a remedy against new ones; and a treaty which should ensure the aid of troops when necessary. To this, Mohammed Osman replied from himself, "that Hyder did not want them, the time was, when he would have been thankful for them, but now he was strong enough to take care of himself and do without them. I have been at Madras," said Osman, "and have observed how your allies are treated: Mohammed Ali showed me

* A saddle and a gun constituted their whole amount; the saddle, (of English make, N. B. of Hogskin to a Mussulman,) seemed intended to try, not assist the seat; the gun, (a rifle which loaded at the breech,) was charged at the wrong end; such is the verbal account I have received of the messages which attended their return; Mr. Gray's journal is to the same effect, but somewhat softened.

† He was attended also by Mohammed Ghyass.

‡ Among other observations, he stated, that the English had conquered Tanjore, which was guaranteed by the treaty. This was intended to retort the Governor's observation regarding his own conquest of Gooty; but Tanjore was taken in 1773, and *restored* in April 1775; and Gooty was not taken till 1776, and never restored.

several letters from the king of England, *but complained of the lacs of Pagodas which each of those letters cost him.*" To this observation, Mr. Gray gave the turn of expressing his satisfaction that Mohammed Ali had friends at Seringapatam; he desired to be understood, that the wish for Hyder's friendship did not proceed from weakness; as the English Government was not in a state to solicit alliances; that he had so far executed his commission; and would either immediately return with the ungracious answer he had received; or wait for orders in reply to his report, as Hyder might think fit. That chief had now given abundant, repeated, and most explicit proofs of his intentions, but he did not wish to precipitate hostility before he was perfectly ready: he therefore carelessly answered that the gentlemen might write; but although it had been agreed that his letters were to be sent by Hyder's post, he found himself obliged, after numerous evasions, to send them by special messengers, and during the whole period of waiting for a reply, Hyder was inaccessible to all his advances. At length, when Hyder knew that he had received his answer, without desiring or waiting for a communication of its contents, he notified to the envoy, that he would on that evening give him his audience of leave. Under these circumstances, Mr. Gray determined, that if Hyder should make no enquiry regarding the answer, he would not give him the opportunity of insulting him in public durbar, by speaking on the subject himself. Under ordinary circumstances this would certainly have been the most dignified course of proceeding; but as the Government of Madras had not chosen to believe the hostility so frequently professed, and had allowed this mission to proceed with no remaining object, but to be more distinctly informed of Hyder's determinations; it would seem to have been more consistent with that object, to have brought those determinations to the most open and public issue. The envoy sat an hour in silence, when beetel and ottar of roses, the usual indications of dismission, were offered, and presents of the customary description* and value were offered and *accepted*; apparently because the envoy was glad to escape on any terms, from a country in which he was treated so inhospitably: where, (according to his own description,) "he had been received and treated as a spy, rather than an ambassador; rather confined than lodged; and in which the trifling civilities of fruits and flowers were delivered by chobdars, who were uncivil, insolent, greedy, and clamorous."

We have entered into circumstances of more than usual detail, for the purpose of enabling the reader to form his own judgment regarding the conduct which might have been expected in consequence, from men† governed by the ordinary degree of intellect, and swayed

* Gold cloths, shawls, and two bags, of 500 Rupees each.

† Mr. Gray arrived at Madras on the 30th March 1780; Mr. Whitehill succeded to the Government on the departure of Sir T. Rumbold, a few days afterwards.

by the usual impulses that actuate mankind. It must be stated to the credit of Mohammed Ali, that he recommended, in the strongest terms, the most vigorous preparations for the reception of the enemy; and continued from day to day to report the progress of Hyder's preparations, and the certainty of immediate invasion; but he had become a Cassandra, without the interposition of Apollo, his predictions were all discredited; in every successive year since the peace of 1769 he had continued to announce the same event, till his prophecies became the theme of ridicule, and tended only to confirm the torpor and imbecility of this unhappy government. His warnings were moreover unaccompanied by the means of following his counsel; from the period of the restitution of Tanjore, the noble corps of troops which he had embodied were constantly mutinous for want of pay, and continued to go off, full of grief and indignation, in large bodies, to the service of Hyder. While thus paying no one, Mohammed Ali borrowed from every one who would lend; and re-paid these loans, and the imaginary services by which he was still deluded, chiefly by bonds; some payable at stated, some at indefinite periods; all eventually charged on the revenues of the country, while the gold was hoarded as it was received, in his secret coffers. The Government at Madras were incessant in their complaints of "the great difficulty they had, to obtain the least assistance from the Nabob, or any part of the large balances remaining due, though it is beyond a doubt that money to a large amount is now* hoarded up in his coffers at Chepauk.† This backwardness is not the complaint of a day; the records are filled with the distress which the Company's affairs have been exposed to, by the trifling and nugatory conduct of the Nabob, whenever money has been demanded of him;" and again, "no sense of the common danger in case of a war, can prevail on him to furnish the Company with what is absolutely necessary to assemble an army." Of this person, whom it once became the fashion to designate as the most faithful ally of the English Company, our judgment would be more unqualified, if the most mournful palliations were not everywhere discernible in the conduct of those Englishmen by whom he was plundered and deluded. But with regard to the Government of Madras, as no language can convey an adequate impression of conduct, which no ordinary amount of evidence would render credible to succeeding ages, we shall be satisfied with a bare enunciation of facts. In their letter to England, of the 12th of February, they express a hope, whence derived it is difficult to conjecture, that "as the season is so far advanced, they should preserve the peace of the Carnatic that year." On the 3d of April, after inveighing against the conduct of Bombay, stigmatizing the Mahratta war as the source of Hyder's increased strength, and proposing a Mahratta peace as their best security against his designs, they seem

* Dated July 1778, the very time when the troops were in the greatest distress for pay.

† His residence near Madras.

for the success of the expedition, were ordered to be offered up in the mosques; and the jebbum* to be performed in the Hindoo temples.

5,000 men, well instructed and equipped; and a commissariat admirably organized, under the direction of a bramin, named Poornia, one of his ministers of finance.

The detachments made for the occupation of his conquests, and the accession of recruits and whole corps after the invasion, may, I think, be computed as nearly balancing each other; so that his disposable force, during the greater period of the war, may be taken with probable accuracy at about ninety thousand men. Of the Poligars of Calastry, Bomrauz, &c., who joined him near Arcot, it would be difficult to determine how they should be estimated; with his army they were a dead incumbrance; but if not with him, they might have been against him.

* Jebbum: a Hindoo ceremony for the attainment of a desired object; must, according to Butcherow, an intelligent bramin, be performed during four successive periods, of twelve days each, until the object be attained, or its attainment indicated by some certain prognostic; the number twelve being a quarter *mundul*, (orbit, &c., see p. 5, vol i. which, in its application to time, is a mystical period of 48 days. The Jebbum is of various kinds, the most common is that, in which from ten to an hundred bramins, under the direction of an expert Gooroo, high priest, abstain during the whole period from salt, and all other condiments which promote digestion, and confine themselves to simple milk and rice, a diet which none but the strongest constitutions can sustain. Thus prepared, a detachment of the corps frequently relieved, stand in a tank up to their chests in water, beating it incessantly with their hands, and bawling out their mantrams, or incantations.

This is nearly the form of the jebbum which is always performed during a drought in Mysoor, for procuring rain. That Hyder, himself, half a Hindoo, should sanction these ceremonies, is in the ordinary course of human action; but that Tippoo, the most bigotted of Mohammedans, professing an open abhorrence and contempt for the Hindoo religion, and the bramins its teachers, destroying their temples, and polluting their sanctuaries, should never fail to enjoy the performance of the *jebbum* when alarmed by imminent danger, is, indeed, an extraordinary combination of arrogant bigotry and trembling superstition; of general intolerance, mingled with occasional respect for the object of persecution. The form above stated, is really that which, as the bramins continue to affirm, succeeded in causing Lord Cornwallis' first and second return from Seringapatam, and failed in saving it from General Harris, because the Gooroo was not expert in the mysteries, or because some of the bramins had tasted of salt.

The belief in the magical powers of bramanical incantations, is not uncommon among the Mohammedans. All the particulars are familiarly detailed, of the [illegible] paid for by Mohammed Ali, at the expense of [illegible], and performed under the [illegible] of [illegible] Pundit, at the temple of Petchee Teert, S. of Madras, [illegible], and of a second, which, after several failures, [illegible] Hyder Ali. This jebbum, for killing a particular person, [illegible] to be performed by suspending a [illegible] or naga snake, [illegible], by the tail, from the roof of an apartment, [illegible] being burned on a fire immediately below. This jebbum, [illegible], is named Sera Yag, the former word signifying snake, the latter, fire.

The Mohammedans [illegible] are sometimes initiated in these rites [illegible] in the possession of a *Hajee*, a person who has performed the [illegible] at Mecca, [illegible] of the late *Omdut ul Omra*, eldest [illegible] of Mohammed Ali [illegible] to pay a [illegible] of Rupees for carrying off his [illegible] at the period when he had [illegible] stating, only, that he [illegible] to the terms [illegible] of Rupees. Shortly after the execution of

to infer, that notwithstanding his hostile demonstrations, he was unwilling or unable to act openly against them, although he had himself told them, in the most distinct terms, that he was both able and willing; and after adverting to the late correspondence, and the mission of Mr. Gray, instead of entering into any consideration, immediate or remote, of the practical measures of State which such conduct could not fail to suggest to men of ordinary intellect, they close their observations with the following puerile remark, "your Honors will be able to judge clearly of Hyder's disposition towards us: this unfriendly, not to say insolent, conduct, could only have been encouraged by our present troubles with the Mahrattas, in which he finds so much advantage as we have already explained;" but of any thing in the shape of a measure no trace is to be found on the records, unless we are to class as such a letter to Bengal, of similar import, which added a description of their total helplessness. No measure of precaution was adopted regarding supplies of food, a branch of the science of war not only the most difficult, but requiring the earliest combinations: no provision was made for the defence of places, or the formation of a field force; not one soldier was moved from his ordinary cantonment, nor a single indication afforded of being awake to the perception of facts notorious to all India, and in Mysoor not attempted to be concealed. "I have tried them already (said Hyder) and I know them well, they have no conduct; and even now, when I have assembled my whole force to enter the country, they have not shown the least glimmering of ability."* On his own part every branch of preparation was arranged with the most scrupulous care; no department escaped his personal inspection; and although ample provision was made for the military occupation of all the posts, in every part of his dominions, he moved from his capital in the month of June, with a force which had probably not been equalled, and certainly not surpassed, in strength and efficiency, by any native army that had ever been assembled in the south† of India: prayers

* The very words of a paper of intelligence from Hyder's army, delivered by Mohammed Ali on the 25th July 1780; the intelligence was perfectly correct, it was Hyder's ordinary topic of conversation at this time.

† The following is a correct return of the force actually mustered at Bangalore, which is exclusive of Meer Saheb's corps, still at Kurpa, altogether about 6,000 horse and foot :—

Stable horse	14,000
Silledar ditto	12,000
Savanore ditto	2,000
Infantry, regularly armed and disciplined	15,000
Select and veteran peons in regular pay	12,000
Ditto, assembled from the local establishments, subject to relief, and kept constantly complete	18,000
Peons of tributary Poligars, exclusively of their small contingents of cavalry	10,000
	83,000

Besides about 2,000 rocket men; a corps of unarmed pioneers, of near

for the success of the expedition, were ordered to be offered up in the mosques; and the jebbum* to be performed in the Hindoo temples.

5,000 men, well instructed and equipped; and a commissariat admirably organized, under the direction of a bramin, named Poornia, one of his ministers of finance.

The detachments made for the occupation of his conquests, and the accession of recruits and whole corps after the invasion, may, I think, be computed as nearly balancing each other, so that his disposable force, during the greater period of the war, may be taken with probable accuracy at about ninety thousand men. Of the Poligars of Calastry, Bomrauz, &c., who joined him near Arcot, it would be difficult to determine how they should be estimated; with his army they were a dead incumbrance; but if not with him, they might have been against him.

* Jebbum; a Hindoo ceremony for the attainment of a desired object; must, according to Butcherow, an intelligent bramin, be performed during four successive periods, of twelve days each, until the object be attained, or its attainment indicated by some certain prognostic; the number twelve being a quarter *mundul*, (orbit, &c., see p. 5, vol. i.) which, in its application to time, is a mystical period of 48 days. The Jebbum is of various kinds, the most common is that, in which from ten to an hundred bramins, under the direction of an expert Gooroo, high priest, abstain during the whole period from salt, and all other condiments which promote digestion, and confine themselves to simple milk and rice, a diet which none but the strongest constitutions can sustain. Thus prepared, a detachment of the corps frequently relieved, stand in a tank up to their chests in water, beating it incessantly with their hands, and bawling out their muntrams, or incantations.

This is nearly the form of the jebbum which is always performed during a drought in Mysoor, for procuring rain. That Hyder, himself, half a Hindoo, should sanction these ceremonies, is in the ordinary course of human action; [illegible] the most bigotted of Mohammedans, professing an open [illegible] for the Hindoo religion, and the bramins its [illegible], destroying their temples, and polluting their sanctuaries, should never fail to enjoy the performance of the *jebbum* when alarmed by imminent danger, is, indeed, an extraordinary combination of arrogant bigotry and trembling superstition, of general intolerance, mingled with occasional respect for the object of persecution. The form above stated, is [illegible] which [illegible] the bramins continue to affirm, succeeded in causing Lord Cornwallis [illegible] second return from Seringapatam, and failed in [illegible] General Harris, [illegible] was not expert in the mysteries [illegible] salt.

The belief in the [illegible] powers of [illegible] incantations, is not uncommon among the M[illegible]. All the particulars are familiarly de[illegible] M[illegible] Ali, at the expense of [illegible] and [illegible] A[illegible] Punjab, at the temple of [illegible] T[illegible] M[illegible] which after several [illegible] Hyder Ali [illegible] particular [illegible] performed by sustaining a [illegible] [illegible] from the roof of an apartment, [illegible] immediately below. This jebbum [illegible] the former word [illegible] the latter [illegible].

The M[illegible] rites. I have seen [illegible] a person who has performed the pilgrimage to M[illegible] Omar, eldest son of Mohammed Ali [illegible] for carrying off his younger brother [illegible] at the period when he had [illegible] stating only that he had agreed to the [illegible] Shortly after the execution of

His progress to the frontier was slow and circumspect; his purchase of a considerable portion of Mohammed Ali's killedars (governors of forts) had long been completed; but the corps of spies whom he had sent to obtain employment as guides at the English head-quarters, were still expectants of place, the military councils of that nation were not sufficiently alert, even for the purposes of their enemy; there was no plan to divulge, no project to frustrate, no movement to anticipate. The routes of Hyder's columns were deliberately calculated, and combined, without the necessity of adverting to contingent impediments; the corps moved to their appointed stations, on the crest of the hills; everywhere the blow was only suspended, until it was everywhere prepared; and the alarm of an invasion from Mysoor, although long and distinctly announced by two* members of the Government, continued at Madras, to be the topic of stupid ridicule, until the conflagration of the surrounding country, and the actual exhibition of the bleeding fugitives, roused this most extraordinary conclave from a slumber which has no example in the history of the world.

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the bond, a mutiny of the troops occurred, in which *Ameer ul Omra* was wounded in the hand, and the *Hajee* demanded and obtained a part of his reward, for this incipient operation of the charm; but its completion was slow, and when he actually died, about twelve years afterwards, the *Omdat* denied the efficacy of the charm, in producing that event; and the Hajee continued to be loud and forward, to tell every person who would listen to him, that he had performed the service, and that the Omdat had cheated him out of his reward, and forgotten his obligations as soon as he was delivered of his fears.

I also procured at Madras, and have now in my possession, a copy of the claim with which the Hajee actually presented this very bond to the commissioners appointed under authority of Parliament, for investigating the Carnatic debts, with no other reserve, than that the condition of payment was "*placing Omdat ul Omra in the administration of affairs*," which condition he had fulfilled by his skill in the occult sciences.

This most impudent of impostors lived as a Chevalier d'Industrie when I left Madras, chiefly by obtaining money from the ignorant for pretended services, by his assumed influence with European gentlemen; the appearance of which he was enabled to support, by the access which his literary taste had afforded to him among the amateurs of Persian literature; unsuspicious of the sinister purposes for which it was cultivated.

* Messrs. Johnson and Smith.

CHAPTER XXII.

Erroneous impression of Hyder's general devastation—English attempt to assemble an army—and defend the fortresses—Warriapollam—Gingee—Carnatickghur—Wandiwash—Distinguished character of Flint—State of parties at Madras—Military opinion of Lord M'Leod—of Sir Hector Munro—the latter takes the field—Bad combinations—Route of Baillie—Hyder raises the siege of Arcot—on the day Sir H. Munro arrives at Conjeveram—Want of food at the commencement of the campaign—Baillie stopped by the river Cortelaur—crosses it—attacked by Tippoo—reciprocally discouraged—Sir H. Munro reinforces Baillie—Hyder attacks and destroys him—Observations—Anecdotes—Mr. Lang—Twigg—Mohammed Booden—Measures of Hyder—Retreat of Sir H. Munro—Chingleput and Madras—Emergency reported to Bengal—Character and measures of Mr Hastings—calls on Sir Eyre Coote to vindicate the honor of the British arms—he arrives at Madras—Suspension of the last Governor, and appointment of Mr. Smith—Council of War—Hyder takes Arcot—Sir Eyre Coote takes the field—Capture of Carangooly—Flint's distinguished defence of Wandiwash—relieved by Sir Eyre Coote—Promotion of Lieutenant Flint rendered nugatory—his admirable arrangements for supply—Arrival of the French fleet—Sir Eyre Coote relieves Permacoil—moves to Pondicherry—Hyder appears—Sir Eyre Coote moves to Cuddalore—Cannonade by night—French fleet at Pondicherry—Critical and desperate situation of Sir Eyre Coote—relieved by its departure—Hyder moves to Tanjore—Sir Eyre Coote reinforced with troops but distressed for provisions—Military criticisms of the Government of Madras treated with asperity by Sir Eyre Coote, who himself condemns, on views equally limited, the continuance of the Mahratta war—Just and manly views of Mr. Hastings—Sir Eyre Coote attacks Chillumbrum—is repulsed—Arrival of the fleet—Lord Macartney, Governor of Madras—Dutch war—Hyder appears—battle—Imperfect consequences of the victory—Fall of Tiagar—Second relief of Wandiwash—Sir Eyre Coote forms a junction with the division from Bengal—at Pulicat—Military prudence of Sir Eyre Coote—Faults of Hyder.

THE prevalent impression is erroneous, although fairly deducible from the records of Madras, that Hyder on his first descent perpetrated the wanton and indiscriminate destruction of the whole country, a measure directly subversive of his ultimate views of permanent conquest. He calculated on the lapse of a long interval, before the operations of war and the aid of a French corps should put him in possession of Fort St George; and around that centre of the British power and its maritime communications he certainly drew a line of merciless desolation, marked by the continuous blaze of flaming towns and villages. He directed the indiscriminate mutilation of every human being who should linger near the ashes, in disobedience of the mandate for instant emigration accompanied by their flocks and herds; thus consigning to the exclusive dominion of the beasts of the forest, the desert which he interposed between himself and his enemies. This line extended inland from thirty to fifty-five miles according to circumstances, and from the head

of the lake of Pulicat in the north, to a southern limit, within a few miles of Pondicherry, which of course was included within the scope of his immediate protection. Round Vellore, of which he expected an earlier surrender, he drew a similar circle, not exceeding a radius of thirteen miles. With these exceptions, and the operations necessary for the siege of the few places which did not immediately surrender, and for impeding the subsequent movements of British troops, the whole of the country occupied by the invader, was as well protected, as his possessions above the ghauts.

Black columns of smoke were everywhere in view, from St Thomas' Mount, distant only nine miles from Madras, before an order was issued for the movement of a single soldier. The corps under Colonel Harper in Guntoor, afterwards commanded by Colonel Baillie, was directed to move southwards by the route of Calastry and Tripetti, an order founded in dangerous error, which the superior knowledge of its commandant induced him to disobey, and to pursue a more easterly course to which we must presently return. Colonel Brathwaite who commanded at Pondicherry, was ordered to move northwards to Chingleput, a fort within two marches of Madras, and ultimately to the latter place; and a select corps of nineteen chosen companies of sepoys, two regiments of Mohammed Ali's cavalry, and two light guns from Trichinopoly under Colonel Cosby, was destined to act on the enemy's communications through the passes, but was afterwards ordered to join the main army. The description of minor preparations, or the complex results of treachery in the officers commanding forts, or mutiny in the troops of Mohammed Ali, when it was attempted to organize them for field service, would perplex without informing the reader. Such only as mark peculiar character, or aid in a distinctive picture of the times shall be selected for notice. Mohammed Ali had as usual no money for public purposes; an excellent regiment of calvalry at St. Thomas' Mount mutinied, if mutiny it might be called, to withhold their services in the field, while their families must perish in consequence of an arrear of nearly two years' pay. Mohammed Ali's favorite son came on the ground to affect the employment of his influence, but professing inability to pay any portion of their arrears. To save the horses, the regiment was disbanded; eighty of the men adhered to their European officers without pay; but the same person who had no money to expedite the public service, had abundance to re-enlist all the remainder as his own personal guard, on the very next day. The little corps of excellent cavalry afterwards received into the service of the Company was embodied by the patriotism of their English officers, who found the means of satisfying the troops from their own resources and private credit.

It was a proposition too familiar to require discussion, that not one native officer entrusted by Mohammed Ali with the defence of a fortress, would be faithful to the general cause, and it became an urgent consideration to commit them to English officers. A rein-

forcement from Vellore was sent to Arcot, the reputed capital of Mohammed Ali's dominions; and the scope of our design requires the notice of four other places, to each of which an officer was sent, either alone, or with one or two companies as a guard of example, and a rallying point to the disorderly rabble of Mohammed Ali.

To Warriapollam, 60 miles south-west from Cuddalore, a fort in the centre of an extensive and nearly impenetrable forest the seat of a dispossessed Poligar, still occupying the woods in hostility to Mohammed Ali, Ensign Allan was sent with one company; the fort was commanded by an European in the service of Mohammed Ali, who made no unnecessary difficulty in transferring the command of his mutinous charge. Ensign Allan, a youth of seventeen, left to the unaided resources of his own mind, reclaimed this disorderly and unpaid rabble to obedience and energy; and in a varied defence of six months against the efforts of the Poligar, exhibited all the vigour and enterprise of manly youth, guided by the prudence and wisdom of age; and when ordered, at the expiration of that period, to evacuate the place, made good his retreat to Tanjore, in February 1781. Although this interesting youth continued in a short and brilliant career to justify and augment these first impressions of extraordinary talent, exertions disproportioned to his strength in the campaign of 1783 produced a dangerous disease, and he did not live to fulfil the promise of his early excellence.

Ensign Macaulay had a similar mission to Gingee. The lower fortress was carried by assault, a Monsieur Barette in Mohammed Ali's service, having given up his post, without firing a shot. Ensign Macaulay deliberately retired to the upper and impregnable rock, assigning to his own company the post of honor nearest the line of ascent. In visiting the upper guards, his mutinous garrison demanded that he should instantly surrender the place; and while attempting to persuade them to a better [illegible], they made [illegible] attempt to assassinate him. He escaped to the protection of his own company; but being [illegible] by the [illegible] was compelled to capitulate, on the condition of being sent to Madras. [illegible] tion was violated, and he was sent a prisoner to Seringapatam, and according to my [illegible] the [illegible] of a Sergeant afterwards Captain Smith [illegible]

Lieutenant P[illegible] was sent to Carnatic Ghur, but could neither obtain from Mohammed Ali's [illegible] the command of the [illegible], nor even a decent lodging. The [illegible] was [illegible] and [illegible] observances [illegible] previously to its surrender. He [illegible] the place from Wandiwash through a country [illegible] by the enemy, singly [illegible] at the expiration of a [illegible] at the same [illegible] three hundred yards by the western [illegible] Hyder's troops entering by the [illegible] gate [illegible] the rampart above him. [illegible]

woods, attended by a faithful native servant, he arrived at Vellore, with his feet bleeding and swollen, a beard of ample growth, an aspect scarcely human, and nearly famished for want of food.

An officer was detached by Colonel Brathwaite, when at Carangooly on his march from Pondicherry to Chingleput to take the command of Wandiwash.

Hyder was known to be in force in the neighbourhood of that place: its surrender was probable; the distance was thirty miles; and a body of four thousand horse was stated to be interposed: but the great importance of the enterprise justified the attempt under these slender chances of success. Lieutenant Flint was selected for this service, and after a fatiguing march on the morning of the 10th of August, he moved at eleven on the same night, with one hundred firelocks. By deviating to unfrequented paths, he arrived without interruption in the vicinity of Wandiwash, late in the forenoon of the 11th. After ascertaining that the place was still in the possession of Mohammed Ali's troops, he sent a message to the killedar announcing his approach; but was answered, that he would be fired at, if he attempted to come within range of the guns; and met a picquet sent to stop him at the verge of the esplanade. He had the address to persuade the officer that he had misapprehended his orders; which could only have been to stop the party till he was satisfied they were friends, of which fact he could entertain no doubts; and during the remaining parley, continued to advance, persuading every successive messenger to return with another reference, until within musket shot of the ramparts, which were manned with troops, and the gates distinctly seen to be shut. Here he halted; announced that he had a letter from the Nabob Mohammed Ali to the killedar, which he was ordered to deliver into his own hands, and demanded admission for that purpose with a few attendants. With this demand the killedar positively refused to comply, but at length agreed to receive the letter in the space between the gate and the barrier of the sortie. Lieutenant Flint was admitted with four attendants, faithful and well instructed sepoys, and found the killedar seated on a carpet, attended by several men of rank, thirty swordsmen, his usual personal guard, and one hundred sepoys, drawn up to protect him. After the first compliments, Lieutenant Flint avowed that he had no letter from Mohammed Ali, but possessed that which in the exigency of the times ought to be deemed equivalent; the order of his own Government written in communication with Mohammed Ali; this order the killedar treated with the utmost contempt, and his arguments with derision; desired him to return to the place from whence he came; and to the proposition of impossibility from the increased distance of the corps from which he was detached, and the country being in possession of the enemy, he was answered with fresh sarcasm. He mildly replied, that he was placed in a desperate situation, and as the killedar rose to depart, he suddenly seized him, and announced

his instant death if any person should move a hand for his rescue, the bayonets of the four sepoys were in the same instant at his breast, and their countenances announced a firm decision to share the fate of their officer. The consternation of the moment afforded time for the remainder of the little detachment to rush in at the concerted signal and effectually secure the killedar. Lieutenant Flint then addressed the troops in the language of conciliation, explained the conditions on which the killedar should retain all the honors of command, while he himself should provide for effectual defence: and finally the gates were opened, and the whole party entered together as friends.

The act of surrendering the place to Hyder, had been prepared to receive the seal of the killedar on that very day; and during the interval in which Lieutenant Flint waited the authority of his Government to exclude him from the fort his efforts at [illegible] counteraction were foiled, by the address of the new commandant, who found means gradually and rapidly to secure the attachment of the better portion of the garrison.

Strange as in these days the proposition may sound this lieutenant was an officer of very considerable experience. To a scientific knowledge of the theory, he added some practical acquaintance with the business of a siege, and to military talents of no ordinary rank, a mind fertile in resources and a mild confidence of manner, which, as his troops were wont to say, rendered it impossible to feel alarm in his presence. He found the place in a ruinous state, furnished with abundance of cannon, but no carriages, and little powder; he repaired the works, constructed carriages, and manufactured powder. He had not one artilleryman, but he prevailed on the silversmiths who [illegible] ing to the routine of Hindoo warfare, are the apology for engineers, not only to attend regularly to be instructed in [illegible] but in the subsequent siege to perform their duties [illegible] manner. From the 12th of August 1780 until the 12th of February 1783, an eventful period, during which the [illegible] army were before the place seventy-eight days [illegible] and after being foiled in open force [illegible] it by stratagem, or starve it into surrender [illegible] casting off his clothes at the [illegible] provided the means of [illegible] cavalry for exterior enterprises; and during a [illegible] famine and diversified misery [illegible] garrison, but procured important [illegible] army, for which he was [illegible] intelligence. The [illegible] tion of the young and [illegible] honorable in private life [illegible] the barren glory has [illegible] service, written in Sir Eyre Coote's [illegible]

attachment and admiration. Colonel Flint is living, and in London. Fancy would associate with the retirement of such a man, marks of public approbation and dignified competency: but human affairs too often reflect an inverted copy of the pictures of imagination.

With the exception of such other places as must necessarily occupy a place in our future narrative, every fort opened its gates, and the whole country, north of the Coleroon, submitted at once to the conqueror.

Hyder had descended through the pass of Changama on the 20th of July, and from thence detached a select corps of five thousand horse, under his second son Kurreem Saheb, to plunder Porto Novo, a sea-port, about forty miles south of Pondicherry: a larger body of cavalry was allotted to the work of desolation which has already been described, and the advance of the main army was only retarded by the embarrassing number of places to be occupied. It was not before the 21st of August that he invested Arcot, and on the 29th moved from thence in consequence of intelligence that the English army had made its first march from the neighbourhood of Madras on the 26th.

From the state of party in the unhappy counsels of that day, the Governor found it impossible, by the ordinary constitution of the Government, to secure a majority, without requiring the aid of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hector Munro, in council, while the command of the field army should devolve on Lord M'Leod, who had recently arrived from England in command of one of His Majesty's regiments. No local experience was necessary to demonstrate, that the order which he received to assemble the army at Conjeveram, an open town forty miles in advance, through a country everywhere occupied by the enemy, was contrary to the ordinary suggestions of military prudence, as risking, without an adequate object, the safety of all its detachments and equipments; and in a judicious letter, almost prophetic of the fate of Baillie, this officer recommended the vicinity of Madras as the only safe point of junction until the army should be in sufficient force by the union of its detachments to meet the enemy in the field. The Commander-in-Chief was of a different opinion: he pledged himself to form the junction at the place originally proposed, and accordingly assumed the command of the army, a majority in the council being secured by the appointment of an additional member, a measure against which the minority protested as unlawful.

The important corps from Guntoor, under Colonel Baillie, had on the 24th of August arrived without interruption, at an encampment six miles to the southward of the village of Goomrapoondy, a situation within twenty-eight miles of the General's encampment at St. Thomas' Mount, and rather a shorter distance from Madras. Admitting the absolute necessity, which, however, is not apparent, of moving the army precisely on the 26th, there was no probable impediment to the junction of Colonel Baillie by one forced march

on the 25th, or by two easy marches at the General's encampment near Connitoor on the 26th; the force under Sir Hector Munro being 5,209 strong, that under Baillie, 2,813. These obvious means of placing beyond the reach of accident the immediate formation of a respectable army, were wantonly abandoned, by directing that officer to pursue an independent route of upwards of fifty miles to Conjeveram, a measure not recommended by any speculative advantage that has ever been stated, and inexplicable by any conjecture, excepting that of attempting practically to justify an erroneous opinion.

Sir Hector Munro arrived at Conjeveram on the 29th, the day on which Hyder broke up from Arcot, after having, on the first intelligence of the deviation to the south-west of Baillie's corps, detached a select corps of 5,000 infantry, 6,000 horse, 12 light, and six heavy guns, with a large body of irregulars, under his son, Tippoo Sultaun, to intercept its approach, and endeavour to destroy it. Sir Hector Munro marched from St. Thomas' Mount with eight days' provisions for his own corps only, with the view of raising the siege of Arcot, distant seven ordinary marches. On his arrival at Conjeveram, as the remaining four days' stock for his own corps would furnish little more than two for the army which he expected to unite at that place, he applied to the Mohammedan *gentleman* deputed to provide for all his wants by Mohammed Ali, a name for ever associated with recollections of disgust at his own character, and of indignation and contempt for those who could still continue to trust him. This deputed non-descript gravely answered Sir Hector Munro* "that he was ordered by Mohammed Ali to attend him; but had no powers given him to procure either provisions or intelligence, and the General was left on the fourth day of the campaign to live by the contingencies of the day, and continued fixed to the spot, gradually collecting from this large but ruined town, a small supply of food, which he deposited within the walls of the Hindoo temple, a place capable of being rendered in two days defensible against a *coup-de-main*.

On the 25th, Colonel Baillie arrived on the bank of the river Cortelaur, then nearly dry, but liable to be swollen by the mountain rains, and committed the great military fault of encamping on the northern instead of the southern bank: the floods descended on the night of the 25th, and prevented his crossing until the 4th of September. On the 1st of that month perceiving by the usual indications that the river would not soon fall he proposed in a letter to the Government to descend to its mouth and be ferried over to Ennore, thirteen miles to the north of Madras as the most expeditious, though the most circuitous route; but to this letter he appears to have received no reply. He crossed the river on the 4th of September with a corps consisting of 207 Europeans, 2606

* "As I wanted neither a valet nor a cook," said the General, "I told the gentleman I would dispense with his services."

sepoys, six six-pounders, and four three-pounder guns. The vicinity of the fort of Trippasore rendered it imprudent for Tippoo on either that or the following day to attempt any operation beyond the customary annoyances during the march; on the 6th, in the morning, he appeared making dispositions for an immediate attack on Colonel Baillie, who took post in the vicinity of Perambaucum, distant fourteen miles* from the ground occupied by Sir Hector Munro on the same day near to Conjeveram. The action is described in a short note from Colonel Baillie to have lasted from eleven to two; "near 100 Europeans and sepoys were killed and wounded by the guns of the enemy, who never came near enough for musketry;"† and on the same evening he wrote to Sir Hector Munro, that on a review‡ of his corps after the action, he found it was not in his power to join, but hoped to see the General at Perambaucum: while on the other hand Tippoo, who had suffered much more severely in the cannonade, reported to Hyder that he could make no impression on Baillie without a farther reinforcement.

During this day (6th September) Hyder who had occupied an encampment strengthened with redoubts, about six miles to the westward of Sir Hector Munro, made a demonstration of turning his right, with the view of covering the operation against Baillie, and this movement induced a change of position in the English army, which now fronted the north on the road by which Colonel Baillie was expected. The hostile armies remained during that day drawn up in order of battle oposite to each other, at the distance of about two miles, without an effort on either part. About noon a heavy firing was heard, which from a change of wind, soon became inaudible.It was evident that Baillie was attacked, and equally plain that Hyder had interposed his whole army to prevent the junction. Either the detachment was expected to fight its way through the troops allotted for its destruction, and afterwards through the united force of the enemy, or it was necessary to make an effort for its relief. But the Pagoda at Conjeveram, which contained the provisions, the heavy guns, and most of the baggage of the army, had not been made capable (in Sir Hector Munro's opinion) of maintaining itself for one day. The army lay on its arms without an effort during the 6th, 7th, and 8th. On the latter day the note from Colonel Baillie written after the affair of the 6th, was received. Sir Hector Munro, still adhering to the vital importance of protecting his provisions and stores in the Pagoda, which in the event he was compelled to abandon, adopted the determination (in concurrence§ with the opinion of his principal officers) of detaching the flank companies of the army on the night of the 8th, to unite with Colonel Baillie, and enable him to form the junction. The original

* Sir Hector Munro's official letter.
† Manuscript journal of one of the survivors.
‡ Sir Hector Munro's official letter.
§ Sir Hector Munro's official letter.

and needless error of any disunion, was thus aggravated by the farther risk of a third division, subjecting 1,007 men, the flower of the army, to be cut off in detail, and leaving the main army itself in a state of dangerous weakness. Contrary to all reasonable calculation, Colonel Fletcher, the officer in command of the detachment, by changing his route during the march, and thus deceiving his own guides, who were all in Hyder's pay, passed unperceived by the numerous troops interposed, and joined Colonel Baillie at Perambaucum early on the morning of the 9th. The arrival of this reinforcement increasing the strength to 3,720* men, (allowing a deduction of 100 for the casualties of the 6th), "inspired the greatest confidence in Baillie's troops; no doubt was entertained of his being able to make his way good to Conjeveram, and he marched agreeably to the orders he had received, about eight o'clock on the night of the 9th."

Hyder was full of indignation at the strange negligence by which the detachment had been permitted to pass, without observation, across a country covered with his light troops. The French officers in his service, deemed it to be a profound and skilful manœuvre, by which Hyder's army was to be entangled between two powerful bodies, by a joint operation on the night of the 9th, and strongly urged him to move from the dangerous position which he occupied. Hyder forming a more correct estimate of the actual operation, maintained his ground, but yielded so far to the suggestions of his advisers, as to make dispositions, and even prepare the roads for each column to retire to the westward, in the event of their conjectures being verified. Both armies continued immovable on the 9th, and, towards the close of the day, Hyder having ascertained from his spies that the English army were not preparing to march, sent off immediately after dark in the direction of Baillie, the great body of his infantry and guns, remaining himself on the ground, ready to move at a moment's warning, with a few light guns and the whole of the cavalry if his camp should be attacked, and with the same means to harrass and impede the march, if a movement should be made in the direction of Baillie. At four o'clock, finding the same torpor still to prevail in the English camp, he silently followed his infantry.

Colonel Baillie had not proceeded half a mile from his position at Perambaucum before he was challenged by the enemy's videttes, and as no order had been given to avoid firing, a platoon from the advanced guard announced to the enemy that all was in motion. The rocket men and irregulars opposed no more than a teasing impediment for five or six miles. The baggage being on the left of

* The [illegible] 3,[illegible] The number stated in the text [illegible] from [illegible] M[illegible] statement, and of course from [illegible] returns. The [illegible] correspond, allowing for the sick, and [illegible] the [illegible] was only the return of [illegible]

the column of march, and a heavy body of horse approaching in that direction from the rear, the officer commanding the rear-guard unlimbered his guns, and a halt was ordered for the purpose of making a disposition to place the baggage on the right. This being effected, and the troops resuming their order of march, the halt was unaccountably continued, and some guns which had been covered by the Mysoorean cavalry on the left, soon afterwards opened on the centre of the British troops. A detachment sent to seize them were stopped by an impediment peculiar to that vicinity, although occasionally found in other parts of the south. Water is found at the depth of from five to ten feet below the surface of these extensive sandy plains: and the industrious husbandmen, taking advantage of the slightest deviation from the horizontal line, cut trenches for an extent of several miles to the requisite depth of a stratum impermeable by water, along which the produce of a succession of springs gradually augmented to a streamlet is conducted to a reservoir, or led at once to the fields for the purposes of irrigation. The bank formed by the excavation, added to the depth of the ditch, renders the impediment in many places insurmountable for troops, and presents a cover of the greatest importance to military operations. The whole route of the British troops had been everywhere previously examined by the enemy, and where the trench was nearest the road occasional openings had been cut in the bank: the whole thus affording an excellent ditch with parapet and embrasures for the cover of Tippoo's troops and guns. From one of these impediments the detachment returned with some loss, and not in good order; but the guns, although frequently shifting their position to avoid becoming a mark for the aim of their opponents, were soon silenced by the superior skill and steadiness of the English artillery: a body of infantry, in ambuscade behind a winding of the same work near the head of the column, was soon afterwards discovered and dislodged: all annoyance was removed, the guns were again limbered, and everything was prepared to continue the march in the most perfect order; but Colonel Baillie, contrary to the declared and earnest opinion of Colonel Fletcher his second in command, and with no other motive that has ever been conjectured, excepting the expected distinction of exhibiting in the morning the junction of his corps without the loss of any of its equipments, a credit of which he might be deprived by errors inseparable from the obscurity of the night, adopted the fatal resolution of remaining where he was until daylight, and a disposition being made for that purpose, the troops actually lay upon their arms during the remainder of the night, without the slightest molestation from the enemy. This ground was distant no more than eight or nine miles from Sir Hector Munro, and had the precious time thus unhappily wasted, been employed in pursuing the march, although every part of the road had been reconnoitred, and impediments everywhere prepared, there can be no ground of reasonable doubt, that superiority of

discipline, always most decided in operations by night, would have enabled him to surmount all opposition, or at least to have continued his march to a point so near to the main army, as to compel the Commander-in-Chief, by placing the enemy between two fires, to realize the apprehensions of the French officers.

At daylight on the morning of the 10th, the detachment marched, the enemy was soon perceived on the left moving in nearly a parallel direction, and after advancing about two miles through an avenue of trees to a spot where the road inclined to the left on the plain; four or five guns were opened by the enemy in that quarter from a considerable distance. A village was in sight three-quarters of a mile in front, which presented a good post with no impediment to its immediate occupation: but instead of seizing this position, or quickening his pace to approach the guns, the line again halted and formed, and this distant cannonade was returned. "The troops remained in crowded order, partly in the avenue, and partly under cover of some banks and a hollow way at the entrance of the plain, the rocket-men and irregulars advancing as usual, and the main body keeping at a great distance among some trees and jungle in the rear of their guns."

Shortly afterwards, ten companies of sepoy grenadiers under Captains Rumley and Gowdie were ordered to storm these guns, and three were accordingly carried with the utmost gallantry, when large bodies of horse threatened to cut off the return of the grenadiers: and the cavalry of Hyder's whole army was seen rapidly approaching from the right, almost as near to the main body as was this its detachment. A hurried retreat caused by these appearances had an ill effect on the remainder of the troops, but with the exception of casualties not very numerous, the sepoys resumed their former stations in the position. The demonstration of Hyder's main body of cavalry to charge the line, only masked, as was usual, the movement of his infantry and guns, which by the recession of the cavlary soon became apparent fast approaching from the right: but although a considerable period intervened during which there was no cannonade, nor body of horse on the plain to prevent it, no manœuvre was undertaken, no attempt to seize the village, nor any other disposition, but the detachment remained crowded up exactly as it had entered the plain. Colonel Baillie himself [illegible] back, by running about and over fatigue, rendered himself incapable of deliberate thinking or cool action, and not only the occupation of the village, but a tolerably strong position which might have supported the left by an adjacent bank and ditch, and the right by a thick part of the avenue were equally unobserved or neglected. Hyder's guns opened as they got within distance, and with those which Tippoo had retaken until upwards of fifty from different quarters directed a cross fire on the crowded troops, whilst it remained in a helpless posture presenting the fairest mark that could be pieces in [illegible]

their ammunition was exhausted, an event which was hastened by the blowing up of two tumbrils which stood exposed to the enemy's shot. The impression seemed to prevail among the troops of being subjected to destruction without an effort for defence or retaliation. An audible murmur ran through the ranks, many of the grenadiers crying out to be led on. The cannonade had by this time done considerable execution, the enemy's guns drawing nearer and nearer until almost every shot told. The pressure on the rear appeared to be most serious, and Colonel Fletcher caused a company of European grenadiers to move to its support. The whole of the troops had been previously ordered to lie down in their ranks, and as the grenadiers rose to obey the order, the sepoys rose also, and crowded to the rear."

In Hyder's stable horse was an officer, namely, Biccajee Sindia, commanding a *dusta*, (or 1,000 cavalry,) who had been placed in command of a larger division of troops, to the northward of the English army, under Sir Hector Munro, to watch its movements, on the night on which Colonel Fletcher had marched without molestation to join Baillie; and Hyder had personally and publicly reprobated this misconduct with his usual coarseness and contumely. Biccajee Sindia, stung by this public disgrace, resolved to wipe off the opprobrium, or die in the attempt. On observing the crowding of the sepoys, which has been stated, without waiting for orders, he made a desperate charge at the head of his dusta. Himself, fifteen of his family, and a large portion of his corps fell; but the example, supposed to be the result of an order, was instantly followed by the rest of the cavalry. The European companies of the British corps still preserved their order, but the residue of the sepoys, not destroyed in the charge, became mixed in irretrievable confusion with the carts and other baggage, and either stripped for flight, or kept up a straggling fire without an object, the strange but ordinary effect of panic. "Colonel Baillie, after ordering this fire to cease, went forwards to ask for quarter, by waving his handkerchief, and supposing acquiescence to be signified, he ordered the Europeans, who to the last moment preserved an undaunted aspect and compact order, to lay down their arms. The enemy, although they at first paused, and received him as a prisoner, after being slightly wounded, perceiving the same unauthorized straggling fire to continue, rushed forwards to an unresisted slaughter. Of 86 officers, 36 were killed, or died of their wounds, 34 were wounded and taken; and sixteen were taken not wounded; the carnage among the soldiers, being nearly in the same proportion." Hyder's young soldiers in particular amused themselves with fleshing their swords, and exhibiting their skill on men already most inhumanly mangled; on the sick and wounded in the doolies; and even on women and children; and the lower order of horsemen plundered their victims of the last remnant of clothing: none escaped this brutal treatment, excepting the few who were saved by the

humane interposition of the French officers, and particularly Monsieur Pimorin, of the regular French line, who had joined with a small detachment from Mahé, a short time previous to its capture in 1779; and Monsieur Lally, who has already been introduced to the reader's notice. It is scarcely necessary to add that the whole corps, with all its equipments of every description, was irretrievably and totally lost.

The fatal influence of this disaster on the subsequent events of the war, has induced a more detailed description than accords with the general plan of this work. In the respectable publications which have narrated this transaction and in the first of that class the historical branch of the Annual Register for 1782, the conduct of Colonel Baillie has been the theme of nearly unqualified applause. Obeying, with painful reluctance, the duties of historical truth I have transcribed from the journal of one of the survivors the passages marked by inverted commas, with no other alteration than the merely verbal adaptations which were necessary to connect them with the text; and these quotations correspond in the most material facts, with the oral information of others. It may be added, that Colonel Baillie, an officer hitherto of high reputation, but now exercising for the first time an independent command, had appeared from the moment of his receiving orders to deviate to the westward, to be under the influence of some anticipation of disaster, which disturbed his usual faculties: he loitered three days in advancing the distance of fourteen miles, to the bank of the river, by which his progress was arrested. Even on the 26th, that river, although swollen, was reported by the officer commanding the artillery, to be still passable for his guns; but the passage was delayed till on the next day it became altogether impracticable.

The distance of Sir Hector Munro from this detachment on the morning of the 9th was according to his own statement [illegible] miles. At daylight on the 10th when he discovered that Hyder had departed he moved [illegible] After marching about [illegible] the smoke of the action [illegible] it; after marching [illegible] but had not return [illegible] broils, and suddenly the [illegible] script journal which has been quoted [illegible] would seem to have [illegible] ultimate massacre.

Assuming however [illegible] those in the manuscript [illegible] distance of Sir Hector Munro [illegible] was two miles at the [illegible] with a minuteness which [illegible] but without [illegible] that during a period [illegible]

danger from superior numbers, the larger ought to have moved for its preservation; it will probably be inferred by most of my readers, that if the commander of either of these bodies had on the night of the 9th been guided by the ordinary dictates of military experience, both bodies would probably have been saved, and if both had acted aright, that the Mysooreans instead of the English might have suffered discomfiture.

The movements of Sir Hector Munro had been correctly and incessantly reported to Hyder during the action. At its close he distinctly saw the head of an approaching column, and was about to order the accustomed manœuvre of threatening it with large bodies of horse to cover the retreat of his infantry, guns, booty and prisoners, when he had the satisfaction to see it point in nearly an opposite direction* to the east, and soon afterwards to the south towards Conjeveram. Without attempting to molest these movements, he directed his tents to be pitched about six miles to the westward of the field of action, and sat in State to distribute rewards for the production of captives, and the heads of the slain which were presented before him, "although, to say the truth, he seemed to take no great pleasure in this horrid spectacle, but rather showed disgust when prisoners were brought in mangled and covered with wounds."† Such surgical aid as his French establishments enabled him to afford, was chiefly the result of their own spotaneous humanity; tolerated rather than commanded.

The barbarism of Hyder's mind, and his strange ignorance of the practical effects of civilization, are evinced in the following incident. Among the prisoners was a son of Colonel Lang, who commanded Vellore, a child rather than a youth, born in India, who was serving as a volunteer. He sent for the boy, and ordered him instantly to write a letter to his father, offering him a splendid establishment, on the condition of surrendering the place, and announcing that his own death would be the result of refusal. The boy at first received the proposition with a cool rejection; but on being pressed with direct threats, he burst into tears, and addressing Hyder in his own language, "If you consider *me* (said he) base enough to write such a letter; on what ground can you think so meanly of *my father?* It is in your power to present me before the ramparts of Vellore, and cut me into a thousand pieces in my father's presence; but it is out of your power to make him a traitor."‡ The threats were however renewed by the attendants in a separate tent; but being found ineffectual, the child was remanded to the quarters of the other prisoners.

* Sir H. Munro's official letter states that he had moved to the left, in the direction of the smoke; when the firing ceased he moved to the *right*, towards the Tripassore road, and then to Conjeveram, which corresponds with the statement in the text, taken from the Mysoorean narratives.

† Manuscript journal.

‡ The present Major-General Lang; I give *the words* as stated by the Mysoorean officers present.

Among the wounded of this unhappy day were two cases, in the British, and in Hyder's army, the one remarkable from mere fact, the other from characteristic imagination; both individuals were well known to the author upwards of twenty years afterwards, and the facts were confirmed by the testimony of numerous observers. An English artilleryman* had received a sabre wound in the back of the neck, which separated the muscles destined to support the head, and it fell accordingly on his chest; † on being roused by threats and other wounds, this extraordinary man raised his head to its proper position with the aid of his hands, and supporting it in this manner actually performed the march of six miles, and was perfectly cured.

The other was Mohammed Booden, commandant of Hyder's artillery. A cannon shot had grazed the back of the occiput, and numerous exfoliations of the skull, which he describes to have afterwards occurred, seem to evince that the contact was severe. He fell, and was supposed to be killed, but almost instantly arose, put on his turband and mounted his horse,‡ and was found to have received no other apparent injury than a small contusion surmounted by a tumour. The escape of this man became a subject of general conversation in Hyder's army; there could be no doubt of his possessing a charm to avert cannon-balls, and the secret must be invaluable. Tippoo sent for him some days afterwards, and questioned him regarding the charm. He replied (as he always continued to believe) that it was the root of a small plant, which he had purchased from a travelling Hindoo mendicant, to be worn at all times wrapped up in his turband, as an infallible protection to the head. Tippoo desired to see this precious treasure, and after a deliberate scrutiny, very coolly wrapped it up in his own turband for the future defence of his own head, regardless of the fate of Mohammed Booden's, who was perfectly aware, that serious remonstrance would put his head in greater danger than the cannon-balls of the next battle.

Hyder, before daylight on the ensuing morning moved into his former fortified camp at Mooserwauk, where he was advantageously placed for every event that might occur. He found that his losses, from the resistance of a detachment, did not leave his troops in temper to renew the conflict with the larger body, a measure which every military consideration would otherwise have dictated: the retreat of that body from Conjeveram at the same hour left him free to the choice of other measures; and detaching a considerable corps to annoy its march, he remained for several days in his fixed camp, making arrangements for the disposal of his prisoners, and for resuming the siege of Arcot.

Sir Hector Munro, as we have seen, after the cessation of the firing to the left, had moved to the right, with the expectation

* Named Twig, well known afterwards as ordnance serjeant at Amboor.

† A medical friend explains, that the *Cucullaris* and *Splenius capitis* must have been cut through, and the *levatores* had also probably received a gash.

‡ He describes the great inconvenience he sustained from seeing objects double, for some time after he mounted.

(whence derived he does not state) of meeting Colonel Baillie; but a short interval only elapsed before a wounded sepoy unfolded the fatal truth: "the security of the army determined him to return to Conjeveram," where he arrived about six o'clock. He found that the grain, which had so long bound him to this fatal spot, now amounted to barely one day's consumption, and that he must starve if he remained. At three o'clock in the morning of the 11th, after throwing his heavy guns and stores into the great tank, he commenced his retreat to Chingleput, where, in consequence of incessant annoyance on the march, involving the loss of a large portion of the stores and baggage, the rear-guard did not arrive until nine in the morning of the 12th. At this place he expected provisions stored by Mohammed Ali, and, as usual, found none; but was fortunately joined, on the same day, by the important detachment from the south, under Lieutenant Colonel Cosby.

This judicious and enterprising officer, on receiving orders to join the army, had in his route, made a gallant but unsuccessful attempt, on the morning of the 7th, to recover the strong and important fort of Chittapet, which had been one of the first to open its gates to the enemy: and on approaching Conjeveram, had timely intelligence by his spies, which induced him to deviate to his right, and join his commander-in-chief, a few hours after his arrival at Chingleput. This place is distant thirty-six miles S. W. from Madras, and twenty-seven from St. Thomas' Mount. The Dutch fort of Sadras, on the coast of Coromandel, is distant one easy march along or near to the left bank of the Palar, in a direction to the southward of east: a movement to this place, would necessarily increase the distance from Madras, and must have been suggested by considerations connected with eventual embarkation. However this may be, the Commander-in-Chief could not determine on the 12th,* by which of these two routes he should move, and requested rice in boats, to be sent to the latter place, and to be ready by other conveyance to meet him at St. Thomas' Mount. Happily he adopted the latter alternative: two days' food were collected with difficulty from the adjacent villages; and at six in the evening of the 13th, after depositing his sick in the fort of Chingleput, he marched in the direction of St. Thomas' Mount, which he reached at two P. M. on the 14th; and the English army retired in the morning of the 15th, to a more secure position at Marmalong, with a river covering its front (while Hyder remained in his fortified camp, distant upwards of forty miles); thus terminating a campaign of twenty-one days, of which, even at this distance of time, every recollection is associated with sorrow.

A vessel despatched for the express purpose, conveyed to Bengal this melancholy picture of disaster and dismay. The Governor-General, as we have already seen, had motives of displeasure and distrust, exclusive of the mere imbecility of this subordinate

* Official letter to Government.

Government, and on the first intelligence of the invasion, waited for further information, before he should offer aid where he could not possibly repose confidence.

In the ordinary routine of public business, the mind of Mr. Hastings, elegant, mild, and enlightened, exhibited merely a clear simplicity of means adapted to their end; it was only in the face of overwhelming danger, that, spurning the puny impediments of faction, he burst through the trammels of vulgar resource, and showed a master spirit, fitted to grapple with every emergency, and equally capable of saving or creating an empire. The *saviour of India*, (a title conferred on this great man, by the general voice of civilized Europe), became the convenient sacrifice to political manœuvre; a trial of seven years' duration, terminated in his honorable acquittal, at the bar of his country, of every accusation with which his character had been blackened. To the charge of oppression, an universal people made answer with their astonishment, their blessings, and their prayers. To the crime of receiving corrupt presents, and clandestine extortions, equal to the price of a kingdom, he answered with poverty; and to the accusation of violating his duty to the East India Company and his country, was opposed the simple fact of preserving unimpaired, the territories committed to his charge, during a period, which elsewhere exhibited nothing but national humiliation. The dregs of calumny and prejudice remained unexhausted for eighteen years, for such was the interval after an honorable acquittal, before the tardy verdict of truth and justice, brought his wisdom and venerable age to aid in the councils of his country. Recollections too strong and too recent to be easily suppressed, must be the apology, if any be required, for this digressive anticipation of subsequent events.

To the financial pressure resulting from the extensive military operations of the Mahratta war on the establishments of Bengal and Bombay, was now added the still more serious weight of a new war in Coromandel, and a general confederacy of the principal States for the final extermination of the British power in India. The emergency was met by [illegible] and new resources; but Mr. Hastings declared his deliberate opinion that there was no hope of the proper application of [illegible] unless Sir Eyre Coote would at this crisis stand forth, and vindicate in his own person the rights and honour of the British arms. That officer occupied at this period the situation of Commander-in-Chief in India and Member of the Supreme Council. He was advanced in years and oppressed by precarious health; but he obeyed [illegible] with what remained of life this honourable summons to the [illegible]. Age and sickness had impaired [illegible] strength and mental energy of this distinguished veteran, [illegible] enough remained of both to place him in a high rank [illegible] first generals of his age. He arrived at Madras on the [illegible] of November, accompanied by such reinforcement of Europeans [illegible] immediately

spared; a considerable body of native infantry was ordered to proceed by land, through the territories of Moodajee Bhounsla, one of the Mahratta confederates whom Mr. Hastings found means to neutralize. Sir Eyre Coote was charged with the exclusive direction of the treasure transmitted for the prosecution of the war, and above all he was furnished with orders for the suspension of the Governor, Mr. Whitehill, who was succeeded by Mr. Smith, the Senior Member of Council, the same person who had at an early period before the invasion, remonstrated against the apathy of the Government in neglecting every branch of military preparation.

This new administration gave an early pledge of zealous co-operation with the measures of Bengal, by investing Sir Eyre Coote with the sole direction of the war. A spirit of hope, vigour, and emulation, succeeded to torpor and despondency; and the season of the periodical monsoon, when nearly the whole country is inundated by rains, of which the inhabitants of Europe can scarcely form an adequate conception, afforded leisure for equipment, without exhibiting to the enemy the lamentable defects in every department, which remained to be palliated or cured, before the army could move from the cantonments to which they were ostensibly confined by the severity of the season: and during this period, Sir Eyre Coote took the precaution of assembling a council of war, who were unanimous in their opinion "that the army was so far from being properly equipped for a campaign, that the utmost to be expected from taking the field, was the relief of some of the garrisons invested by the enemy; and this effected, that it ought to return for the security of Madras, the grand national object."

It was the 19th of September, before Hyder's arrangements admitted of his moving from his fortified camp near Conjeveram, to resume his ground before Arcot. Mohammed Ali had expended a considerable treasure in surrounding this populous and extensive town with a regular rampart, bastions, and ditch, some miles in circuit, constructed under the direction of an European engineer, according to the most approved principles of modern science, but still destitute of the essential addition of ravelins and lunettes. Hyder's approaches and batteries were formed under the guidance of French officers; and after six weeks' open trenches, having effected two practicable breaches, he ordered a simultaneous assault by two columns, one under the direction of his son Tippoo, and the other under Maha Mirza Khan. The former was repulsed with considerable loss, but the latter penetrated, and enabled Tippoo's column to rally, and succeed in a second attempt. The entrance of the enemy at two separate and distant points, made it necessary for the European troops to retire to the citadel, the same spot, and in nearly the same condition, as when defended for fifty days by the great Clive, with a garrison numerically inferior to that by which it was now occupied: but Hyder's political address was ever superior to his military skill. Mohammed Ali's bramin governor, and viceroy

of the province, Raja Beerbur,* was taken prisoner in the assault; and instead of experiencing the brutality exhibited towards the English prisoners, this Governor, and all the Hindoo and Mohammedan prisoners of rank, were treated with distinguished consideration; most of them were restored to their former rank, and Raja Beerbur to the same elevated and confidential office under Hyder, which a few days before he had held under his enemy. These measures were infinitely more efficient than open force; and, through the direct influence of Raja Beerbur himself, a spirit was excited in the native troops of the citadel which left to the European officers no alternative but a capitulation on favorable terms, which the same policy induced Hyder to execute with fidelity.

It was the 17th of January before Sir Eyre Coote was enabled to move, with an equipment necessarily crippled, and inefficient, from the difficulty of obtaining draught and carriage cattle through a country everywhere overspread by hostile cavalry. A partial resource against these essential defects was provided by small vessels, with provisions and stores, to accompany the movements of the army, which, by confining its operations within certain limits, might, at this season of the year, move, in the event of necessity, to its resources at any point on the coast to which the vessels should be directed to repair.

Hyder was engaged at one and the same time, in the siege or the investment of five different fortresses, commanded by English officers: Amboor, Vellore, Wandiwash, Permacoil, and Chingleput. The first of these had surrendered on the 13th, the others were still unsubdued. On the 19th, Sir Eyre Coote relieved Chingleput, in which only fifteen days' provisions remained, and on the same day, contrary to general anticipation, crossed the broad and sandy bed of the river Palar, unmolested by the enemy. About thirteen miles south-west of Chingleput is the fort of Carangooly, in the centre of a fertile country: the works of this place had been improved by Hyder, and furnished with a garrison of 700 men. Intelligence had been conveyed to Sir Eyre Coote that the enemy was in the act of removing the provisions and the garrison; and for the purpose of securing the largest possible portion of the former precious article, he made a detachment at midnight of the 20th, of 1000 men, under Captain Davis, and followed with the army at the usual hour of marching. Instead of a dismantled post, Captain Davis found, on approaching it about five in the morning, [illegible] the garrison perfectly prepared for his reception. He pushed on, however, in obedience to his orders, and the place being unprovided with a draw-bridge, a twelve pounder was rapidly run up to the first gate, which was blown open at the second discharge so as to admit a single man; after clearing this impediment, a second and a third gate presented themselves, and were forced with augmented diffi-

* A title given by Mohammed Ali; his former name being A[illegible]

culty, in a similar manner; the assailants in the traverses of the gate, being, during the whole period exposed to the enemy's musketry from above. With the exception of about one hundred killed, most of the enemy escaped on the opposite side, by ladders previously provided for such an event; a precaution which probably weakened the energy of defence. The loss of the assailants was comparatively heavy, but the effect produced on the English army, by this opening of the campaign, was highly useful after the late disasters; and a respectable quantity of grain found in the place tended farther to improve the impressions arising from this first enterprise.

The next object was Wandiwash, distant twenty-three miles, in a direction nearly west, the actual condition of which it will be necessary to describe. On the first preparation for the investment of the place early in December, the wives and families of the sepoys had, contrary to Lieutenant Flint's wishes and remonstrances, departed with the hope of being permitted to reside without molestation among their friends in the villages of the protected part of the country. Hyder caused all these unhappy persons to be collected, and (the approaches having been previously carried to within fifty yards of the ditch) at daylight in the morning of the 30th December, this motley crowd, surrounded by guards, and preceded by a flag of truce, were perceived approaching the place, the women and children screaming, and the old men imploring the troops to deliver up the place as the only means of preserving them from the most barbarous treatment. The moment was critical: besides the commandant there was only one European in garrison; every other man had either a wife or some other object of affection in the group; the few who were on that face of the works strongly objected to the use of cannon, which were all loaded, and whatever should be done was to be effected by the single hand of the commandant. Fortunately the bearer of the flag was considerably advanced, and in a direction which admitted of pointing at him clear of the crowd: after due notice, Lieutenant Flint, regardless of the remonstrances of his sepoys, fired and had the satisfaction to see the flag fall, and a few additional discharges close over the heads of the crowd, caused the whole to retire with the utmost precipitation. All this was effected, and the whole had disappeared, before the principal part of the garrison, resting from the fatigues of the night, were apprised of the circumstance: their presence would probably have caused it to terminate in a different manner.

The subsequent operations were in the ordinary routine of a siege, and of sorties, planned and executed with such skill and coolness, as to be always successful without material loss. On the 16th of January the enemy had entered the ditch by galleries in two places on the west face, and another gallery from the south was nearly ready for the same operation; but in the course of this day great bustle appeared among the besiegers, a large proportion of the

tents were struck and many of the troops marched. At two o'clock on the morning of the 17th, a heavy fire of musketry and cannon was heard in the direction of the expected relief, and was continued with every indication of a severe action until daybreak, when a column of about 3,000 infantry, dressed and accoutred like British sepoys, approached with English colors flying, drew up behind a village near to the east face, and discharged their cannon at bodies of horse making demonstrations of preparing to charge. At the same moment the troops in the two attacks abandoned their trenches with precipitation, and marched off in the direction of Arcot. Every individual in the garrison was deceived with the single exception of the commandant; one part of the operation was performed in a manner which could not escape his scrutinising and experienced eye. The cannon shot discharged at the approaching bodies of horse were seen to graze in directions clear of their object, and were fired at distances not belonging to the practice of British artillery. He had the greatest difficulty in undeceiving his garrison and keeping them at their posts; but they were ultimately convinced by the evident hesitation of the pretended relief; at this moment Lieutenant Flint ventured to detach a large portion of his little garrison unperceived into the works of the western attack; the galleries into the ditch were destroyed, the materials for filling the ditch set on fire, and the smoke arising from this operation was the first indication to large bodies of the enemy who were in ambush in every direction, and pushed for the recovery of their works. The signal for the return of the sortie was promptly observed, their prescribed route was by the southern attack, the trenches of which they scoured, killing or making prisoners every man who had been left concealed in both attacks. All this was effected without the loss of a man, but a small guard which had been sent to watch the pretended friends on being accosted by men whom they personally knew, were in spite of previous warning completely deceived and prevailed on to enter the village where they were made prisoners. Two of the number were sent back with proposals for a [illegible]; an answer was returned from the cannon of the place [illegible] their cover. The five succeeding days were [illegible] the damages resulting from this [illegible] attempt, but on the 22d movements were observed evidently of a [illegible], and by intelligence then unknown to the garrison [illegible] ly by assault on the preceding [illegible] trenches were evacuated on this day [illegible] in the direction of Arcot. On the 23d [illegible] on the succeeding day Sir Eyre Coote had [illegible] the British colors still flying on the ramparts when only one day's ammunition remained to the garrison.

The admiration of this experienced [illegible] at all he saw of the [illegible] which had been employed and at the

little which he heard in the modest recital of Lieutenant Flint: the interest of the scene was heightened, by a coincidence which this veteran deemed worthy of notice in his public despatches, that the siege had been raised on the 22d of January, the same day of the same month, on which, twenty-one years before, he had raised the siege of the same place by a memorable battle: and to complete the association of ideas, he encamped upon the same field. Sir Eyre Coote recommended the immediate promotion of Lieutenant Flint to the rank of captain, which was acceded to by his government; but this distinction was rendered nugatory by a subsequent determination* of the Court of Directors, as an inconvenient deviation from the established routine of their service—the rise by seniority alone: a rule upon the whole, perhaps, wisely adapted to actual circumstances, but at best productive of negative good; repressing, without question, the vice of partiality and favoritism, but crushing the legitimate excitements to military enterprise. It is true, that some highly distinguished branches of the royal army, are governed by this rule: but it is relieved by particular brevets for distinguished service; similar to that of which the benefit was most unwisely denied to Captain Flint, and the same unqualified rule of seniority alone continues its depressing influence over the Indian army to the present day.

As the course of our narrative will not again lead to any detailed notice of Wandiwash, it may be interesting to explain one of the modes by which grain was obtained for the consumption of the garrison, and an occasional aid to the supplies of the army; the villages under Hyder's protection, and in full culture, were sufficiently near to admit of occasional enterprise by night, but instead of desultory success which would dry up the source of supply, Lieutenant Flint conceived, and absolutely executed the idea, of laying them all under a secret, but regular contribution, on the condition of leaving them unmolested; these contributions were faithfully and punctually delivered by night, and were managed with such address, as completely to elude the knowledge or the suspicion of Hyder during the whole course of the war.

Before Sir Eyre Coote left Wandiwash, he ascertained that Hyder had raised the sieges of Permacoil, and even of Vellore, indicating the intention of a general action, which circumstances induced him to postpone.

On the 25th, a French fleet appeared off Madras, the intelligence was rapidly conveyed to Hyder, who anticipated with confidence the arrival of the expected co-operation, and a farther interval elapsed before he was apprised that no land forces were on board. The appearance of this fleet was announced to Sir Eyre Coote on the day of his departure from Wandiwash for the relief of Permacoil. He instantly retraced his steps towards Madras, but on farther intel-

* Lieutenant Bishop, commanding Permacoil, and Ensign Moore, the only officer with Lieutenant Flint, were in the same predicament.

ligence relieved Permacoil, and from thence moved towards Pondicherry with the view of destroying the boats, an operation which was eminently useful in impeding the communications of the hostile fleet through a surf nearly impassable by boats of European construction, and for the necessary purpose of demolishing what remained of military resources, which had been employed in a manner inconsistent with the terms of the capitulation, the political condition of the place, and the peculiar indulgence which had been extended to the inhabitants, for such is the character involved in the levy and equipment of troops for the service of the enemy.

These services were still imperfectly accomplished, when Hyder's army appeared in great force. On receiving intelligence of the appearance of the French fleet, and of Sir Eyre Coote having in consequence commenced his march to Madras, Hyder, with the view of throwing himself by forced marches between the General and that place, moved rapidly to Conjeveram; but on his arrival, learning that Sir Eyre Coote, instead of pursuing his march in the direction of the capital, had resumed a southern route, he followed, by forced marches, with his cavalry, select infantry, and all his lighter equipments. The presence of the enemy's fleet had frustrated the project of supplying the English army by sea; and in moving to Pondicherry Sir Eyre Coote had calculated, from intelligence equally defective, not only on finding a few days provisions in that populous town, but from Hyder's reported position, on being enabled to reach the fertile countries south of the Coleroon before him, and thereby to obviate every risk of want. There was but one day's rice in camp, it was impossible, with this stock, to attempt a movement to the northward; the direction of Hyder's march pointed south towards Cuddalore, and nothing remained but the desperate alternative of moving still farther from the main source of supply at Madras to cover Cuddalore, which it was of main importance either to dismantle or protect, to prevent its becoming a depot and point of support for the future operations of the land forces expected from France. The supplies at that place were known not to exceed three days' food; but in any other direction he could have found none. Sir Eyre Coote accordingly moved in a direction parallel to that of the enemy about two P. M.; while daylight continued he experienced little annoyance, and a heavy and continued cannonade throughout the night neither materially impeded his march, nor produced any serious casualties excepting the loss of some stores. Arrived at Cuddalore (the French fleet being still at Pondicherry) his situation became critical, and may most suitably be described in his own words. I cannot command rice enough to move either to the northward or the southward. I offered him (Hyder) battle yesterday, but I no sooner showed myself than he moved off and has taken possession of and strengthened all the roads leading to the southward. I have written to Nagore in the most pressing terms for supplies. I depend upon every effort in your power — everything must be risked to assist me

—my difficulties are great indeed. I need say no more to induce you to take such steps as will speedily enable me to act as becomes a soldier." Hyder perfectly apprised of these facts had made detachments to the southward to lay waste the country round Nagore, and cut off its communications with the sources of supply in the interior, and he depended on the services of the French fleet to augment the difficulties of the British army. Without possessing the means of forming a correct judgment regarding the motives which may have influenced the measures of the French admiral, Monsieur d'Orves, the proposition is unquestionable, that had he continued his co-operation in these measures by preventing supplies in any direction by sea, the campaign and the existence of the British army must in the opinion of its commander-in-chief, and according to all human calculation, have soon been brought to a fatal close. The sudden elation at an unexpected relief from these gloomy forebodings is strongly depicted in the following brief despatch. "The French fleet under sail standing to the eastward: there is not a moment to be lost in sending me provisions—that supplied, I will answer for the rest."

The intermediate days before the arrival of supplies, like many of the preceding, were passed in a precarious dependence for food on the skill and industry of the persons employed to discover subterranean hoards of grain,* and when these difficulties were in some degree relieved by the arrival of supplies by sea from Madras and Nagore, the reduced state of the draught and carriage cattle, rendered it impracticable to carry even one day's provisions, and fixed the army to the ground which it occupied. Hyder deemed it imprudent to attempt a decisive attack on an army, which, in the event of discomfiture, could retire on a fortress in its rear. Contemplating also the hilly and confined space which must bound his own rear in any attack, as unfavorable to the precaution which he uniformly adopted, of preparing, as the first preliminary to an action, clear, open, and well-finished roads for the retreat of his guns; he determined to leave in the vicinity of Cuddalore, such a body as was sufficient to prevent its deriving any supplies from the interior. He reduced and occupied in force all the intermediate posts between the English army and the southern provinces, and proceeded with the main army to the northern bank of the Coleroon, from whence he made large detachments into the territory of Tanjore. Without attempting the capital of that country, he occupied such posts as commanded its territorial revenues, and enabled him to apply its resources to the support of his own army, and still farther to augment the difficulties of his enemy in any operation to be attempted in that direction. Sir Eyre Coote had no prospect of relief from the embarrassments of his situation, excepting from the opportunity of a general action, which it was highly improbable that the enemy would afford. His force, originally insufficient, had been reduced

* See page the 302nd of this volume.

by casualties and by detachments to garrison Carangooly, and reinforce Wandiwash. Some native troops from the south had been prepared to join by land, but were effectually prevented by the dispositions which have been stated. Mr. Huddlestone, of the civil service, had, however, managed with energy and skill the collection and embarkation of grain and other supplies at Nagore; and an arrangement was made for embarking the detachment at this place, to be conveyed by sea to join the main army. The vicinity had previously been laid waste by Hyder, to prevent communication with the interior; and a small redoubt, hastily constructed for the purpose, was the sole protection of the factory, and the only cover to eventual embarkation.

Immediately after the embarkation of this detachment, consisting of two battalions, a considerable force of infantry and guns under Monsieur Lally entered the town, but the previous dispositions had been made with such care, that not only the troops on shore were saved, but all the public and private property was embarked without loss. A detachment which had been serving under Colonel Goddard in the Mahratta war, consisting of a battalion and a half of native troops and two companies of Europeans also accompanied Admiral Hughes' fleet on his return from the western coast of the peninsula, and farther strengthened the army. But numerical force without the means of movement tended little to relieve its complicated embarrassments. All that vigilance and energy could accomplish was incessantly attempted to procure immediate supply or the means of future equipment, and among the losses sustained by the enemy, was that of Sidee Hellal the commandant, an Abyssinian and an officer of distinguished reputation. From the 8th of February till the 16th of June, the army was certainly stationary, with the exception of one ineffectual demonstration of a single march to relieve Tiagar, a hill fort fifty miles to the westward, commanded by Lieutenant Roberts, which fell on the 7th of June for want of ammunition; but during the whole of that period few nights passed in which detachments were not abroad, supported on the ensuing day by the whole or various portions of the line, which by varying their directions and modes of proceeding, frequently succeeded in procuring from distances supposed to be too great for a forced march, flocks of sheep and droves of cattle, which not only furnished food for the troops, but gradually, although slowly added a few oxen of a proper description for the departments of ordnance stores and provisions.

During this long and mortifying delay, the Government of Madras naturally regretting a state of apparent inaction which consumed the resources of the State as rapidly as an active campaign, transmitted to Sir Eyre Coote an elaborate exposition of his present military situation, disclaiming however any intention of interfering with the conduct of the war which they had committed to his guidance, and meaning to aid his decisions, by

submitting to his judgment the result of their own deliberations on the actual state of public affairs, and the reasoning which might affect his adoption of a northern or a southern movement. Among the most perceptible changes superinduced by years and ill health, was a defect in that admirable serenity of temper which had strengthened and embellished his earlier military virtues. Surrounded by difficulties, which appeared to be insuperable, he had frequently seemed to ascribe to the Government impediments which they were strenuously laboring to remove: and as suddenly acknowledged their zeal on the receipt of any unexpected supply. This exposition was treated, justly perhaps, but with unnecessary asperity, as a covert attack on his military character, by persons unqualified to form a military opinion. Nothing, he said, but his zeal for the interests of his country could have originally induced him to undertake the charge of an army so miserably equipped, as to be pronounced unfit for service before it had moved. After reciting the motives and results of the few measures he had been enabled to risk, and the utility of his present position with reference to the expected French forces, and preventing Hyder from undertaking the sieges of either Trichinopoly or Tanjore, he intimates that if he had been invested with any powers besides those which he derived from his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India, such powers had only loaded him with labor and anxiety foreign to his duties, and appertaining to themselves. "Having stated, (he adds,) the circumstances which proved the impossibility of marching this army at all, it does not seem immediately necessary that I should enter upon an enquiry, whether a southern or a northern movement is to be preferred." If a movement of necessity should be made, (and by the non-arrival of supplies which ought to have been sent, that necessity appeared to be approaching,) he must move northwards, which he adds, "I am happy in thinking I shall do without apprehending any material danger from even a more formidable enemy than a body of horse, which you have, with so much precision, pointed out as the only impediment I am likely to meet with in taking a northern route. In justice to both myself and the service, I promise you that the army I now command, shall not remain a moment unemployed, if you will only supply me with provisions and the means of carrying them." While thus animadverting on opinions drawn from crude and partial views, it is instructive to observe this respectable veteran, uniting with the Government whose suggestions he condemns, in the most decisive inferences with regard to the general policy of the British State in India, drawn from the insulated application of that policy to the affairs of Fort St. George alone, while the interests of the other establishments, and the difficulty of adopting the measures proposed, were either overlooked or treated as points of minor consideration. The Government of Bombay deprecated the war with Hyder. The Government of Fort St. George,

uniformly affected to consider the Mahratta war as the efficient cause of Hyder's invasion. Sir Eyre Coote dissented from this opinion, but anxiously concurred in the positive necessity of a Mahratta peace. He severely arraigned the conduct of Colonel Goddard, his military inferior, on the western side of India, who was invested with diplomatic powers from the Government-General, for not employing those powers to terminate the Mahratta war, a criticism which, if their relative situations had admitted the retort, might have formed a pretty exact parallel in recommending to Sir Eyre Coote an immediate peace with Hyder, who, like the Mahrattas, and most other powers, would be averse to peace in the direct ratio of his success in war; a proposition which the conduct of the Mahratta nation had made familiar at Bombay.

Colonel Goddard had in effect made very strenuous efforts for the termination of the Mahratta war. On receiving his diplomatic instructions towards the close of 1780, he had offered to the consideration of that State reasonable terms to serve as the basis of a treaty, and proposed a general cessation of hostilities: these propositions were treated with silence and contempt, exactly because the affairs of the English were deemed to be in an unprosperous state. Colonel Goddard concentrated every possible means at his disposal to remove that impression; and in February 1781 made a demonstration of attacking the enemy's capital by ascending the Bore ghaut, when he hoped to treat with better effect. He was permitted to ascend, but the whole force of the State was prepared if he should advance, to prevent his return. He was in greater force than the army which surrendered at Worgaum in 1779, and the Mahrattas, deeming it possible that he would be able to reach Poona, deliberately prepared to set the capital on fire, together with everything intermediate that could furnish forage or subsistence, in order that they might insure his unconditional surrender. The experience of 1779; the unexpected numbers and quality of the troops by which he perceived himself to be opposed, the utter hopelessness of advance to any useful purpose, [illegible] of negotiation, except on terms which it was impossible to admit, all combined to convince Colonel Goddard of the expediency of retracing his steps. His first movement in retreat was the signal for determined attack, and he effected his retreat with the utmost difficulty. Having practically ascertained that the resources at his disposal, were not sufficient for an effective diversion into the interior, he reserved such troops as were necessary for the operations on the coast, and returned those of the Madras establishment which at the period in question were already on their voyage to join Sir Eyre Coote. Of the local [illegible] Colonel Goddard thus appears to have taken the most extended view of the general interests of the State.

Each presidency seemed to attach a paramount importance to its own local objects; and the Government of Madras seconding the

opinions of the Commander-in-Chief, reiterated their condemnation of the origin, the continuance, and the consequences of the Mahratta war, and stated to the Government-General the urgent necessity of its termination; as if the case had no parallel to the war in which they were themselves engaged, or could be terminated by different measures, or by an opposite consideration of the motives which influence human conduct. Mr. Hastings, placed in a situation which gave him a more enlarged view, and possessing a scope of mind adapted to the high and perilous station which he occupied, answered to the propositions which accompanied this recommendation. "We (viz. the Governor-General and Council) wish for peace with the Mahratta State, but we will not make it on terms dishonorable to ourselves; we will not disgrace the English name, by submitting to conditions which cannot be complied with, without a sacrifice both of our honor and our interest: yet such are the conditions prescribed in the paper before us (prepared by Mohammed Ali.) The distress which the Company's arms had suffered, and their belief of our consequent inability to support the war against them, has raised their presumption, and induced them to insist on terms which the worst state of our affairs would not warrant us in yielding to. We are now morally convinced, that nothing but a vigorous and successful prosecution of the war, will prevail on them to make peace, or overcome their present disinclination to it. Peace is our object, and we are determined to pursue the only means which appear to us to lead to its honorable accomplishment."

The wretched equipment of Sir Eyre Coote's army kept him stationary in the neighbourhood of Cuddalore until the middle of June: its march to any distance from the sea was literally impracticable; and along the coast was only possible, with the substitution of ships for an ordinary commissariat. Every movement to be attempted, was consequently dependent on the co-operation of the British admiral, for the protection of the transports; and for the more awful purpose which entered into the cool calculations of this interesting veteran, of saving the wreck of his army, in the event of total discomfiture in that general action, which it was the uniform object of all his measures to force upon the enemy.

The village of Porto Novo (or Feringepet) is situated on the north bank of the river Vellaar close to the sea. The fortified Pagoda of Chillumbrum is three miles south of that river, and about twenty-six miles in the same direction from Cuddalore. This Pagoda was one of the posts materially strengthened by Hyder, for the double purpose of arresting his enemy's progress to the southward, and serving as a depôt for provisions for the eventual use of his own army, and that of his French allies; purposes which rendered it of corresponding importance to Sir Eyre Coote, that he should attempt its reduction. He moved on the 16th June, and on the 18th at noon, crossed the Vellaar. Finding that the

enemy was nowhere near it in considerable force, and being greatly misinformed regarding its garrison, which was reported to be but a few hundred irregulars, and actually consisted of nearly three thousand men, partly regulars, and the remainder the distinguished peons of Chittledroog under Jehan Khan,* an officer of reputation; he determined in pursuance of this defective information, to attempt carrying it on the same night by a *coup de main*. Four battalions of sepoys with eight† pieces of ordnance, moved under his own immediate direction at dusk; they carried the pettah or town without difficulty, and pushed on with rapidity to a second line of defence, which surrounded the place at the distance of about one hundred yards: the gate of this line of works was forced by a twelve-pounder, and the troops advanced under a heavy fire, with the greatest spirit to the body of the place, the entrance into which was protected by the usual Indian apparatus of winding traverses, and three successive gates, built up behind with a few feet of masonry to prevent their being blown open. The first gate was forced after some difficulty, and the outer area between the first and second, being as usual inadequately flanked or commanded, the troops succeeded in forcing the second gate also; but for the area between the second and third gates, commanded by the rampart of the body of the place, and lined with thatched huts, where a portion of the garrison usually resided, a better preparation was arranged. Exclusively of the ordinary means of defence, bundles of straw had been placed on the rampart in reserve, with vessels of oil ready to moisten them and increase the combustion; a few lighted port-fires dropped down on the straw roofs, gave a commencement to the flame, and the bundles of oiled straw successively thrown down, converted into a mass of flame nearly the whole area to be passed; as a farther defence, if even the third gate should be forced, a select body of Chittledroog spearmen were placed in reserve on each side of the interior of the gate. But the retreat of the assailants rendered this reserve unnecessary; nothing could prevail on the sepoys to rally, and the officers and artillerymen compelled to abandon one gun drew off the remainder with great difficulty and serious loss. The small amount of the European troops and a desire of reserving them for greater emergencies had prevented their employment in this enterprise; but on being thus foiled Sir Eyre Coote ordered up the grenadiers of the army with the intention of resuming the assault; but before their arrival, being better informed of the actual means of defence possessed by the garrison, he drew off the whole in the course of the night carrying with him a small supply of grain which had been found in the pettah, and after the lapse of four days re-crossed the river and encamped near the village of Port Novo.

* The officer mentioned in the P[illegible] the details, which relate to his own measures.

† Two 12-pounders, four 6-pounders, and two howitzers.

Admiral Sir Edward Hughes in the Superb, arrived from Madras on the 24th, and was visited by the General on the ensuing day. He brought intelligence of the arrival of Lord Macartney to assume the Government of Madras; and of his being charged with orders for the immediate commencement of hostilities against the Dutch possessions in India. On proceeding to consult regarding the measures which became requisite in consequence of this important intelligence, the Admiral's first suggestion was a descent on Negapatam, aided by a detachment from the army; but on examining their resources, it was found that exclusively of the danger of detaching from a body already too small, if the object should not be accomplished within twelve days, the army would be left without food. It was therefore resolved, that the united efforts of the fleet and army should be directed to the early reduction of Chillumbrum; and the preparation of fascines and gabions having already commenced with this view, arrangements were immediately ordered for landing the battering train. Sir Eyre Coote had however scarcely returned to camp, when he received intelligence of the presence of Hyder's whole army within the distance of a few miles.

During the four months in which Sir Eyre Coote had necessarily been fixed at Cuddalore, Hyder, expecting to draw him from that position by his proceedings to the southward, had abstained from the regular siege of Tanjore or Trichinopoly, as an operation which might embarrass the rapid movements essential to his future plans. Exclusively of minor enterprises, in which he was generally successful, he considered his time to be not unprofitably employed in the occupation of every tenable post, and the means of realizing the revenues of the whole country, the collection of an enormous booty in money and merchandize, and the transmission to the upper country of all that was moveable, including immense herds of cattle. The human race was made the unrelenting object of similar calculation; weavers and their families were collected and forcibly sent to people the island of Seringapatam. Captive boys destined to the exterior honor of Islam, were driven to the same place with equal numbers of females, the associates of the present, and the mothers of a future race of military slaves. On receiving from Jehan Khan the intelligence of what had occurred at Chillumbrum, a forced movement of one hundred miles in two days and a half, placed him between the English army and Cuddalore, and he immediately began to fortify a position scarcely three miles from the English encampment, covering the whole country with cavalry, to prevent the possibility of intelligence, regarding either its strength or situation, and thus rendering the camp guards "the boundary and limited extent of their knowledge."* This position was taken with the view not only of frustrating the intended operations against Chillumbrum, but of covering his own against the fort of Cuddalore, the destined depôt of his French allies, while his posi-

* Sir Eyre Coote's words.

tion should render it impracticable for the English army to move in any direction, or receive any supply, excepting from the sea.

In these critical circumstances, Sir Eyre Coote had recourse to the opinion of a council of war. The preparations for the siege were discontinued; the battering guns, and every possible impediment embarked, and four days' rice, to be carried on the soldiers' backs, was landed for the purpose of enabling the army to manœuvre for turning or forcing the enemy's position, or bringing on a general action. Sir Edward Hughes being requested to cover Cuddalore with a portion of the squadron, and with the remainder to watch over the operations of the army, or the embarkation of its wreck during the few ensuing days which were to determine its eventual triumph or possible annihilation.

By seven o'clock on the 1st of July, the British army had drawn out of its ground of encampment. The direction of the road to Cuddalore pointed north north-west, leaving on its left the termination of a lagoon.* Considerable bodies of cavalry, with this lagoon in the rear of their right and centre, appeared covering the plain but were destined to retreat, as the English army should advance. Hyder's select cavalry, accompanied by some light artillery, was drawn up behind this lagoon, fronting the north ready to operate on the British army in flank, when it should have passed the end of the lagoon, and be embarrassed by the batteries in front. Sir Eyre Coote, utterly uninformed of the nature and position of the enemy's works, could only reconnoitre at the head of his little army, which he formed into two lines fronting north a little west, and advanced in order of battle over the plain, his numbers being necessarily diminished by a strong baggage-guard which moved between his right and the sea. After marching in this order little more than a mile and a half, the position of the enemy's works was clearly distinguished. The ground which they occupied was strengthened with great judgment and skill, by front and flanking batteries, in a line which crossing the road to Cuddalore, extended from commanding grounds on the right, to a point on the left where the sand-hills of the shore were thought to oppose sufficient difficulties and form a support to that flank. An hour was passed by Sir Eyre Coote in examining with his accustomed coolness and penetration the critical circumstances in which he was placed the army being during that period, exposed to a distant but incessant cannonade on their front from the batteries and guns advanced from that position and on the left flank from the guns which had been moved from behind the lagoon. but in order that their limited store of ammunition might be reserved for more decisive purposes the English artillery was strictly prohibited from returning a single shot.

At nine o'clock Sir Eyre Coote had determined on his measures; and without any previous movement among the troops that should

* Noticed in the Mysorean, but not in the English narratives, although inserted in Pringle's topographical manuscript map.

indicate a change of disposition, he ordered both his lines to break into column, by the simple tactic of that day, of facing to the right, a battalion from the left of each line changing their front, for the purpose of protecting that most exposed flank, and covering the whole interval between the lines. In this order he moved with rapidity and precision to the right, to the eastward of the range of sand-hills which follow the direction of the coast, at the distance of about eleven hundred yards from the sea, and which covered the greater portion of this movement, until he reached an opening in that range, where it was discovered that a practicable road had been made by Hyder, for far other purposes than the approach of his enemy: a commanding sand-hill close to this opening was also fortunately unoccupied. The British general penetrated this pass with the first line; and after clearing it of a strong corps charged with its defence, deployed again into order of battle, with his front to the west, and waiting with impatience under a heavy fire until the sand-hill should be effectually possessed by the artillery of his second line, he moved on with the first, as fast as order and an advancing fire of artillery would admit; a long and thick caldera* hedge covering his right, and his left being protected by a corps and some guns in column. The artillery in Hyder's batteries had already been withdrawn to a new line at right angles with the first, formed with considerable promptitude, and defended with great obstinacy. After a long and tremendous cannonade, the British line still slowly and gradually advancing, and availing themselves, with the greatest military address, of every successive advantage of ground; an attempt was made to break and overwhelm it by a general charge of cavalry, directed diagonally on the angle of the left: this also failed by the superior fire and steadiness of the British troops; and it was not until four o'clock that Sir Eyre Coote succeeded in forcing the enemy's line and compelling it to a precipitate retreat.

In the meanwhile, the advantage of the judicious position so promptly and ably assigned to the second line became eminently conspicuous. A strong body of infantry with their guns, and a very large mass of cavalry were detached to fall upon the rear of the British army. A close and severe contest ensued between this body and the second line, which obstinately disputed every point, drove them from the contiguous heights which they attempted to seize, and foiled all their efforts to charge and force this most important position; the occupation of which enabled the first line to advance, not only without apprehension for their rear, but with the most important aid from the artillery which occupied the heights; and the same position enabled the baggage guard to take post without molestation between the northern extremity of this range and the sea. The success of these efforts, in which the select corps of Hyder's army were employed, was necessary to the developement of a more general operation, and Hyder becoming impatient at this obstinate resist-

* Pandanus odoratissima. Ainslie, page 145.

tance, and the consequent progress of the first line, ordered a simultaneous and desperate charge of the whole cavalry upon both lines. The stable horse under Hyder's immediate direction was destined to act against the first line, and Meer Saheb against the second. The stable horse advanced with a good countenance, but were repelled as we have already seen. Their standard elephant, on approaching, received a slight wound, took fright, and fled with precipitation off the field, and the horsemen suffering severely from the English grape, which probably would in every event have foiled their efforts, were furnished with the convenient apology of following their colors. The general charge on the second line was observed by Hyder to be prepared but suspended, and a floating to take place along the whole mass; impatient at this want of concert, he sent successive messages to Meer Saheb, and all his commanders, ordering them, as they valued their heads, instantly to charge; and some interval elapsed before the fall of Meer Saheb by a mortal wound was added to the report of other causes of delay. A small* schooner from the British squadron approaching the shore as near as soundings would admit, opportunely and judiciously opened her fire upon this mass of cavalry; the loss of their commander, and a considerable number of men from the broadside of one little vessel, was magnified in the imaginations of men unsuspicious of annoyance from another element, into a dreadful fire from the whole squadron; which is to this day represented as a fact, by some of those who witnessed the transaction. But this flanking fire, highly important and effective, without any exaggeration, disposed the second in command to seek the cover of a sand-bank, from whence he reported this new impediment.

This double disappointment in the efforts of his cavalry, added to the very near approach of Sir Eyre Coote's first line to his own person, induced Hyder to listen to the suggestions of some of his officers, and to order the successive retreat, first of his guns, and afterwards of his infantry and cavalry. Men who have witnessed similar scenes, as well as those who are indebted to the artist for a pictured representation, will figure to themselves an image of this oriental chief seated on an elephant, for the advantage of surveying the operations of the field, on horseback for the convenience of closer inspection, or peradventure on foot, to lead and animate the efforts of his infantry. Hyder, from the commencement to the close of this action, was seated cross-legged on a chowkee (a portable stool about nine inches high, covered with a carpet), and placed on a gentle eminence in the rear of the centre of his line of works, and now a little to the southward of the line of fire. When in the course of the operations of the day he could scarcely believe the evidence of his senses which indicated the danger of his situation, he received, with that torrent of obscene abuse which formed the character of his eloquence, the first suggestions as to move and distu-

* The Intelligence

nately stupid with vexation, continued in his seat, until a groom who had long served him, and was in some sort a privileged man, had the audacity to seize his legs one after the other, and put on his slippers. "We will beat them to-morrow," (said he,) "in the meanwhile mount your horse," and he was quickly out of sight, leaving his attendant chiefs, (whom oriental etiquette would not admit of being on horse-back while their Sovereign was dismounted; and whose grooms and horses had disappeared, on the near approach of the English line,) to the unaccustomed effort of a long and hurried pedestrian march.

Sir Eyre Coote's first line rested for the present on the ground which the enemy had abandoned, and it was not until midnight that a due attention to the casualties of the day admitted of its being joined by the second, when the whole moved on by the road by which the enemy had retired, and after crossing without molestation a strong pass formed by a ravine, most injudiciously unoccupied by the enemy, took up their ground near to the village of Mootypolliam, the name by which the Mysooreans distinguished this day's action, as Porto Novo, the village from the vicinity of which the opposing army marched in the morning, is made to designate the same battle in the English narratives. If the accident had not intervened, of a heavy rain, which rendered it impossible for the miserable cattle of the English army to move their tents, this action would have been fought on the 30th June, and happily the same circumstances did not postpone it to the 2nd of July. The road which facilitated the able manœuvre of the British General, had been prepared by Hyder, for the purpose of drawing his guns to a large work for the reception of twenty guns, lined out on the best principles of European science, situated within three hundred and fifty yards of the sea, and commanding every part of the ground on which Sir Eyre Coote's masterly movement had been made. The work was so far advanced as to require but a day more for its completion; and had it been finished and occupied, the extrication of the British army would have become nearly an hopeles enterprise.

The artillery brought into action by Hyder on this day, was no more than 47 pieces, chiefly long guns, of heavy calibre, and well served: the English guns of lighter metal, were 55, served with an energy and precision beyond all praise. The most moderate computation of comparative numbers* will make the force of Hyder eight times greater than that of his opponent, although a large corps under the command of his son Tippoo was absent on another service.

* English force.

Cavalry	- -	830
Artillery	- -	598
Infantry	- -	7,048
Total	- -	8,476, or exclusive of artillery, 7,878.

Sir Hector Munro, who commanded the first line, deserved and obtained the praise of his general, for "conduct equally spirited and active." Brigadier General Stuart's determined occupation and defence of the heights with the second line, was declared to have been highly meritorious. "Every individual (says Sir Eyre Coote) of this little army, seemed to feel the critical situation of our national concerns: our falling interests required uncommon exertions for their support, and to the honor of this army, every nerve was exerted to the very extent of possibility."

The loss of the English army, lessened by the peculiar skill with which the operations were conducted, was comparatively trifling, being 306 killed and wounded, exceeding not much above one-fourth the loss sustained in the unfortunate attempt on Chillumbrum. It is at all times difficult to ascertain the casualties of an Indian army; but, on a comparison of statements, I am disposed to estimate the lowest amount of Hyder's loss on this day, at ten thousand men killed and wounded, the density of the masses and the immense extent occupied by irregulars in the rear giving certain repetition of effect to the flight of every shot.

The physical means of the English army had been in no respect augmented by the events of [illegible] dif-culties with regard to money, provisions, and equipment, and the same impossibility of following [illegible] without annoyance, and are described with [illegible] which announced the victory [illegible] the imagination and disturb the [illegible] of an ordinary mind [illegible] closed with the following modest and appropriate reflection: "If Hyder Ali, buoyed up with former [illegible] had not come down to seek us, I could not have moved the army to follow him; and this is a situation so trying to the responsible military commander, that an officer of character [illegible] predicament." But the [illegible] the most lively contrast [illegible] in an incalculable ratio [illegible] for sustaining difficulties [illegible]

During the period [illegible] Tiagar had surrendered [illegible] been ordered to resume the [illegible] of thirteen battering [illegible] invested the place on the 22[illegible] from Bengal had arrived [illegible] importance of covering [illegible] Wandewash, induced Sir Eyre [illegible] receiving his food from [illegible] by Cuddalore and [illegible] enemy was preparing [illegible] of the latter place he [illegible] Hyder's encampment [illegible]

that issue. Hyder however struck his tents and moved off to the westward, without attempting any operation of consequence: and Sir Eyre Coote, quitting the sea-side, moved in the direction of Permacoil and Carangooly, into the former of which places a small store of provisions had been thrown by the unremitting zeal of Captain Flint, while Hyder was occupied to the southward, and Tippoo at Tiagar, and into the latter from the resources almost under the protection of its guns. At Carangooly, Sir Eyre Coote received intelligence that Tippoo, largely reinforced, had moved to intercept the approach of the detachment from Bengal, having raised the siege of Wandiwash. With the aid of requisitions on the villages of the whole surrounding country, Tippoo had formed round that place a line of nearly complete circumvallation, and batteries were in readiness to have opened, when he received from his father the new destination which has been stated, with positive orders first to attempt the place by an escalade at all accessible points, of which the number was considerable. The construction of ladders was not only reported, but their distribution to every corps distinctly seen, and Captain Flint had intelligence of the exact hour of the night of the 16th of July at which he was to expect the escalade. Every post listened in silence, and all heard a low murmuring noise gradually approaching: at the proper period every column was received with a discharge of grape: the noise was for a time exceedingly increased, but it gradually diminished until all was silence. The moral influences of Hyder's late defeat, and the evidence of perfect preparation in the garrison, rendered it impracticable to retrieve the confusion occasioned by this timely check. Attempts to compel the resumption of the escalade on that and the ensuing day produced indications approaching to mutiny, and on the same day that Sir Eyre Coote arrived at Carangooly, Tippoo decamped from Wandiwash, leaving to Captain Flint the laborious care of demolishing his batteries and approaches, together with an extensive line of circumvallation. The event was reported to his Commander-in-Chief in an unassuming letter of eight lines, five more being allotted to an unaffected congratulation on the late victory and its consequences. The relief of a place, rendered interesting by so many recollections, was announced by Sir Eyre Coote to the Government of Madras, in the following terms:—"Wandiwash is safe, being the third time in my life I have had the honor to relieve it." Nothing now remaining to detain him from prosecuting his union with the detachment from Bengal, he moved by Chingleput, to St. Thomas' Mount.

The lake of Pulicat, nearly forty miles in length from north to south, and six in its greatest breadth, is an inlet of the sea, formed by a narrow insulated strip of land, separated from the continent by small openings at each extremity, which form the communication between the lake and the sea. The small fort of Pulicat, recently captured from the Dutch, is situated on the southern bank of the southern strait, and is distant about thirty miles from Madras. The

ordinary road from Nellore to Madras passes to the westward of this lake, at the distance of from fifteen to twenty miles from the sea; but travellers lightly equipped, sometimes prefer the shorter route along the shore, and are ferried over these openings. It had not entered into Tippoo's calculations, that the latter route was practicable for troops and military equipments, and while he was preparing impediments and ambush on the upper road, the detachment had crossed the northern opening, distant nearly seventy miles from Madras, into the insulated spot which has been described, and were successively transported across the strait at Pulicat, without the necessity of firing a shot. Sir Eyre Coote, however, would not even risk the separate movement of this corps for the remaining thirty miles: he made two marches in that direction, from St. Thomas' Mount, and on the third day had the satisfaction of inspecting at Pulicat, this important reinforcement, which added nearly one-third to his numerical strength.

It is difficult to contemplate these cautious operations without reverting to the unhappy fate of Baillie, whom, in advancing from the same quarter, a very inferior degree of military prudence would have placed in equal security. The faults of Hyder in permitting the unmolested march of Sir Eyre Coote one hundred and fifty-one miles from Porto Novo to Pulicat with a crippled equipment, with numbers daily and rapidly diminishing from sickness, to form a junction so important in its consequences, when in each of sixteen successive marches he might have offered serious annoyance without the risk of material loss, can only be explained by his imperfect knowledge of facts, and by the necessity of consulting the temper of his army.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Wretched state of military equipment—Sir Eyre Coote turns his attention to Tripassore—Hyder attempts to relieve it—without success—The place falls—Negotiation regarding prisoners—showed Sir Eyre Coote's imperfect knowledge of Hyder's character—Fights Hyder on ground chosen by himself—Battle of Polliloor described—Dubious victory—does not improve the aspect of English affairs—New means of carrying grain—Western and Chittoor Poligars—promise supplies—Sir Eyre Coote determines to relinquish the command—but is prevailed on by Lord Macartney to resume it on the faith of these promises—disappointed—perseveres—Battle of Sholinghur—Poligars come over from Hyder to Sir Eyre Coote—enters the Pollams—erroneously supposed to be inexhausted and abundant—reason—Hyder sends a detachment to ruin the Pollams—defeated and dispersed by Sir Eyre Coote in person—Detaches Colonel Owen—Hyder attacks him in person—dangerous retreat—junction of Sir Eyre Coote—Distress of Vellore—relieved—Retrospective account of Hyder's operations against that place—and its gallant defence—Sir Eyre Coote returns to the Pollams—takes Chittoor—Defective intelligence—Loses his depôt in the Pollams—distress...necessity of returning to Tripassore—Serious loss from the monsoon—Misconduct of Mohammed Ali—Assigns the country for the support of the war—Strange misinformation regarding Chandergherry and Mohammed Ali's brother—Facts related—Hyder's brutal outrage—Affairs of Tanjore during this campaign—Hyder's treaty with the Dutch at Negapatam—Colonel Brathwaite's assault of two succesive posts—wounded—succeeded by Colonel Nixon—more successful—Colonel Brathwaite resumes the command—defeats Hyder's provincial field force—Sir Hector Munro besieges Negapatam—Effective co-operation of the fleet—Capture of the place—Monsoon—Critical situation of the fleet—Capture of Trincomalee—Renewed distress of Vellore—Sir Eyre Coote marches to relieve it—Alarm for his life—recovers and effects the service—Cannonaded on his approach and return.—Ineffective attempt to pursue Hyder—who makes a fresh demonstration near Sholinghur—the English army returns to Madras.

THE detachment from Bengal had moved through a country untouched by the enemy, and was expected to be accompanied by the requisite number of draught and carriage oxen to complete the deficiencies of the army; but owing to the difficulties of the times, added to the most serious defects in the whole system of the commissariat, the supplies were not only lamentably defective in number, but every animal, wild from the pastures, was still to be trained before his services could be of value. Of the cattle officially reported to have been collected at Madras during the absence of the army, not one half-was forthcoming; and after a plain calculation it was discovered, that exclusively of what the men could carry on their backs, the actual means provided from all these sources was capable of carrying no more than one and a half days' rice for the consumption of the army. It was not only impracticable to attempt either of the great objects of the campaign, the relief of Vellore or the siege of Arcot, but with an army of 12,000 men, capable with proper equipments of achieving any service, and drawn together from the

most distant quarters, it did not seem very obvious by what possible means it was to accomplish anything. Under circumstances thus "heart-breaking," as Sir Eyre Coote emphatically designates them, he turned his attention to Tripassore, a fortress important from position but defective in strength, situated about thirty-three miles to the westward on one of the roads leading to Arcot and Vellore. This place was in the occupation of the enemy, but the intermediate post of Poonamallee was still possessed by the English. By encamping between Madras and Poonamallee, and subsequently between the latter place and Tripassore, he was enabled to employ the cattle of all his departments to bring successively into advance a sufficiency of grain to attempt Tripassore

On the 19th of August he arrived before the place, which had been much improved, and was garrisoned by fifteen hundred men, but inadequately provided with cannon. On the morning of the 22d a good breach having been effected, and preparations made for the assault, a flag of truce appeared, offering to surrender the place on terms previously offered but now rejected, with a demand that they should surrender unconditionally within a quarter of an hour, or await the consequences of the assault. In the instant after despatching this answer, intelligence was brought of large bodies of the enemy being in sight, and Sir Eyre Coote, on going to an eminence to reconnoitre, perceived the advanced guard of Hyder's whole army in full approach: there was not a moment to lose; he sent orders to storm instantly, and the troops had just emerged from the trenches when the flag of truce returned with the declaration of surrender, and left the assailants to ascend the breach without opposition, Hyder drawing off as soon as he discovered the event. With only one day's provisions in camp, Sir Eyre Coote had risked the consequences of an assault, in all cases a doubtful operation, on the single question whether the garrison should or should not be prisoners of war, and was so ill apprised of Hyder's character as to expect his assent to an exchange of these prisoners for an equal number of British troops in his custody. "The men taken at Tripassore (said Hyder in reply) are faithless and unworthy; they know that they dare not approach me; they are your prisoners, and I advise you to put every one of them to death speedily." To feed 1,400 prisoners did not accord with the state of the English commissariat; and Sir Eyre Coote, instructed by this feature of barbarous policy in his future estimation of the value of prisoners, had no alternative but to release them on parole, an obligation to which he could scarcely have ascribed any real force. The store of grain found in the fort was so trifling, that it became necessary, on the night of its capture, to send a convoy for a fresh supply to Poonamallee; and having, by the 25th, obtained a sufficiency of rice for a few days to be carried on the men's backs, the English general marched on the 26th, with the view of bringing Hyder to action on ground selected by himself.

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During the period in which Sir Eyre Coote had been employed in forming the junction so judiciously effected, Hyder had moved into the *fortunate* encampment of Mooserwauck which he had occupied in the preceding year, when opposed by Sir Hector Munro. He examined with renewed care, and made himself more completely master of the *fortunate* ground on which Baillie had been defeated; and in determining to offer battle to Sir Eyre Coote on the same spot, and if possible on the same auspicious day of the same lunar month, the 11th of Ramzan; (coinciding in this year with the 31st of August, as it had done in the preceding with the 10th of September) his military judgment was supported by the concurring predictions of all the astrologers, whose prognostics were favorable for every day, but were deemed certain for the 11th. Had an invitation been conveyed to his opponent for that particular day, there can be no doubt that Sir Eyre Coote, to whom all days were indifferent, provided he could obtain close action, would cheerfully have indulged him in every coincidence required by every astrologer; for on the particular scene of Hyder's former triumph, he was most anxious to obliterate the remembrance of that unfortunate event.

His first day's march brought him to the vicinity of Perambaucum, where large bodies of cavalry to the south-west indicated the presence of the enemy on the expected ground. On the 27th he was again in motion, and about nine o'clock the advanced guard, on reaching the precise spot on which Colonel Baillie had taken the fatal resolution of passing the night of the 9th of September 1780, perceived the enemy's army in force in front, and extending towards both flanks. The column of march was pointing nearly west. A strong land-wind raised clouds of dust which rendered distant objects imperceptible, but a small thick grove on a gentle eminence, with a water-course encompassing in front and right, about 800 yards to the left of the advanced guard, appeared to be a position of so much importance, that it was immediately occupied by a battalion of native troops and its guns: the first line being directed to form in order of battle, fronting what then appeared to be the chief mass of the enemy's force, to the south-west, to the right of the great avenue of banyan trees by which the English army had approached, and at about an angle of forty-five degrees with that avenue; the second line being destined to support the first, and to reinforce the post at the grove. This formation, necessarily slow from being made over broken ground, and among patches of underwood, had been scarcely completed, when a heavy but rather distant cannonade from a grove and village on the right, was found nearly to enfilade the first line, by a troublesome ricochet along its whole extent, and a rapid manœuvre became necessary for throwing back the right, and changing front. A jungle or underwood was interposed between the new position, and this division of the enemy's army commanded by Tippoo; and the cannonade was returned until it could be discovered whether the inter-

vening jungle were penetrable: this point being ascertained in the affirmative, the British troops moved through in columns, after considerable delay in removing impediments, and formed fronting the west, on the opposite side, where a commanding bank gave such superiority to their cannonade, that the enemy's guns drew off, and seemed, by a circuitous movement, in a southern direction, to be joining the main body.

In the meanwhile, the grove first occupied on the left, had been cannonaded by an increasing number of guns, from a position of great strength and extent, formed by the occupation of a bank and water-course, previously prepared with embrasures, receding on its left, towards the Pagoda and village of Pollilore, which formed the support of that flank; the right resting on another village, with vast masses of troops extending in the rear beyond the right of that cover. Every corps of the second line, together with an entire brigade from the first, had successively been ordered to strengthen and extend the position at the grove, against which, as the day cleared, the main force of the enemy was found to be directing its principal efforts. These operations varying their aspect according to the points successively occupied on either side were certainly wearing an appearance far from cheering to the British army; a battalion of native troops lately raised, had been ordered to dislodge the enemy from a village, which galled with musketry the left of the position at the grove, and returned in disgraceful confusion, in spite of the efforts of their officers; but this disaster was repaired by the veteran 20th,* which effected the object with the precision of a parade movement, and the steadiness of the best European troops.

It was three o'clock when Sir Eyre Coote, after the movements on the right which have been described, came to the left, for the purpose of examining the whole of his situation, and ascertaining whether any mode could be devised of extricating himself from a formation disjointed in all its parts. He had hitherto been foiled by cross or enfilading fires in every successive movement undertaken throughout the day, and with the single exception of the grove, every point successively seized, was found to be within range of more commanding ground. The village of Pollilore that which, according to the manuscript journal of Colonel Baillie's operations, ought to have been occupied by that officer, was now evidently the support of the enemy's left, but before attempting to carry that point, it was necessary to have a connected line of sufficient extent, to take advantage of the success of a flank movement. The first line had by its effort against Tippoo's division been drawn off from the real point of attack, and had become separated by a considerable interval from the troops which were most severely pressed. It was now therefore directed to form a third change of position, which brought its front to face the south, the line being drawn up in the avenue with its left about 1,300 yards farther to the west, than the

* Sepoys.

point from which it had issued for the first formation, and its right exactly opposite the village of Pollilore. The post at the grove was consequently about 1,400 yards in a diagonal direction in front of its extreme left, and the same post formed a support to the right of the second line, which extended to the left of that post, nearly opposite to the enemy's right. These formations being effected, a brigade from the right of the first line moved in compact order, and with a rapid step, under cover of an animated cannonade from every gun along both lines, to seize the village of Pollilore, and turn the enemy's left; and the success of this movement, which was soon determined, was the signal for the second line, by a similar operation, to force the right, supported by a forward movement of the remainder of the army, preceded by their guns, with the exception of three battalions left at the grove to cover the rear while advancing, and to command the ground occupied by the baggage guard, which was so posted as to give and receive reciprocal support.

Upwards of eight hours had elapsed from the commencement of the action before the decisive movement of the right brigade was completed; the direct advance of the first line to support and unite with that brigade, led them over the unburied remains of their comrades, who had perished on the same ground in the preceding year; but this movement on the right, drew the enemy's attention from the second line, which ultimately succeeded in forcing their right, and attaining an eminence from which it was enabled about sunset, to cannonade the retreating columns of the enemy. The impediments, however, which had been prepared, against the advance of every portion of the English troops throughout the day, had been such as merely to admit of their occupying before dusk, the ground abandoned by the enemy, and in so far claiming the usual criterion of victory.

Sir Eyre Coote's varied experience had never placed him in embarrassments so serious, and had never excited in his mind the gloomy forebodings, which for the first and last time in his military life, were distinctly depicted on his countenance when in the presence of an enemy, and from which he was ultimately relieved, contrary to his best expectations. The Mysoorean manuscripts invariably admit the action of Porto Novo to have been a severe defeat; that of Pollilore is as invariably claimed as a drawn battle. The losses on either side were prevented from being so considerable as might be anticipated from the length of the action, in consequence of the nature of the ground, and particularly the cover afforded by the intersection of the water-courses and banks, which have already been described. The English army, which went into action eleven thousand strong, lost no more than 421 killed, wounded, and missing; among them were Captain Hislop, the general's aid-de-camp, an officer of much promise, killed, and Brigadier-General Stuart, and Colonel Brown, officers of approved merit and long experience, who by a singular coincidence, each lost a leg from the same cannon

shot; the former recovered, but the latter died on the same night. The force under Hyder's command had been augmented by the division under his son, and comprised his whole disposable force. He had on this day fired from 80 pieces of cannon, but had found no opportunity of employing with effect the services of his numerous cavalry. The loss of the Mysooreans probably did not exceed two thousand; the general impression was far from that of defeat; and the effect upon their minds was, to recover in a considerable degree from the humiliating sense of inferiority which had followed the events of the 1st of July. A portion of the 28th was employed not only in due attention to the casualties of the preceding day, but in the melancholy task of gathering together and interring the remains of Colonel Baillie's detachment; and on the 29th, Sir Eyre Coote returned to Tripassore, not having a single day's provision left for the fighting men, and the natives attached to the public departments, having been without food for the two preceding days.

This dubious victory had in no respect improved the aspect of English affairs; and, in the necessity of having recourse to some untried expedient, the active mind of Lord Macartney suggested to him the possibility of employing some portion of the fugitive population which had taken refuge at Madras, in carrying loads of grain on their heads for the use of the army. Considerable numbers were easily found to engage their services; but in the scarcity of food which prevailed at Madras, the temptation of such a load was too powerful to be resisted; numbers disappeared on the road, and of the remainder who arrived with loads uniformly diminished, a very large proportion took alarm at what they saw and heard of their new situation, and absconded in the night; but by occupying a position between Tripassore and Poonamallee, and throwing grain forward into the former place, it became practicable by all these united means, at length to move from Tripassore.

To the north-west of the road leading from Madras to Arcot, is situated the strong country usually denominated that of the western and *Chittoor* Poligars, placed between the range of hills which bound the Balaghaut and a second chain, which, approaching within a few miles of the sea, near the lake of Pulicat, forms an irregularly indented concave sweep of varied elevation until its south-western extremity overlooks at the distance of a few miles, the town of Arcot.

The chiefs or Poligars of these countries, varying in strength and extent of territory, had sought to accommodate themselves to events, to extend their possessions at the expense of their neighbours, or by neutrality to save their countries from devastation, as suited their respective views of their own relative strength and interest. The Poligars of Vencataghery, Calastry, and Bomrauze, were the most powerful of these chieftains: the spearmen of the former had joined Sir Eyre Coote, and had formed a portion of his baggage guard at

the late action; but their expenditure of provision much outweighed their utility. Calastry and Bomrauze were both with Hyder; but had, with a very pardonable prudence, assured his adversary that the junction was of mere necessity, to save their countries from devastation, and that they awaited the opportunity when they might safely change sides, and place their resources at his disposal. The numerous minor chieftains had also, after the first symptoms of a favorable change, sent deputations of similar character, and all were profuse of assurances that the English army would find abundance of provisions by moving in that direction. Sir Eyre Coote, feeling the conviction, that he was wasting his large store of character, and what little remained of life, by continuing in command of troops unprovided with all but arms, that really constitutes an army, had gone down to Madras to confer with the Government, to resign his charge, and to declare the inutility of keeping together a nominal army, incapable of movement: but had been prevailed upon by Lord Macartney's representation of these prospects to make one further trial.

On the 21st of September he moved from Tripassore, two days' march, to Tritany, through the skirts of these countries; where he sought in vain for the realization of any one promise, made, by men, who were actuated chiefly by fear, in making and in breaking their engagements. In the vicinity of his encampment was the little fort of Poloor, which he captured, with two hundred prisoners to be liberated; and with the aid of a small store found in this place, but more from the skill of his searchers for subterranean hoards, he continued to subsist from day to-day, constantly receiving fresh promises, and reiterated disappointments. On this ground, he received from Colonel Lang the commandant at Vellore, an account of the reduced state of his provisions and the necessity of an early surrender of the place, if not relieved. Hyder was also reported to be distant only ten or twelve miles, near to the hill of Sholinghur, and to be strengthening a position to obstruct the farther approach of the English army towards Vellore. Sir Eyre Coote reckoning on exactly a sufficiency of provisions to carry him back to Tripassore, determined to try the effect of another action, and wrote to the Government, describing his situation, and requesting that at least one day's rice should, if possible, be advanced to Tripassore, to provide for the event of the enemy declining the meeting, or of its result not opening such unlooked-for prospects as might afford the hope of relieving Vellore.

Throwing his heavy guns and every impediment with a small garrison into Poloor, he made a short movement of seven miles on the evening of the 26th. The night proved tempestuous; and with his miserable cattle, it was impracticable in the ensuing morning to move the tents, drenched and doubled in weight by rain. Hyder, whose encampment was near, and considerably in advance of the position which he was preparing, being accurately apprised of

every circumstance, announced to his army that there would be no movement on that day; all the cattle of the army were in consequence sent to a better pasture at the distance of some miles and many of the troops, together with most of the drivers and followers, dispersed, as was usual on such intimations, to seek for grain, or to supply their other wants in the adjacent villages; for the want of cavalry in the English army left them free to wander at large without the apprehension of danger.

Sir Eyre Coote, lightly escorted, went out in the morning to examine the country in his front, and from an eminence which he ascended, a long ridge of rocks was observed possessed by the enemy's troops; being desirous of farther examination, he ordered a brigade from camp, and proceeded to dislodge the troops from the ridge, on ascending which Hyder's whole army was clearly discovered in a southern direction, distant about three miles, with some strong corps a mile in front, and an advanced encampment of cavalry close under the ridge, who struck their tents on the first appearance of the brigade. Orders were immediately despatched for the army to join without delay; the camp was struck and the troops were in motion with all practicable despatch, the baggage under cover of two battalions with their guns skirted the hills, and was conducted to an eligible spot on the right of the ridge described where it remained secure during the operations of the day. The army... [illegible] for forming into two lines, but marching by files in one column, moved after doubling the left extremity of the ridge, in a direction parallel to the line of the enemy's encampment until the centre of the first line, when faced to the front, should be opposite the main body of the enemy, distant about two miles, and drawn up in front of their encampment then in the act of being struck; a ... [illegible] in front of the right, and a grove and ... [illegible] of the first line, offered support ... [illegible] ...geously placed in the direct... [illegible] the rear, the oblique direction ... [illegible] turn the enemy's left, and ... [illegible] advantage of any awkward ... [illegible] extension of the first ... [illegible] broken into column ... [illegible] orders, but with ... [illegible] the ... [illegible] ground: a disposition which was necessary for ... [illegible] of watching powerful bodies ... [illegible] ing and supporting the ... [illegible]

While the troops were ... [illegible] Sir Eyre Coote, with a small ... [illegible] two armies, ... [illegible] tively open but ... [illegible] over the plain and ... [illegible] each party ... [illegible]

force was judiciously drawn up behind the crest of a long ridge, not rocky; its front, covered with swampy rice fields, while his guns were placed on the summit of this ridge, or on commanding positions among the more advanced groups of rocks. Exclusively of the advanced corps in position, several detached bodies, exceeding in numerical strength the whole of the English army, were seen in motion towards each flank, and large masses of cavalry were collected on various points, evidently prepared to charge on an appointed signal. In fact the whole movement had operated as a surprise on Hyder; he had reckoned with certainty on the impossibility of Sir Eyre Coote's marching on that day. The movement of the brigade he treated merely as a reconnoissance; and it was not until intelligence was brought of the English army having struck their encampment, that he ordered horsemen to be despatched in every direction to recal his cattle, drivers, and followers; and they had but just began to strike the tents, when the head of the English column had reached a point nearly opposite the centre of his encampment.

Thus circumstanced, it was Hyder's design to act on the defensive as long as possible, and to make such demonstrations as should delay the movements of his adversary, and give time for repairing the confusion of this unexpected event; and above all, for yoking the cattle to the limbers, with a view to the leading principle of all his tactics, never to risk a gun. The day was far spent; the English army had not yet completed the formation which has been described; nor had Hyder shown the least indication of changing his front. The two leading brigades of the English army had, in preparing to take up their ground, extended farther to the right than ordered, and an interval was thus opened between them and the remainder of the line. Hyder, on perceiving this error, opened a general cannonade along his whole front, and from the advanced positions; and Sir Eyre Coote, deeming the moment too critical, to suffer the enemy's posted guns to annoy him, while performing anything but a forward movement, ordered the whole line instantly to front and advance, the divided corps being ordered to bring forward its right, as it moved on. The enemy's guns were ill pointed, during a steady but not rapid advance of both lines, which, as they approached, are described to have had the appearance of diminutive corps almost surrounded by several separate armies. The necessity of defiling to pass the groups of rocks, had at one time caused several temporary openings in different parts of the line, and at this moment the two principal masses of the enemy's cavalry charged these points with a determination hitherto unexhibited; each mass as it reached the opening, wheeling to the right and left, to overturn the naked flanks, but no flank was found exposed, the very act of defiling had provided the required protection, which was formed with the greatest coolness and precision at obtuse angles with the line, and received the masses with a cross fire. These masses had sensibly thinned in their approach, from the havoc effected by grape and musketry

in the front, and by the consequent hesitation of the rear, and when, on reaching their object, they found the fresh and unexpected annoyance of a cross fire : one of these masses fairly galloped through, and went off to the rear, sustaining additional loss from the fire of the rear rank of the line, everywhere faced about for the purpose. The other mass sustained a direct repulse with still severer loss. The charges had been ordered, with the double view of direct and complete success, or in the event of failure, they would cover the retreat of the guns, which were ordered to limber up at the moment of the charge, and to retire the instant it was found to have failed; and the unavoidable suspension thus produced in the advance of the English army, enabled them to draw off the whole excepting one 6-pounder. The right brigades had by the movement described, gained the left flank of the enemy's position, and were enabled to bring their guns to bear with considerable effect on the retreating columns from the ridge abandoned by the enemy; the remainder of the first line, adapting its movements to that of the detached brigades, by gradually bringing forward its right, and forming an extension of their line of front.

During these operations of the first line, the second making little advance on its left, was also gradually bringing up its right, as the movements of the enemy threatened the left, which in the course of a severe struggle, and several charges of cavalry, was at one time nearly turned, but on completing a partial change of front with celerity and precision, the enemy, not equally expert in the corresponding movement, suffered severely from the English guns, and finally drew off about the same period as their main body, an attempt on the baggage-guard, consisting of two battalions and four guns, by a large body of infantry and cavalry with twelve guns, having proved equally abortive from the judicious dispositions of that guard and of the second line. It was midnight before the English army was re-united on the ground occupied by the advanced brigade. The acquisitions of the day were three cavalry standards and one gun, but as Sir Eyre Coote states in a note written from the field of battle, he would willingly have exchanged these trophies, together with the credit of the victory, for five days' rice. The strength of the British army in this day's action, was 11,500 men, and their loss no more than 100 men killed and wounded, the unexpected events of the day, had even left many of the enemy's bazar tents still standing, and the shop-keepers actually ignorant of the result, were selling their wares to the English followers, who mistook them for their own people, for sometime before the error was reciprocally discovered. Hyder's whole force was in the field, with the exception of ten guns, for he fired only from seventy. The Mysoreans uniformly describe the battle of Sholinghur as a surprise, and admit it to have been a severe defeat, in which their loss probably exceeded 5,000 men.

The Poligars of Calastry and Vencatagherry, weary of military dangers which promised them little advantage, and ascribing to this victory consequences which their defection from the enemy might render decisive, agreed to avail themselves of the events of the evening. A thick mass of spears was observed going off towards the hills at the close of the action, and in the morning messengers arrived in the camp to announce the event. With a sufficiency of rice barely to carry back the army to Tripassore, Sir Eyre Coote on this intelligence incurred the risk of increasing his distance from that post, and moved through a pass to the westward of Sholinghur, into a country supposed to be unexhausted and abundant. These expectations were found in the event to have been greatly exaggerated; the market of the Mysoorean army had furnished a certain and ready vent for surplus produce; and prices sufficient to tempt the more provident husbandmen to spare even a portion of their secret hoards. The English army therefore found a precarious subsistence from day to day, and the hopes of throwing a scanty supply into Vellore depended on the actual crop. Hyder full of indignation at the defection of these chiefs, detached a select and experienced corps of six thousand men, without guns, who, by forcing another pass, commenced the devastation of the rich intermediate vales, and the conflagration of every village. This unfortunate event produced most unfavorable impressions, seriously affecting all Sir Eyre Coote's prospects of supply; and the animated veteran, although suffering from severe illness, feeling the importance of counteracting these effects, placed himself at the head of a light corps, and after an absence of thirty-eight hours, during thirty-two of which he had never dismounted from his horse, returned to camp, having completely surprised, discomfited, and dispersed the enemy, and compelled them to leave behind, not only the whole of their plunder, but the few tents and light equipments with which they had entered the woods.

The extreme urgency of the relief of Vellore, induced the English general, to risk a detachment under Colonel Owen, consisting of five battalions with their guns, two flank companies of an European regiment of the Bengal establishment, and a portion of his small corps of cavalry, twenty miles in advance; for the purpose of commanding the resources of a greater extent of country, and affording the chance of intercepting some of the convoys of grain, frequently descending the pass of Damalcherry, for the supply of the enemy's army. On the 23rd of October, about eleven o'clock, he received intelligence from Colonel Owen of the enemy's first appearance. About two o'clock, (being as soon as circumstances would admit,) he moved forward with a select body, ordering the remainder of the army to follow as soon as possible. After marching about four miles, he met a few of his own irregular horse, who had fled from the field of battle and reported the detachment to be entirely destroyed. The impressions excited by such intelligence, may easily be imagined; judging however, from experience, of the credit due to the reports of

early fugitives, he quickened his pace, and sent corresponding orders to the army; and, after a further advance of two miles, he had the happiness to receive a note from Colonel Owen, intimating his safety in a strong position, where the army joined him on the same night.

This detachment encamped considerably in advance of a strong pass, situated between it and the main army, had at day-light been attacked at all points by Hyder in person, at the head of nearly his whole regular infantry, and light guns, and all his select cavalry, who made the most vigorous efforts for the destruction of this corps before it could reach the pass, or be relieved by the army. Although the position of the encampment would appear to have been selected with too much confidence, the exertions of Colonel Owen, and the excellent conduct of the troops, extricated him from a perilous predicament, and enabled him to gain the pass between one and two o'clock in the afternoon, with the loss of all his camp equipage and baggage. In the course of his retreat, one gun had fallen into the possession of the enemy, by a furious attack on the native corps which protected it: but this disaster was instantly repaired by the promptitude and decision of Captain Moore, who, at the head of his two flank companies of Europeans, supported by a veteran corps of sepoys, forced his way with the bayonet, through the masses which were bearing it away, and brought it back in triumph to the protection of the detachment. The services of the artillery under Captain Moorehouse, an officer eminently distinguished on every occasion, had essentially contributed to the success of this arduous day, by the uncommon judgment, coolness, and decision evinced in taking up the great variety of points successively destined to cover the retreat of the troops; and although the casualties of the detachment amounted to three hundred and seventeen men, the loss of the enemy was computed by themselves to have exceeded three thousand.

The distresses of Vellore had by this time approached their last crisis. During all the difficulties of the times, faithful sepoys had been found, who [illegible] with small sums of money entrusted to their care at Madras, and [illegible] the whole of this eventful war [illegible] in this case or the [illegible] English prisoners in M[illegible] trust. The garrison of Vellore had [illegible] great [illegible] purchased [illegible] on dark nights [illegible] light [illegible] their fate [illegible] alternative [illegible] a movement [illegible] only remaining [illegible] of recovering [illegible] for collecting [illegible] the whole [illegible]

tant garrison; and on the 3rd of November, Sir Eyre Coote had by three marches from his encampment among the hills, thrown in six weeks' rice; Hyder having, on his approach, retired to the opposite side of the river Palar, a weak determination, ascribed by Sir Eyre Coote to the discouragement of having recently been foiled with great loss, in an attempt on a detachment only.

The situation of Vellore since the commencement of the war had been critical and highly interesting. Hyder had, after the capture of Arcot in the preceding year, allotted the largest portion of his army and his best battering train for the siege of Vellore. This fortress, nearly an exact square, still exhibiting in its antique battlements, for match-locks, and bows and arrows, the evidence of no modern date,* was built, according to the ideas of strength which prevailed at the period of its erection, when the use of cannon was little understood, close to a range of hills, to favor the introduction of supplies, or the eventual escape of the garrison; and thus situated, it is also commanded by those hills; a defect, which its Mahratta and Mohammedan conquerors† remedied in part, by fortifying the points which overlooked it. These points, as the use of artillery came to determine the defence of places, became accordingly the keys of the fort below; for, although surrounded by a rampart of masonry which might be deemed Cyclopean, and a wet ditch of great breadth, the possession of these points command in flank and reverse (although at too great a distance for certain effect), three faces of the fort, and leave but one face affording good cover. The arrangements of the siege, directed by French officers, were judiciously directed to two simultaneous operations, the principal hill-fort being the primary object, while approaches and batteries from the west were pushed on to the proper positions for breaching the south-western face of the lower fort, and enfilading that next to the hill, which in the event of success in the primary object, would alone afford adequate cover to the garrison from the fire of the hill.

The operations against the principal hill fort were conducted with great skill, overwhelming numbers, and an abundant artillery, for five weeks. The post was commanded by Lieutenant Champness, and his second in command Lieutenant Parr, whose adventures at Carnatickghur have already been recited, officiated as his engineer. The greater portion of two faces, of a rather extensive post, were razed to the foundation by the enemy's fire, and the breaches were completely accessible; approaches over the bare rock, were carried on by means of wooden frames filled with fascines; and on the 13th January, about nine at night, the assailants issued from points distant only twenty yards from the breaches : but every thing had been completely retrenched with infinite labor and skill; and, on

* Vide vol. i., page 10.

† The evidence of the names by which they are distinguished, shows that two points were fortified by the Mahrattas, and one by the Mohammedans. See vol. i., page 52.

ascending the breach, and almost filling the place with assailants, up to the ditches of the retrenchment, the impediments in every direction, and the masked fire which had been prepared, and well reserved, drove them back with great slaughter: a second, and third attempt was made, with the aid of ladders, and repelled with the same steadiness and gallantry; the imperfect construction of the place gave the defenders no flanking command over the foot of the breaches, where the enemy remained completely covered, and they now began to form lodgements on the breaches and successively to fill the ditches of the retrenchments with fascines. Lieutenant Parr, perceiving that all was lost, if this work was permitted to proceed, obtained the permission of his commanding officer to attempt to dislodge them: and descending about two o'clock by the very ladders which had been placed by the enemy to ascend the retrenchment, commenced a close encounter with the bayonet, which terminated in the entire expulsion of the assailants; and a powerful sortie of European and native troops from the lower fort, a few nights afterwards succeeded in entering the flank of the enemy's parallel, spiking his guns and damaging his approaches. This extraordinary energy of native troops (for there were no other on the hill) induced Hyder to proceed from Arcot, for the purpose of personally examining the state of the siege, and giving his own directions, accompanied by several French officers: but the intelligence of Sir Eyre Coote's march from Madras at that exact period, determined him, as we have already seen, to raise the siege, which from that period had been converted into a blockade. Colonel Lang the commandant together with a portion of the garrison for the purpose of reducing the expenditure of provisions) joined the army, and the command devolved on Captain Cuppage, Sir Eyre marching off on the day succeeding his arrival to seek for subsistence for his own army.

His first object on returning to the Pollams, was the fort of Chittoor, situated N. W. of the spot lately occupied by Colonel Owen, reported to be the intermediate depot of provisions descending the pass of Damalcherry, and it fell after a siege of four days on the 11th of November. But no character of the war was more conspicuous, than the almost invariable defects of Sir Eyre Coote's intelligence, with the exception of that received through Lieutenant Flint, or by means of sepoys disguised for specific purposes. This defect is frequently stated in his official correspondence, but he does not appear to have suspected that all his guides and spies were in the service of the enemy. There was no grain in Chittoor: it was a weak place; and Sir Eyre Coote seemed to be acting in opposition to his own principles of military conduct, in throwing into it a battalion which was eventually sacrificed as were the heavy guns which he had thrown into Polilore previously to the action of Sholinghur; the [illegible] having in conformity to previous orders made good their retreat into the woods. Before moving to the relief of Vellore Sir Eyre Coote had

left a battalion, with some guns, in a good position near to his former encampment at Polipet, to protect his sick and cover the collection of grain. On the second day after the capture of Chittoor, he had the mortification to learn, that this battalion had been obliged to retreat to the woods with severe loss, and the capture of its cannon and stores, including the important article of grain, not without suspicion of treachery on the part of the officers of Bomrauze.

There was now no hope of being able to subsist the army in these countries during the monsoon, if indeed it had been prudent to expose the troops to the usual inclemency of that season. Two rivers daily expected to be impassable were interposed between the army and Tripassore. Intelligence of the investment of that place, communicated in an express from its commandant, was audibly confirmed by the firing of the siege. On the 22d of November, he crossed the Cortelaur (which had so long stopped the progress of Colonel Baillie in the preceding year), and encamped on the same day in the neighbourhood of Tripassore, after a forced march over an incipient inundation. His whole march from Chittoor had been a series of difficulties, surmounted from day to day, by one-half of the army being alternately without food, and these distresses were aggravated by the bursting of the monsoon on the latter days of the march; not only cattle and their loads were lost, but the excellent little corps of cavalry, formed from the ruins of those in Mohammed Ali's service, was deprived of nearly half its numbers; and a considerable proportion of human beings, chiefly followers, were destroyed by the united effects of flood and famine. The Commander-in-Chief had for many days been confined to his bed,* and had announced to the Government the necessity of appointing a successor: and thus, after a campaign interspersed with the most dazzling triumphs, the English army entered into cantonments in the neighbourhood of Madras, with prospects for the ensuing year, which offered little of cheerful expectation to the most sanguine observer.

One prominent topic pervades the offical correspondence of Sir Eyre Coote throughout the whole of this campaign, namely, "the duplicity and iniquity of the Nabob Mohammed Ali's government." The few remaining resources of the country, placed beyond the control of the power which directed the war, were employed not to support but to counteract the general cause. To the ordinary misrule of a wretched native government was now added, in all cases to which the power extended, the clandestine sale of the grain, which might have mitigated the distresses of the army, and the remittance of the pecuniary amount to the privy coffers of Mohammed Ali. Not one soldier paid by this sovereign prince accompanied, as a mere demonstration, the army which was now fighting for his nominal sovereignty; and while this army was actually sustaining the severest privations, Mohammed Ali, with an audacity of false-

* Palankeen in marching.

hood, and ingratitude to a great and early benefactor, destined as Sir Eyre Coote supposes to mislead the English* cabinet, addressed a letter to Lord Macartney, announcing his having supplied the army with an abundant store; and intimating that nothing but unnecessary delay prevented the expulsion of the enemy. Sir Eyre Coote had reiterated, and the Governor-General had strongly impressed on Lord Macartney the necessity of assuming the direct management of what remained of this misgoverned country; and Mohammed Ali skilfully anticipated the event about the close of the year, by most graciously *assigning* a country which, if *assumed* on undisguised grounds, might not have been so easily restored by the baneful influence so often deplored.

In perusing the voluminous correspondence of Sir Eyre Coote from these woods, it is not a little remarkable, that he seems to have been entirely uninformed regarding the locality or strength of Chandergherry, a fortress situated in the centre of those resources whose fragments had subsisted his army for nearly two months, and enabled him to relieve Vellore, one cursory mention is made of the killedar of Chandergherry, as concurring with the aumil of Tripety, in counteracting his collection of supplies; but without any indication of being aware that this killedar was Abdul Wahab Khan, Mohammed Ali's brother or that the place was nearly impregnable, and calculated, if placed at his disposal, to have a material influence over his future operations. The Government at Madras seemed to have been unaccountably kept in the same ignorance: they received the account of its surrender from Sir Eyre Coote, and notice it in their narrative of transactions, merely as "a fort garrisoned by the Nabob's troops." Hyder's more than half-Hindoo propensities had induced him to grant unqualified indemnity to the sacred temple of Tripety, only nine miles distant from Chandergherry, to the extent of not even interfering with the payment of a tribute to Mohammed Ali for a similar indemnity; but his connection with Abdul Wahab is involved in some obscurity. It can only be ascertained with certainty, that before the invasion, this person had corresponded with Hyder; that his vakeel Mohammed Secunder, was seen in camp on the first day of the invasion, and having soon afterwards in public durbar communicated his master's answer to a letter he had written to Hyder's [illegible] (probably to demand his presence in camp at the head of his troops), Hyder, after hearing the contents, flew into a passion, and exclaimed aloud, "Is this the end of your expectations, and have I expended crores for the purpose of [illegible] that fat [illegible] †? Return to your worthless master, and tell him to expect me at his mokan ‡." Immediately after the return of Mohammed Secunder,

* [illegible]

† [illegible]

‡ Th[illegible] portance

Abdul Wahab, who usually resided at Chittoor, suddenly retired to the droog of Chandergherry, which he prepared for defence. Hyder was not at leisure to undertake the siege until January 1782, when Abdul Wahab Khan, possessing a superabundant store of grain, capitulated without the most remote necessity, on the condition* of being permitted to retire with his property to Madras. A previous breach of faith (of what nature we can now only conjecture), was Hyder's apology for disregarding his own; and he ordered the whole family to be sent to Seringapatam, with the exception of two grand-daughters, who were detained at Arcot for his own future pleasures. This brutal outrage was, however, not accomplished by Hyder. The children were of too early an age, and the consummation meditated by the father, remained to be exacted as an hereditary claim.

During the operations which had occupied Hyder's personal attention to the army of Sir Eyre Coote, his troops in the southern provinces of Trichinopoly and Tanjore had not been inactive. After his departure from these countries in June, considerable exertions had been made to collect a field force at Tanjore, whither Colonel Brathwaite had been sent to command. Hyder had drawn his accustomed circle of desolation about twelve miles round that fort; but with the exception of the capital, the whole country was in his undisturbed possession; the revenues were collected with the greatest regularity; every fort was well garrisoned, almost every Pagoda fortified, and a well equipped field corps was prepared to act as circumstances might require. On the commencement of hostilities against the Dutch, a defensive treaty was concluded between Hyder and the Governor of Negapatam, by which the English district of Nagore and other places were ceded to the Dutch, and measures of reciprocal co-operation were concerted—on the one part, for the security of Negapatam; and on the other, to procure for Hyder any aid from that garrison which might be necessary for maintaining his ground in the province, or eventually for the reduction of the capital. So soon as the forces under Colonel Brathwaite had become, by successive reinforcements, sufficiently strong to leave the protection of the capital, his first object was to attempt the extension of his resources, by the capture of the nearest posts, but his troops being exclusively native, and those of the enemy chiefly select spearmen, peculiarly adapted to the defence of places, he failed in two successive attempts at carrying by assault two different places, the first having been dismantled and the garrison removed after the assault to the second. In the latter of these operations, he had himself been wounded, and had ordered Colonel Nixon from Trichinopoly, to assume the intermediate command of the troops, which had been recently augmented by the arrival of two corps from the more southern districts, to about 3,500 men. The first efforts of this officer were more successful. He besieged

* The author saw this person on his return from prison in 1784, and heard him relate Hyder's breach of the capitulation, but not its alleged cause.

and took two places, by placing his officers and serjeants at the head of the forlorn hope, losing in the latter of these operations upwards of three hundred officers and men; and it is remarkable, that he assigns as a reason for not besieging another place, that it was defended by the "famous Papinairoo" of *Chittledroog*, who, with his own hardy irregulars, had defended both the places from which Colonel Brathwaite had been repulsed.

Colonel Brathwaite was soon afterwards sufficiently recovered to resume the command, and proceeded towards the enemy's field force, which was strongly posted at the village of Mahadapatam, an insulated spot, covered by field works, and surrounded by rice swamps: the attack was judiciously planned and well executed, with only 2,500 men and eight guns, against nearly double the number of men, and six guns strongly posted. After a close encounter of several hours, in which every street was defended, Hyder's forces retreated in disorder, with great loss, and leaving behind them two guns.

Sir Hector Munro's health had been so much impaired, that soon after the battle of Pollilore, he was advised by his medical friends to proceed to England for its re-establishment; and Sir Eyre Coote, who had uniformly found him an excellent second in command, assented with great reluctance, to the necessity of his departure.* While waiting at Madras for an opportunity to embark, he had yielded to the wishes of Lord Macartney, that he should assume the direction of the siege of Negapatam; for which the requisite equipments were embarked on the fleet under Sir Edward Hughes, and arrived off Nagore, situated a few miles to the northward of Negapatam, about the 20th of October. The English field corps, which had been operating in the province of Tanjore and had, as we have seen, established its superiority over that of the enemy, was destined to form a large numerical portion of the besieging force; and Colonel Brathwaite returning to the charge of the capital of the province, detached all his disposable troops under the command of Colonel Nixon, who arrived at Nagore on the 21st, and in view of the fleet, made a spirited and eminently successful attack on the enemy's troops in the act of their evacuating Nagore. Sir Hector Munro went immediately on shore for the purpose of concerting the requisite measures: the marines of the fleet and a large detachment of seamen were landed, and the engineer and senior officer of artillery commenced the preparations necessary in their respective departments. A chain of five redoubts connected by lines to the northward of Negapatam must necessarily be forced before trenches could be opened before the place, and this operation having been effected by a combined attack, planned and executed in a masterly manner, and with little comparative loss, on the 29th of October, trenches were opened on the 3d of November, and the place

* His departure [illegible] by a [illegible] reply, to a suggestion offered during the battle of Pollilore.

surrendered by capitulation on the 12th. In this very remarkable service, the numbers of the besieged doubled those of the besiegers, who at no time exceeded 4,000 men; while the besieged, including Hyder's troops, who had joined according to treaty, amounted to full 8,000. The rapid success of this operation is chiefly to be ascribed to the impression produced by the peculiar energy and intrepidity of the seamen and marines, in the assault of the redoubts; and the immoveable steadiness with which they repelled two determined sorties made with the whole disposable force of the garrison. The result of this invaluable co-operation of the fleet, was not only the possession of a place intended to be a principal depôt for the expected French forces, but the evacuation by Hyder's troops of all the posts in that part of the country, and the consequent command of considerable resources.

The monsoon set in with such violence, immediately after the surrender of the place, that the Admiral was for upwards of three weeks unable to embark the seamen and marines, who had performed these valuable services; and the ships were during the same period placed in the most critical situation, from the fury of an incessant storm, and the absence of a considerable portion of their crews. Towards the close of the year, the moderate weather admitted of embarking a detachment of volunteer sepoys, and artillerymen, to aid in the reduction of Trincomallee and fort Ostenburgh, in the Island of Ceylon; forts which command the harbour of the former name, deemed of essential importance to naval operations, by enabling the power which possessed it to remain, during the tempestuous season in the vicinity of that scene, on which the national interests in India were about to be contested: and in this operation the Admiral was successful.

The period to which the garrison of Vellore was provisioned expired on the 15th of December, but some reliance was placed on a scanty addition to this store by the means which have already been described. Sir Eyre Coote had, as already noticed, made his arrangements for embarking to proceed to Bengal, partly to concert with the Governor-General the possibility of some remedy, for the succession of wretched expedients, which served as apologies for equipment; but chiefly because his health had sunk under the pressure of bodily fatigue and mental anxiety, to a degree that had induced his medical advisers to protest against the fatal consequences of his continuing in the field. The public importance which the Government attached to his presence, added to reports of serious urgency from the commandant at Vellore induced him to acquiesce in their desire: and although the Government, from a solicitude for his health, rather wished that the immediate relief of that place should be committed to subordinate hands, the General conceived it a service of such paramount importance, that he resolved to incur all risks and every mortification to ensure its accomplishment, and joined the army for that purpose on the 2nd of January.

On the morning of the 5th, a little before the break of day, when the army had struck their encampment, then about a mile west from Tripassore, Sir Eyre Coote's valet, on entering his tent to awake his master, found him senseless; medical assistance was instantly called, and he was found to be in a fit of apoplexy. For nearly two hours, during which little hope was entertained of his recovery, the despondency painted on every countenance, and particularly on those of the native troops, whose attachment and confidence exceeded the bounds of human veneration, and who could with difficulty be restrained from transgressing the limits of decorum, to satisfy their anxiety, presented altogether a scene of mournful interest. Expresses to Madras, excited a corresponding degree of apprehension: an earnest entreaty from the Government urged his immediate return, "for the preservation of a life so valuable to the State," and Colonel Lang was ordered to take eventual charge of the army. While the Government waited with impatience for the return of the General, intelligence was brought, that he had marched on the next morning for the relief of Vellore, so far recovered, as to admit of his being carried in a palanquin. Nothing material occurred until the 9th, when about to cross the dry bed of the river Poony, the enemy appeared in force, on the opposite bank. The confluence of this river with the Palar, which flows from the west, is immediately opposite to Arcot. Vellore is situated on the same bank of the Palar, about fifteen miles farther to the westward, and the course of the Poony being from the north-west, the English army was now at nearly the same distance from Vellore and Arcot. The arrangements of Sir Eyre Coote, for passing the river, were made with so much caution and skill, that Hyder desisted from his intended attack, but on the ensuing day, after marching about five miles, his army appeared in two powerful columns, pointing towards the left and the rear, just as the convoy were entering a swamp of rice grounds, which must necessarily be passed. Sir Eyre Coote, directing his exclusive attention to the preservation of the convoy, caused each brigade to take separate but connected positions to keep the enemy in check, at a suitable distance, and scarcely condescending to notice a distant but incessant cannonade of four hours, which produced few casualties, passed over the whole in safety, encamping on the same evening about four miles from Vellore, and close under its walls on the 11th, being the precise day on which the commandant had announced by express, that he must necessarily surrender, if not relieved, and the General had the satisfaction to deposit unimpaired, a stock of provisions equal to three months' consumption.

On the 13th he commenced his return towards Madras, and Hyder appeared in full force, to dispute his passage over the same swamp, one division of his army taking a position to oppose the head of the principal column of march, while another was in rapid motion to fall on the rear while it should still be entangled in the

morass; there was now less of impediment than had been experienced on the 10th, and the leading corps were enabled to cross with rapidity, and occupy a position beyond the morass, which checked the enemy in front, and covered the passage of the rear. The troops sustained a heavy but distant cannonade, with little comparative loss, (the casualties of both days not exceeding 120 men,) for about three hours, when the whole having passed to the firm ground, formed and advanced on the enemy, about four o'clock in the afternoon. Hyder's line of infantry stood until the advancing fire of the English artillery did some execution; but Sir Eyre Coote had the mortification to see the cannon already far retired before the infantry gave way: the pursuit was continued until dark, but the guns kept increasing their distance; and it was midnight before the English army reached the encampment to which the position of the baggage obliged them to return. On the 16th in the morning, the army having on the preceding night occupied the same encampment from which it moved to the action of Sholinghur, Hyder appeared in full force, with an apparent intention of offering battle on the same ground. The invitation was not declined, but after ten hours spent in unavailing manœuvres, the army pursued its march to Tritany, and the remainder of the route to Tripassore, was without incident.

END OF VOLUME I.

APPENDIX.

No. I

Since writing this passage,* I have obtained from the copy of Menu, in the possession of the Pundit of the court at Seringapatam, a transcript of these texts, for the purpose of being collated and examined by Mr. Ellis; and I subjoin, without farther observation, the ingenious and learned note with which he has favored me, leaving the passage as originally written, for the satisfaction of those readers who may think proper to prefer the copy and translation of Sir William Jones.

Note, by Mr. Ellis, on the 239th and 243d Verses of the Eighth Chapter of Menu.

Menu, in his ninth Chapter, see verses 41, 52, 53, &c., makes frequent mention of the land-owner, and in such terms as to leave no doubt that when this ancient work was written, private property in land existed in India. Besides these, the only two texts relating to this subject are verses 239 and 243 of the eighth book, the latter of which is so translated as not only to render doubtful what in the preceding sentence I have stated to be without doubt, but entirely to destroy the notion that private property in land obtained among the primitive inhabitants of this region of the earth.

THESE TEXTS ARE,

239.—"Let the owner of the field enclose it with a hedge *of thorny plants*, over which a camel could not look; and let him stop every gap, through which a dog or a boar could thrust his head."

243. "If land be injured by the fault of the farmer, *(as, if he fails to sow it in due time)*, he shall be fined ten times as much as the *king's share of the crop that might otherwise be raised*; but only five times as much, if it was the fault of his servants without his knowledge."

The words in italics do not occur in the text, but are the gloss of Culluca Bhutta.

In the first of these texts an "owner of land" is mentioned, in the second a "*farmer*" only; but on reference to the original, the same word appears to be used to express what is here so differently translated: the word in both texts is *Cshetra Carta*, literally, landlord, the first member of the compound Cshetram being understood in the first text only [illegible] in the verse immediately preceding. It appears, therefore, [illegible] 243d verse, and its gloss, as translated by Sir William Jones, that the *Cshetra Carta*, the primitive Indian landholder, was subject to the [illegible] and interference of the officer of Government in [illegible] his lands, wherever these, from ignorance or caprice, [illegible] with his mode of conducting agricultural labor, he was liable [illegible] ing the "king's share" one sixth, according to [illegible] instance, four sixths more than the whole produce [illegible] it the *Cshetra Carta*, in defiance of the positive meaning of the word, cannot

* Pages 79 [illegible]

therefore be considered as the lord of the land, the proprietor of the soil: and these considerations, probably, induced Sir William Jones in this text to render the word "*farmer*," though he had before translated it "*owner*." "Farmer" even is a term too independent for such a wretch.

There are some reasons, however, which would lead to doubt both of the correctness of the gloss and of the translation. It is in the first place to be observed, that the division of the chapter in which these texts are found is in the original called *Swamipalana pracaranam*, the division respecting the protection of masters or owners of cattle: this pracaranam commences with verse 229, and ends with verse 244; and the introduction of these texts, therefore, in this place is altogether incidental. Menu, in this place, certainly does not intend to prescribe rules for the conduct of cultivation, or to regulate the mode in which Government should proceed towards the cultivator for the security of its interest in the produce: this must necessarily have had place in the preceding chapter, if the legislator had chosen to notice it all. Having in the commencement of the pracaranam stated the extent of the responsibility of the hired servant in case of loss, accruing to the cattle entrusted to him, he proceeds to lay down rules respecting damages done by the trespass of cattle on land. As a general security against such damage, in which the State, which by law is to receive a share of the increase, is interested as well as the proprietor, he directs, in verse 339, that fields liable to trespass from their neighbourhood to pasture lands shall be sufficiently enclosed. Verses 240 and 241 contain the law as relating to herdsmen and owners, when damage is committed either in enclosed or unenclosed fields. Verse 242 excepts certain descriptions of cattle from any fine; and verse 243, the text in question, proceeds to prescribe the punishment to be inflicted on the proprietor of the land, if damage be sustained by it, and consequently by the interest of the State in the crop upon it, if he disregard, or permit his servants to disregard, the law as prescribed in the verse 239. Under this view of the context, the introduction by the commentator of the first sentence in italics *(as if he fails to sow it in due time)* is manifestly founded on misconception, as Menu makes no reference whatever to *loss sustained from neglect in sowing*, but *damages sustained by the trespass of cattle from neglect in enclosing lands*: this meaning is corroborated by reference to the original, in which the word *layam*, which, as a legal term, should be translated *damage*, means literally *damage by positive injury, destruction by violent means*, and never mere loss from accident or neglect, which the legislator would have expressed by the appropriate term *nashtam*, had he meant what his commentator attributes to him.

Still, however, a great difficulty exists in considering the Cshetra Carta as absolute proprietor, while he is subject to the enormous fine directed by the text itself to be imposed on him. In verse 232 of this pracaranam, the herdsman, when neglect has caused the loss of a beast, is only liable to make it good; but here the landholder for similar neglect not only makes good the loss sustained by the State, but forfeits the actual produce of his land, and is fined nearly as much again—a punishment preposterous under any mode of land tenure, but absolutely precluding the idea that the holder so liable can be proprietor of the soil.

A reference, however, to the text as it exists in the southern copies, obviates this difficulty, and affords a clue by which the error which misled Sir William Jones in the translation of this text may be detected. The following translation, compared with the original and Sir William Jones's version, will explain this.

ORIGINAL TEXT.

Cshetra Carta	laye	dandah
The Land Lord	on account of damage	is to be punished.

(1)	(3)	(2)	
Bhogad	**dasa**	**guno**	**bhavet**
from the produce	**a tenth**	**rate**	**be it**

Tad	**ardaha**	**dando**	**bhreyanam.**
of that	**half**	**the punishment**	**of the negligencies**

Agnyanat	**Cshatricasya tu**
from ignorance	**of his laborer**

(1) *Bhogam.*—This word signifies, primarily, enjoyment; secondarily, the produce of land, or of anything that can be enjoyed. It may mean here the entire enjoyment, the whole produce, the *portion enjoyed* by the Cshetra Carta, or the *portion enjoyed* by the State. The grammatical construction appears to favor the former meaning, though the word may stand in apposition with Cshetra Carta, which occurs in the former part of the sentence; but it cannot bear any connection with Raja, which is nowhere expressed or understood; the remainder of the gloss, therefore, namely, the word "kings," and the words "of the crop that might otherwise have been raised," is wholly irrelevant. Bhogat is the fifth or ablative case, called by Sanscrit grammarians ayadanam, *the taking from.* (2) *Guno* signifies, primarily, quality, here *rate*; it is in the singular, and governs the verb *bhavet*. (3) *Dasa*, in composition, has as often an ordinal as a numeral signification. The correct translation of the text therefore is

"The landlord is to be punished in case of damage by [illegible] a tenth part of the produce, or half of that, if from the negligence of his laborer, unknown to him."

On comparing this with Sir W. Jones's translation, it is evident that he must have read this text differently, or he could not have written "ten times as much as the [illegible] are," instead of "a tenth of the produce;" but this discrepancy is easily reconciled, by supposing the word *Bhaga* to be substituted in the northern copies for Bhogat, and the second line of this verse to be read

Bhaga	dasa guno	bhavet
As much as the share,	a tenth rate,	be it,

which would afford some [illegible] for his translation, though it would not explain why he rendered *guno* in the plural [illegible] while the verb [illegible] is in the singular. There can, however, be little doubt [illegible] and this substitution of [illegible] must have taken place [illegible] ern copies, previously to the time of [illegible] endeavoring to render the [illegible] word "kings," with [illegible] enormous [illegible] mode of [illegible] the Moslem [illegible] found, as other [illegible] legal forgery [illegible] these usurpations in the [illegible] ancient books in [illegible]

No. II.

The first of these [illegible] veram, written partly in K[illegible] Tamul.

It begins with [illegible] during the government [illegible] Veera Cambana Wa[illegible]

the year of the Hindoo cycle *Plava*, viz., A.D. 1301, the sun being in the sign of Aquarius, in the first fortnight of the moon, on the eleventh day, being Thursday, under the star *Poonur pooshum*."

"In the land of victory, *Chola Mundalum*" (Coromandel)—then follows a detail, showing the division, the township, and the quarter of the township—"*Moodeliar Nacheyar*, otherwise called Yellantalayal, daughter of Tomoondi Achache, the slave of Peroomal among the Dasicul, dancing women, (announced) "of my own consent my own *Canyatchi*, two manas situated."—Here follows a detailed account of its boundaries, the property being a small patch within the town.—"These two pieces of ground of mine, in the midst of these four boundaries, I consent to sell. Who will buy? Thus she proclaimed; which being heard, then answered *Ayapaningar*, son of *Anna Coopaningur*, of the tribe, &c. &c. If you sell at my price I will buy." Then the said woman (repeating her names) and the purchaser Ayapaningar, both said, we consent and agree for current money without blemish, pannums* twenty-seven.—"These two grounds, with their groves, trees, shrubs, and parasitical plants, all these I have sold and have received the money without objection, and have delivered my original bills of sale; there is no doubt with regard to (the title of) these grounds: if any doubt should occur, I will stand up and remove it. These grounds he may sell or grant in charity to any one, and alienate at his pleasure; and their price being fixed at auction at twenty-seven panams, which I have received without balance, they are hereby transferred to Ayapaningar, son, &c., with full consent, by Nacheyar, &c., in the presence of Aroolala Veejayaramum.

(Signed) Aroolala Veejayaramum.

The second, an inscription on copper, begins with the usual invocation; and after reciting the praises of the king (Deva Raya of Vijeyanuggur,) in thirty-three extravagant compound epithets, proceeds:—

"When he was ruling the kingdom in the year of the Cali Yoog, 4517, of Salivahan,† 1349, (A.D. 1416) after the year (of the cycle) *Plava*; the 21st of Maasee; the 5th of the increasing moon under the star Rogany. On that auspicious day was written this bill of sale.

"In the land of victory, Tonda‡ Mundalum, in (here follow the divisions and subdivisions) the village or township of *Coom Mungalum*, situated, &c. &c. *Mootoo Naig*, the son of *Andiapa Naick*, of the caste, &c. &c., who resides in the village of *Velloda*, situated near the said *Coom Mungalum*, he and his relations *Oam*, agreed or united (proclaimed.)

"The village of Velloda, half of which is my *Canyatchi*, will anybody

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* What the value of the pannum of that day may have been, I do not know.

† There has probably been some error in copying or engraving one of these dates. A learned paper by Mr. Davis, in the 3d volume of the Asiatic Researches, p. 16, traces astronomically the source of an increasing error, amounting in 1791 to eleven years, between the reckoning of the Deckan and that of Benares; and the date of this document, according to the year of Salivahan, differs to that exact extent from the reckoning of the Deckan, which would bring the two modes of reckoning, viz., the Cali Yoog and Salivahan, to coincide in A.D. 1416; still, however, the year of the cycle Plava would differ six years from the coincidence of the other two. But exclusively of the probability of error in the copy, it appears to me that farther investigation is necessary for unravelling some variations of reckoning in different parts of India, which do not seem to depend on astronomical errors. For example, the astronomers of the Deckan reckon the commencement of the era of Salivahan in the year *Pramadee*, or the 13th of the cycle of sixty: while those of Mysoor reckon its commencement in the preceding year *Bhoudania*, or the 12th of the cycle; and this difference of one year appears to be invariable in all inscriptions ancient and mordern of those two countries.

‡ *Tonda Mundalum* was the portion of *Chola Mundalum*, which corresponded nearly with what is named at this time the province of Arcot. It extended along the coast, from Cheddember (Chillumbrum) to Paliacate, and westward to the first range of hills. It receives this name from the *son* of the Chola Raja, who subdued it.

buy my half village? thus he proclaimed. These words being heard were answered in the said Mundalum, in the said division, in the said Naad. *Cota Perria Broomoo Setty*, of the village of Wopaulakum, of the Vyasa caste, he and his kindred with one consent answered, We will buy. Then the said parties (repeating their names) agreed and fixed the price in the presence of the bramins of *Coom Mungalum*, at one hundred and twenty-five new Varaha (Pagodas).\"* Here follows the measurement of the lands, which I cannot reduce for want of a knowledge of the value of the ancient measures. \" We have sold our part, and received the consideration or value fixed. This is the price: twice: thrice: the said *Canyatchi* of ours you may enjoy while the the sun and moon endure. There is no doubt in the title of the said *Canyatchi*. If any doubt occurs we are ready to remove it.

\"In consequence of the agreement of Mootoo Naig and his kindred with *Cota Broomoo Setty*, we have thus confirmed it, and granted this bill of sale of our *Canyatchi* land.\"

\"This is the hand-writing of
\"Mootoo Naig,
\"of the village of Coom Mungalum.\"

Subscribed by eight witnesses from
the above recited and other
neighbouring villages.

The third is a bill of sale in the Mackenzie collection, of which I have before me two translations, and adopt that by Mr George Hughes, a native of India, perfectly conversant with the Tamul language, in which the original is written, and well-informed on the general subject of Indian agriculture, in which he at one time carried on considerable speculations.

Be it propitious!

On this fortunate day, Monday the 16th of the month Ahvany, of the year (of the cycle) Kahlyuktee, in the year of *Salivahan* 1720, and of the *Cali Yug* 4899, being the third day of the increasing moon, under the auspicious conjunction and happy influence of the constellations Ashanttee and Magarum: *Kistna Sawmey Pilla* of Cunnatoor, the son of *Vencatachelum Pilla*, for himself and his house executes this deed of sale of land to *Cunnana Sawmey Pilla*. That is to say: Of the twenty eight established shares of Cunnatoor, I have made a full and complete sale to you of my own two shares therein for one hundred chuckrums, and you having paid, and I having received the said one hundred chuckrums for the said two shares, therefore, possess the [illegible] punja (wet and dry lands), [illegible] groves, gardens, [illegible] water, [illegible] and treasures, the well that points beneath, the [illegible] together with *all property belonging* [illegible] *thereof* [illegible].

* *Pagoda*, or *Pard* [illegible] garding the same [illegible] temples [illegible] applied [illegible] ever. The Persian etymologies which have been attempted [illegible] *But Khana* and *But kedda* [illegible] the house and the place [illegible] preach the word given to the word Pagoda [illegible]

Varaha the boar [illegible] of Vijayanagara [illegible] Mohammedans [illegible] mark [illegible]

Hun, or *H*[illegible] Hindostan [illegible] Canarese name [illegible] name through [illegible] Tartars [illegible] rose (gold, woman [illegible] our attachment.

Your children from generation to generation are free to bestow, to exchange, or to dispose of it at their pleasure. Possess and enjoy it as long as the sun and moon, the earth and its vegetation, the mountains and the river Cauvery, exist; and all prosperity attend you. Thus it is subscribed by me *Kistna Sawmey Pilla*, with my full consent to *Cumana Sawmey Pilla*. This deed is written by *Mootoo Sawmey*, the village Conicopoly.

Witnesses, (Signed) Kistna Sawmey.

Arnachelum,

Sunkalingum,

Shummogum.

A few days before I left Madras I had the satisfaction to know, from a judgment pronounced in the Supreme Court, that the rights of which I am the humble advocate are capable of being substantiated by direct proof in a regular court of law.

The revenues of the village of *Tondiarpet*, near to the black town of Madras, were formerly received by the collector of the jageer, who, like other collectors before the establishment of the Zilla, or provincial courts, had also a certain jurisdiction within the limits of his collection.

Dissensions had arisen between the *Vellalers*, *Meerassdars*, or *Canyatchikars* of that village and the *Pyacarees* (or *Graminy*, as they are sometimes called in the proceedings,) which had more than once been carried into the mayor's court; but the points at issue do not appear ever to have touched the direct question of the proprietary right of the land.

In the year 1794, for some reasons which are not distinctly known to me, the *Vellalers** were forcibly ejected from the village under the authority of the collector, and possession was given to the *Pyacarees*. The suit was an ejectment brought by the Vellalers to recover the village.

A complete body of evidence was adduced, entering into many of the details which I have stated, and establishing, to the entire satisfaction of the court, the hereditary right of the Vellalers to the landed property of the township. Owing to an error in point of form, viz., the want of proof of present possession in the defendants of that which the action was brought to recover (for the possession had much changed since 1794, and perhaps while the suit was pending,) a verdict was given for the defendants on the 26th of September 1808. But the proprietary right of the *Vallalers* was recognized without reserve by the court; and as I understand, they will now bring separate ejectments against the several possessors of the different parts, and obtain verdicts as a matter of course.

No. III.

Of the actual system for the administration of justice to the native subjects of British India I wish to speak with respect, because it originated and has been continued in the purest intentions. On the political question I presume to risk but one short observation. It is impossible to separate the political tendency of laws from the genius of the government from which they emanate. The spirit of the English constitution assigns to the mass of the people an extensive control over the exercise of public authority; and deems the executive government to be the representative of the public will. This spirit pervades the whole body of its laws; these laws necessarily reflect back, and reproduce the principles from which they spring: and it is matter for grave reflection, that if this species of reaction should ever be produced in India, from that moment it is lost to this country for ever. The efficient protection of our native subjects in all the rights which they themselves consider to be

* For the meaning and etymology of this term, see page 104.

essential to their happiness, is certainly the most sacred and imperious of all our duties; and it is on this express ground that our present regulations, considered as a system of jurisprudence for the south of India, appear to me to require a radical reform.

To apply the *criminal law of Arabia*, the most defective on earth, and the least capable of correction, to the Hindoo subjects of Great Britain under the Government of Fort St George, is just not quite so absurd as to import the criminal law of Japan. If it were even admitted that the principles of the *Koran* are more susceptible of improvement than the law of the Hindoos, the absurdity would still remain of governing that people by a *foreign* [illegible] *code*, when we may with equal facility govern them by a *foreign* [illegible] *code*; namely, the English law, which even in point of prescription* had a local existence before the scourge of Mohammedan conquest and Mohammedan law had yet reached the plains of Coromandel.

In the *civil code* we profess to administer justice according to the laws of the parties. This subject requires a more ample discussion than can be given in the compass of a note. The essential nature and objects of justice are everywhere uniform: the end is the same, the means are various. The principles of law in different countries do not materially vary; particular laws or regulations consist less in declaring principles, than in applying them to existing customs, and not unfrequently in a bare enumeration of the forms of legal proceeding. With a people like the Hindoos, among whom religion and law, and the forms of legal proceeding, are all of equal sanctity, and considered to have the same divine origin, the substitution of the forms of Westminster Hall for the forms prescribed in their sacred codes, or rendered equally venerable by immemorial usage, if not a subversion of an important part of their legal system, is at least a violation of customs which we profess to respect. Principles in all countries are understood by a number sufficiently small; forms by every one: and if we are determined to govern the Hindoos by their own forms, we may [illegible] do not affirm that we ought [illegible] correct the principles of their law without its being generally observed [illegible]. But [illegible] ing in constant [illegible] the character of the people to be governed, it is incontestable that we may introduce Mohammedan or English law, [illegible] either, directly, or covertly, without the most distant [illegible] of any influence, immediate or remote, in ameliorating the [illegible] the [illegible] changing their opinions, in any other way than that of [illegible]

Exclusively of forms, I fear that some [illegible] have been committed [illegible] who [illegible] sidered by all philosoph[illegible] of European jurisprudence [illegible] mon law of the south of India [illegible] peculiarly separate [illegible] and most offensive innovation [illegible] which profess to govern the Hindoos by their own [illegible] of castes, which is [illegible] the key-stone of Hindoo law [illegible] either not been recognized [illegible] in our laws and regulations [illegible] treated with contempt [illegible] the lower classes, and [illegible] the apprehension of farther change. It w[illegible] to the authors of this system the intention of [illegible] lamented that it has contributed [illegible] of such an intention. But [illegible]

* The first [illegible] at Masulipatam and [illegible] the latter [illegible] *Rung Rayel* [illegible] at Madras [illegible] now improperly [illegible] and Golconda, occurred [illegible]

† The reader who may desire farther [illegible] described and discussed in the [illegible]

views have really been entertained by other persons, it will be incumbent on sober thinkers seriously to consider that, exclusively of the excess of visionary folly, it is a most unmanly, ungenerous, and unchristian deception to veil this object under the pretext of respecting the civil and religious customs and prejudices of the people; for all their prejudices, all their opinions, and all their customs, from the most trifling to the most important, are absolutely incorporated with their religion, and ought all to be held sacred.

The founder of a philosophical Utopia would certainly reject with abhorrence a system which tends to enslave the human mind, and to entail hereditary degradation on a large portion of his citizens. But we are not here discussing a speculative theory. The objects in our contemplation are not metaphysical entities to be moulded into ideal forms; but human beings, already fixed in stubborn and immovable prejudices, to which any system founded in wisdom and humanity must necessarily conform. It is not the question, it never can be a question, whether the English or the Hindoo code of religion and jurisprudence be entitled to the preference: but whether the Hindoo law and religion, for they are one and the same, are, or are not, to be maintained, or whether we are at liberty to invade both. If we profess to govern the Hindoos by their own laws, let us not falsify that profession by tearing them up by the roots on the pretence of pruning and amending them. They are no longer Hindoo if they are subject to innovation. Before quitting this branch of the subject, it may be useful (for the sake of illustration) to examine the reasonableness of interfering with the most exceptionable of all their institutions. It has been thought an abomination not to be tolerated, that a widow should immolate herself on the funeral pile of her deceased husband. But what judgment should we pronounce on the Hindoo, who (if any of our institutions admitted the parallel) should *forcibly* pretend to stand between a Christian and the hope of eternal salvation? And shall we not hold him to be a driveller in politics and morals, a fanatic in religion, and a pretender in humanity, who would *forcibly* wrest this hope from the Hindoo widow? To return to the question of caste. To equalise them is impossible; to attempt it, offensive beyond all endurance to those whom we would exalt, as well as to those whom we would debase; and if we possessed the power, to exercise it would be a gross and intolerable oppression. That our regulations, where they do extend, and where they have not yet reached, are considered with terror as the instruments of a foreign rule, and that the Hindoos neither do nor can feel that they are governed by their own laws, seems to have been distinctly foreseen by the able and learned officer* who aided in the first compilation of the judicial regulations of Fort St. George. In a preliminary report he deprecates the idea of sudden innovation, and observes, "that the system ought rather to grow out of the first germ, than start at once, full-grown, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, shaking a lance and egis at the astonished native. They will arise gradually, as the best laws ever have done, out of the manners and habits of the people, meliorating and reflecting back the principles they have derived from them."

In framing a new and full-grown system (since, however, exceedingly enlarged,) the excellent and able men who were employed naturally referred to the system of jurisprudence which we are all habituated to revere, for their rules, their forms, and modes of proceeding, down in many instances to the very technical terms. Fixed judges and magistrates have been established, and courts of appeal, of circuit, and gaol delivery, with all their English appendages; and a superior Hindoo court, with a Perso-Arabic title, administered by Englishmen; and it has already become a difficult study to be able to understand the voluminous code which has been framed. Of all this I should wish to speak with reverence; but really an enormous amount of technical labor, and skill, and expense, and the application of most respectable talents, terminates in performing the proposed operation very ill, or not

* The Judge Advocate General, Major Leith.

at all: the component parts are clogged by their own complexity and misapplication; the machinery of an Arnold's chronometer has been applied to perform the work of a smoke-jack.

If Anglo-Indian legislators should throw off a little of that which they somewhat too largely ascribe to the natives of India, namely, the prejudice of education, they would find the rules of proceeding prescribed by the Hindoo code with all its numerous imperfections on its head, combined with the local customs, or common law of India, not ill adapted to the state of society to which it is intended to apply; and in the *Pan[illegible]* or *Indian jury*,* which is or rather was universally established in the south as the common law of the land, an admirable instrument of practical decision. The Hindoo character, like all others, is of a mixed nature, but it is composed of strange and contradictory elements. The man who may be safely trusted for uniformly unfolding the whole truth to an European in whom he reposes confidence, may be expected to [illegible] and even to contradict every word he has said, if called on to repeat it in presence of a third person whom he either fears or suspects; [illegible] all strangers. The same description of man, sometimes the same individual, who from pique, and often without any [illegible] will perjure himself without [illegible] at the public trial [illegible] kind, and [illegible] fact of [illegible] husbandmen, [illegible] people, [illegible] another [illegible] and deserve to [illegible] favorable [illegible] character [illegible] to have [illegible] consistently [illegible] action, [illegible] life [illegible] would [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

* [illegible]

the most able and efficient instruments of the present system; of a careful and vigilant observation of the conduct and practical operation of a Hindoo court, which has been established within the last five years at Mysoor; and of a coincidence with the mature judgment of regular English lawyers, free from the trammels of their profession. The names of some of these, if I were at liberty to adduce them, would give irresistible weight to the opinions which I have attempted to sketch.

No. IV.

From conversation with some intelligent Jungum priests, I learn that they derive the name from a contraction of the three words, junnana, to be born; gummana, to move; murrana, to die. The word Jungum thus constantly reminds them of the most important dogma of the sect, namely, that the man who performs his duties in this world shall be exempted from these changes in a future state of existence, and shall immediately after death be re-united with the divine spirit from which he originally emanated. This doctrine, not altogether unknown to the braminical code, is pushed by the jungum to the extent of denying the metempsychosis altogether. This sect condemns as useless and unmeaning the incessant detail of external ceremonies, which among the bramins of every persuasion occupies the largest portion of their time, and forms the great business of their lives. The jungum disclaim the authority of these gods upon earth, as they impiously and familiarly call themselves. The priests of the jungum are all of the fourth or servile caste, and habitually distinguish the bramins by the opprobrious appellation of dogs; yet, strange to tell, in some districts, by reciprocal concessions, and a coalition of religious dogmas with temporal interests, they have descended to receive as their spiritual preceptors the caste of which they have been successively the martyrs and persecutors, and are consequently considered as heretics or renegadoes by the genuine jungum.

The religion which inculcates what is real, in preference to the observance of form, is, according to this sect, of great antiquity; and they considered Chen Bas Ishwur, a native of Callian in the Deckan, the reputed founder of the sect in the eleventh century, to have been only the restorer of the ancient true belief; and in spite of the most sanguinary persecutions, they are found scattered in considerable numbers over the Concan, Canara, Deckan, Mysoor, and every part of the south of India, and constitute a considerable portion of the population of Coorg, the Raja himself being of that persuasion, as were the former Rajas of Mysoor, Bednore, and Loonda.

The fanciful notions of internal and external purity and uncleanness (the former having a two-fold division of bodily and mental) are the foundation of most of the distinction of castes which seem so absurd to Europeans. To the question of what is the difference between such and such a caste, the first answer will certainly be to indicate what they respectively can and cannot eat; but when we consider the plausible dogma not altogether unknown in Europe, that a regular and abstemious life (which they would name the internal purity of the body) contributes to mental excellence, we may be disposed to judge with more charity of the absurdity of these distinctions. The Jungum priests and the elect among their disciples abstain altogether from animal food; while the Sheneveea bramins of the Concan and the Deckan indulge in fish; and many of Bengal, Hindostan, and Cashmere, eat the flesh of fawn, of mutton, and whatever is slain in sacrifice: the bramins of the south abhor these abominations, but the latter at least is distinctly authorized by Menu and all the ancient Smirtis, as the most bigoted are compelled to admit.

In the leading traits of the doctrine of the Jungum which have hitherto been noticed we recognize the hand of a rational reformer. The sequel is not so favorable. The Jungum profess the exclusive worship of Siva; and

the appropriate emblem of that deity in its most obscene form, enclosed in a diminutive silver or copper shrine, or temple, is suspended from the neck of every votary as a sort of personal god; and from this circumstance they are usually distinguished by the name of *Lingayet* or *Lingewunt*. They profess to consider Siva as the only god; but on the subject of this mode of devotion they are not communicative, and the other sects attribute to them not very decent mysteries. It is however a dogma of general notoriety, that if a Jungum has the mischance to lose his personal god, he ought not to survive the misfortune.

Poorneah, the present minister of Mysoor, relates an incident of a *Lingayet* friend of his who had unhappily lost his portable god, and came to take a last farewell. The Indians, like more enlightened nations, readily laugh at the absurdities of every sect but their own, and Poorneah gave him better counsel. It is a part of the ceremonial preceding the sacrifice of the individual, that the principal persons of the sect should assemble on the bank of some holy stream, and placing in a basket the lingum images of the whole assembly, purify them in the sacred waters. The destined victim, in conformity to the advice of his friend, suddenly seized the basket and overturned its contents into the rapid Caveri. Now, my friends, said he, we are on equal terms: let us prepare to die together. The discussion terminated according to expectation. The whole party took an oath of inviolable secrecy, and each privately provided himself with a new image of the lingum.

Mr Ellis considers the Jungum of the upper countries, and the Pandarum of the lower, to be of the same sect, and both to deny in the most unequivocal terms the doctrine of the metempsychosis. A manuscript in the Mackenzie collection ascribes the origin of the Pandarums, as a sacerdotal order of the servile caste, to the religious disputes which terminated in the suppression of the Jain religion in the Pandian or Madura kingdom, and the influence which they attained, to the zeal which they manifested at the beginning of that controversy; but this origin seems to require confirmation. In a large portion, perhaps in the whole, of the principal temples dedicated to Siva in the provinces of Arcot, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Tinnevelly, the *Pandarum* is the high priest of the temple, and has the entire direction of the revenues, but allows the Bramins to officiate in the ceremonial part according to their own good pleasure, as a caste altogether below his notice. He has generally the reputation of an irreproachable life, and is treated by the Bramins of the temple with great reverence, while on his part he looks down with compassion on the absurd trifles which occupy their attention.

These facts seem to point to some [illegible] in which a Lingum government obtained the supremacy [illegible] and adopted the [illegible] mode of [illegible]. It is a curious instance of [illegible], and is worthy of further [illegible]. A dynasty of *B[illegible]* ruled at *Calian*, but the extent of [illegible] area of this dynasty [illegible] from the Mackenzie [illegible].

[illegible]

Jain. For a [illegible] the Asiatic Researches [illegible] the result of several conversations with [illegible] years, whom [illegible] service since that essay was written [illegible] doctrines, with the [illegible] by Pere Dubois, a worthy and intelligent missionary who has lived seventeen years among the Hindoos as one of themselves.

The ancient religion of India, and, as Dhermia supposes, of the whole world, was uniform : namely, the *worship of one God*, a pure spirit, indivisible, without form, or extent, or any corporeal attribute, omniscient, all powerful, possessing infinite wisdom, and *infinite happiness*. Absorbed in the contemplation of his own perfections, he interferes in no respect in the government of the universe, or in terrestrial concerns. Having originally given to all things their appointed order and course of action ; having rendered punishment the inevitable result of vice, and happiness after death the sure reward of virtue ; he leaves mankind to the consequences of their actions, and considers with indifference the complicated effects of good and evil upon earth which necessarily arise from the operation of free will.

After death the virtuous go to *Hoordwaloga* (Paradise), and the wicked to *Ashdaloga* (Hell), for a determined number of years, according to the measure of their actions upon earth ; at the expiration of that period they return again on earth to a new state of existence, determined also by their conduct in the last; and thus to circulate through various transmigrations. But a superior degree of sanctity purifies the soul from the grossness of corporeal contact, and causes it to be re-united for ever with the divine spirit. The twenty-four Teerters, or saints, of this religion have thus been deified, and they are worshipped accordingly, as being intimately and inseparably united with God.

Although the fourfold division of caste prevails among the Jain, and they, like the ordinary Hindoos, have their bramins, we are obliged for want of more convenient terms to discriminate the sects, by calling the doctrine of the latter that of the *bramins*, and the former that of the *Jain*. To the bramins the Jain attribute all the corruptions of the present state of religion; the fabrication of the four vedas ; the eighteen *Pooranas* ; the blasphemous doctrine of the Trimourty, or three gods, and the monstrous fables which relate to it ; the Avatars of Vishnoo ; the obscene worship of the lingum, of cows and snakes, of the sun, the stars, the planets, and the elements ; the sacredness of the waters of the Ganges, and other rivers ; and the whole catalogue of modern superstition. These corruptions, as the Jain affirm, did not take place at once, but have been gradually introduced ; and among them the crime of murder, in the sacrifice of animals, which though less frequent now than at some former times, is still practised in the Egniam.

Even the remnant of the Jain which had survived the repeated persecutions incited by the bramins has not escaped the corruption of the times; and the rites of their religion in the temples formerly most sacred (as those of Canara, Baligola and Mudgherry) are now performed by unqualified persons of the third caste ; whom Dhermia considers as heretics. I have myself conversed with the *Gooroos* of the two former places, mentioned by Major Mackenzie and Doctor Buchanan in the ninth volume of the Asiatic Researches ; and they have acknowledged to me that they are Vaysias. The Jain bramins appear to have been the select objects of persecution ; and in all Mysoor not more than fifty or sixty families now remain. I have heard of none in any other part of the south, and the only temple where the rites of the religion are duly performed is in the small village of Maleyoor, of which Dhermia is one of the officiating priests.

The bramins relate with exultation the *lacs* of Jain who have been destroyed at different periods, in persecutions which appear to have been more sanguinary than any recorded in the western world : and the following brief notice of these persecutions is taken chiefly *from the bramins*, and from documents in the Mackenzie collection. The earliest persecutor of the Jain of whom I have received any distinct account is *Bhutt Acharya*, who lived about or before the commencement of the christian era. This person had become the disciple of a Jain Gooroo* for the express purpose of learning the philosophy of that sect (in which the bramins admit that they excelled), and thus defeating them with their own weapons. He betrayed what he found

* Spiritual preceptor.

exceptionable in their doctrines, and after having excited against them the most active persecution, finally [illegible] [illegible] as an [illegible] for the [illegible] In [illegible] sustaining this [illegible] at *Hurdwar*, where the Ganges enters Hindostan, he was visited by the celebrated *Sancara Acharya*, a native of [illegible] Malabar. In the midst of his sufferings [illegible] disciple, and exhorts him to continue the holy work of [illegible] an injunction which [illegible] every part of India. [illegible] south, to the extent of [illegible] kings, among whom we may enumerate with certainty a very ancient dynasty which ruled at or near [illegible] or colonized by the [illegible] delum, from the name of [illegible] extending [illegible] and the [illegible] Hallabeede, near the western [illegible] of Mysore. In [illegible] or Ramanujacharya, the famous [illegible] flying from the persecution of a king of the [illegible] dynasty [illegible] who exacted [illegible] converted to the [illegible] dynasty, named [illegible] of *Vishnu* [illegible] bramins exulting [illegible] extensive slaughter [illegible] ing them [illegible]

The relative antiquity of [illegible] sent be decided [illegible] were originally the same, and [illegible] tend to have [illegible] the distinction [illegible] expedition of Alexander [illegible] the reason of [illegible] the popular term [illegible] word is a corruption of [illegible] or rather for the holy [illegible] terms which [illegible] Jenna, Jaina [illegible] *Sramanas* [illegible] the [illegible] and the [illegible] *Bra* [illegible] It may [illegible] that [illegible] but [illegible] of the [illegible] *Sarmanes* [illegible] himself at [illegible] on [illegible] distinct [illegible] Zara [illegible] Brachmans [illegible] me, is [illegible] Jain.

The [illegible] in the Mackenzie [illegible] named *Verdhamana* [illegible] the latter becoming jealous of [illegible] studies, sought [illegible] chiefly supported by [illegible] He converted by these means many kings and chiefly extended his religion to the west from whence the Jain

very strangely imagine that) after suffering many subsequent corruptions and changes it returned to India, under the form of the Mohammedan religion. This person commenced the promulgation of his new religion when he was thirty-three years of age : the area of his contemporary *Verdamana*, the last of the Teartas (but whether his birth, death, or sanctification I do not find in my notes) is the conclusion of the fourth age, according to the chronology of the Jain ; of the fifth 2466 had elapsed in 1807, which places its commencement in 659 B.C. ; a period sufficiently near to the supposed area of Zoroaster to render the coincidence very remarkable. In a curious but mutilated manuscript history of Persia formerly in the possession of Colonel Close, but now I fear irrevocably lost, I recollect the narrative of a war between Iran and Turan in consequence of the king of the former having embraced the *new religion* of *Zerdusht*, which the king of Turan in a letter full of reproach terms the *foolish doctrines of a stranger*.

If the other circumstances of coincidence should appear to be satisfactory, the difference of name will be found to furnish no objection. Zerdusht or Zeradusht, the person whom we name Zoroaster, probably assumed that fanciful title (signifying the *leader* of a flock of those descriptions of birds which observe a regular order of flight) when he became the founder of a sect.

Whatever in other respects may be the state of science in the ancient books of the Jain ; Dhermia is a proficient in logic, and a very acute metaphysician. This intelligent and venerable old man is preparing a history of the sect, which may probably throw some faint lights on ancient history ; but I fear that the lapse from the only true religion, with which the bramins are so rudely charged, may be retorted in many instances on the minor doctrines of the Jain themselves.

The Jain are very commonly confounded with the worshippers of Bhoud by the bramins and Hindoos of every caste. But it is only necessary to state that the Jain have, and the Bhoudists have not, a distinction of castes, to prove that the two religions must have been at all times irreconcilable. The Jain assume to themselves the merit of having expelled the worshippers of Bhoud from the southern peninsula at the conclusion of a violent religious war. We have already adverted to a dynasty of Jain kings which ruled at Conjeveram at a very early period ; and Colonel Mackenzie has also found at the same place many incontestable remains of a Bhoudist establishment, but no authority for determining the date of their alleged expulsion.

No. VI

List of the Purgunnahs that appear to have been in the possession of Chick Deo Raj of Mysoor, at the time of his death in 1704.

No.	MYSOOR	Revenue
		Canty Pagodas
1	Puttun Astagram	10,000
2	Mysoor Astagram	11,500
3	Mysoor Tallook	14,000
4	Hardanhully	[illegible]
5	Periapatam	[illegible]
6	Muddoor	13,200
7	Heggadavancotta	8,000
8	Bettadapoor	7,000
9	Tayoor	8,000
10	Yeliandoor	10,000
11	Mallavelly	[illegible]
12	Talcad or Sosilla	8,100
13	Narsipoor	10,200
14	Yedtora	7,250
15	Batloor	15,700
16	Arcullgode	[illegible]
17	Chinnapatam	12,100
18	Hassun	[illegible]
19	Honawully	[illegible]
20	Nagamunglum	4,700
21	Bedore	3,100
22	Maharajdroog	10,000
23	Gram	3,500
24	Ramgherry	7,400
25	Turkmamby	[illegible]
26	Cuddaba	12,000
27	Tooryykeira	9,000
28	Coonygul	[illegible]
29	[illegible]	[illegible]
30	[illegible]	[illegible]
31	[illegible]	[illegible]
32	[illegible]	[illegible]
33	[illegible]	[illegible]
34	[illegible]	
35	[illegible]	[illegible]
36	[illegible]	
37	[illegible]	[illegible]
38	[illegible]	
39	[illegible]	[illegible]
40	[illegible]	[illegible]
41	[illegible]	[illegible]
42	[illegible]	[illegible]
43	[illegible]	[illegible]
44	[illegible]	[illegible]
45	[illegible]	[illegible]
46	[illegible]	
47	[illegible]	
48	[illegible]	[illegible]
49	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]

No.	MYSOOR.	Revenue.	
		Canty. Pagodas.	
	Brought up	453,011	
50	Hebboor	7,000	
51	Ootradroog	5,000	
52	Chenroydroog	8,000	
53	Toomkoor ⎫	18,000	
54	Deoroydroog ⎭		
55	Nidjigull ⎫	16,000	
56	Maklydroog ⎭		
57	Candykurah ⎫	16,000	
58	Chickanaighully ⎭		
59	Chicka Moogloor	8,134	4
60	Cuddoor	7,129	7½
61	Burra Ballapoor	44,000	
62	Settigall ⎫		
63	Codahully ⎬	15,200	
64	Allambaddy ⎭		
65	Denkanicotta ⎫	14,000	
66	Ruttingerry ⎭		
67	Ossoor	18,096	
68	Ankusgeery ⎫	4,000	
69	Solageery ⎭		
70	Bagloor	3,000	
	BARRAMHAL.		
1	Barramhal	64,000	
2	Caveriputtun	10,000	
3	Verabuddrdroog	8,000	
4	Raycottah	8,000	
5	Kangoondy	6,000	
6	Darampoory	8,000	
7	Pennagra	10,000	
8	Tingrycotta	12,000	
9	Caverypoor	8,000	
10	Ahtoor Anuntgeery	18,000	
11	Purmutty	14,000	
12	Shendamungul	20,000	
13	Womloor	16,000	
14	Sankergeery	40,000	
15	Namcall	16,000	
16	Koosh	8,000	
17	Salem	24,000	
	COIMBATORE.		
1	Coimbatore	80,000	
2	Danaikencotta	35,000	
3	Cheoor or Sheoor	27,000	
4	Chingeery	27,000	
5	Darapooram and Chuckergeery	64,000	
6	Cangium	20,000	
7	Sattimunglum	30,000	
8	Undoor or Andwor	8,000	
9	Perindoora	14,000	
10	Vizimungle or Arravacourchy	20,000	
11	Erode	20,000	
12	Caroor	41,000	
13	Oodgully	15,000	
14	Caverypooram	4,000	
	Total. ...	1,331,571	1½

No. VII

Curious facts illustrative of the characters of Hyder and Tippoo, referred to [illegible] note in page 382.

It was previously to this campaign, that Hyder exacted from his son the following strange compact, which was found among the archives at Seringapatam, and a *fac simile* of the original, together with a translation, is published by Major-General Kirkpatrick in his curious and interesting selection of Tippoo's letters.

"*Agreement*

"1st. I will not do any one thing without the pleasure of your blessed Majesty, Lord of Benefits (or my bountiful Lord). If I do, let me be punished, in whatever manner may seem fitting to your auspicious mind. [illegible]

"2nd. If in the affairs of the *Sircar*, I should commit theft [illegible] of fraud great or small, let me, as the due punishment thereof [illegible] —One article.

"3d. If I be guilty of prevarication, or misrepresentation [illegible] the due punishment thereof is this same stipulation. One [illegible]

"4th. Without the orders of the Presence, I will not [illegible] one, *No* [illegible], &c., neither will I take things from any one [illegible] forcibly. If I do, let my nose be cut off, and let me [illegible] city. One article.

"5th. If, excepting on the affairs of the *Sircar*, I [illegible] sation probably [illegible], with any person [illegible] &c., let me [illegible]

"6th. W[illegible] *Sircar*, and [illegible] committed, I [illegible] confidential [illegible] appointed for the purpose by the *Sircar* and if I [illegible] other channel than [illegible] One [illegible]

"7th. If there should be any occasion for correspondence [illegible] to buy or give away anything, or any letters should arrive from [illegible] I will do nothing [illegible] at the [illegible] person appointed by the *Sircar*. One article.

"8th. I have written [illegible] will keeping the contents [illegible] each article accordingly. If I [illegible] manner, let me be punished [illegible]

It [illegible] one [illegible] as the [illegible] have had access to know [illegible] parties, strange [illegible] authenticity.

Hyder, [illegible] that his [illegible] deceitful, [illegible] also at this period, [illegible] his [illegible]

* Orig[illegible] certain. It may [illegible] Kirkpatrick.

† Literally [illegible] [illegible]

bulls of the Hindoo temples, (the Indian apis,) wounding them, and sometimes destroying them with his lance, (indeed after his own accession he made no scruple of recommending this divine animal to his associates as the best beef). Hyder was shocked at these wanton and unprofitable outrages, on the feeelings of the great mass of his subjects. 2d. An English soldier who had been made a prisoner during Colonel Smith's war, had remained in Mysoor, on the liberation of his associates. Tippoo one day took the opportunity of having him suddenly seized, and causing the outward and visible sign of Islam to be inflicted in his presence. Hyder was at the time particularly anxious to conciliate the English; he abused his son in the grossest terms, put him in solitary confinement, and when released, forbade his courtiers to speak with him; an interdiction which was frequently repeated, as the consequence of subsequent offences. On this occasion, as on many others, he predicted that this worthless successor, would lose the empire which he had created; he observed, that in order to indulge a silly prejudice, he had insulted and injured the soldier, in a manner which could answer no one rational purpose, and might one day bring the vengeance of the English nation on his house. On the subject of the second article of the compact, it may be necessary to explain, that Tippoo never returned from a detachment, without attempting secret embezzlement of the plunder. Hyder on such occasions would lose all patience, and in plain terms call him a thief, and a blockhead; observing that he had not the common sense to perceive that he was stealing from himself: for unhappily, said he, you will be my successor; would that I had begotten *Ayaz* instead of you, (of this Ayaz we have already spoken.)

Persian seals are usually marked with the date on which they were engraved; the seal to this instrument, inscribed *Tippoo Sultaun* appears to have been engraved in 1769, and as General Kirkpatrick observes, the circumstance proves, that the title *Sultaun* was not assumed on his succession, as had been supposed, and had become an object of serious diplomatic discussion, (see the journal of the late Sir C. Ware Mallet in Kirkpatrick's Tippoo's Letters,) but had probably been given at his birth. The observation is perfectly correct, and this may be a proper opportunity for explaining the history of the name.

Hyder, from personal communication, and established character, had a particular veneration for the celebrated abstracted devotee, *Tippoo Sultaun* of Arcot, (not Colar as stated by Sir C. Mallet,) whose superb mausoleum at that place, embellished* by the contributions of pious Mohammedans, continues to be a favorite resort of the devout, from every part of the south of India; and being in Coromandel at the period of the birth of his eldest son, named him after the holy father, who, like most *soofi*, (pure or abstracted saints,) assumed the royal designation, *Shah* or *Sultaun*, the conqueror of his passions, the spiritual lord, the king of the affairs of another world, as the temporal monarch is of this. I do not find among my notes, any temporal history of this spiritual lord. It is probable that he was from the upper country, from the name *Tippoo*, which in the Canarese language signifies *tiger*, and he probably assumed that designation, from the *tiger* being the monarch of the woods, both members of the name thus indicating this ideal sovereignty. This also is the ground of the Sultaun having adopted the stripe of the royal tiger as a part of his insignia. In some extracts from the Dabistan, lately communicated to me by Mr. Jonathan Scott, the learned translator of Ferishta's history of the Deckan, the author states that *Shah*, (the more usual adjunct of these saints,) in its primitive meaning, signifies *pure*. The orthography of the royal adjunct in the *Dabistan*, and in all works that I have examined, is the same; I am far from desiring to discredit the authority of the Dabistan, but if this were the primitive meaning of the

* The Nabob Tippoo Sultaun, in the year 1786, applied for permission to repair and embellish, at his own expense, the mausoleum of the saint, whose name he bore, but the permission was refused by Mohammed Ali.

word, it has certainly long been disused, and I believe that it cannot be produced in the sense of *pure* in any Persian author, from the date of the Dabistan until the present day, and that it is universally applied by the religious, and by all others, in the sense which I have endeavoured to explain. If this received sense of the word *Shah* were doubtful, it would be confirmed by the adoption of the Arabic synonyme *Sultaun*, from a root which signifies *prevalence, power, authority.*

No. VIII.

(Referred to from page 440.)

Extracts from some Letters written by the late Reverend Mr. Swartz, to one of His Majesty's Chaplains, and another Friend in 1779 and 1780.

In the year 1773, the Nabob found means to usurp the Tanjore country, which he ruined by inhuman exactions. After two years and an half, Lord Pigot arrived and reinstated the King.* Now the Nabob left no means untried, and exhausted all his provinces, for to regain possession of Tanjore. His troops, consisting, besides the infantry, of seven fine regiments of cavalry, who were in a high state of discipline, receiving no pay, and some revolting through bitter hunger, were for the greatest part disbanded, and went away with grief, and some even with tears. Hydernaick received these people with joy. The troops of Tanjore, already short after the Nabob's usurpation, had almost to a man entered into Hyder's service. Thus were the hands of this tyrant strengthened against our Government. Lord Pigot sought to reclaim the Nabob, for he clearly foresaw whereabouts it would end; but he was soon rendered incapable to act. Probably his intentions were laudable, but he began not with God.

We had lost our church in Tanjore, after that fort had fallen into the hands of the Nabob. He amused us with empty promises. But when we were quite at a loss where to assemble for Divine Service, my pious friend, Major Stevens, built us a fine mud wall church at his own expense, which cost him upwards of an hundred Star Pagodas. But the congregation increasing rapidly, and a fresh covering with straw being requisite from time to time, we began in January 1779, to think of building a spacious and permanent church. A subscription was set on foot, but the amount was shamefully insignificant. At Madras, about 10,000 Pagodas were cheerfully contributed towards erecting a *playhouse.* But to build a *prayhouse,* people have no money. Major Stevens, who could have effectually promoted the subscription, and superintended the building, and who intended to return to Europe, and make a faithful representation of what might promote the true interest of the Honorable Company, and the welfare of this country, chiefly of youth, was killed on the 13th of October 1778; before Pondicherry. General Munro, who knew, as well as everybody, that Major Stevens and I lived together as brethren, condoled me in the kindest manner, saying, you will not so soon get a Stevens again; however, I request you'll consider me as your friend. Although we are bid not to place our reliance upon man, and although their promises are seldom anything more than compliments; yet I praise the Lord, who never he makes any one's heart willing to farther the work of God, even in the smallest degree. At a visit which General Munro and I paid the Raja, the General observed, that Christianity is far to be preferred to Paganism. I am convinced, said the Raja, that the Christian religion is an hundred thousand times better than idolatry; but the conduct of the Europeans makes a bad impression on his mind.

In full reliance on the help of God, I set about the building of the church

* Meaning the Raja of Tanjore.

in the little fort, which was to be 90 feet long, and 50 feet wide. On the 10th of March 1779, the General laid the foundation stone, 9 feet deep, and I held a short sermon on Psalm lxvii.

As I had rendered the General some little services, by translating the letter which the Court of Directors had wrote to the King,* by doing chaplain's duty in camp for a short time, and otherwise; I was informed that he had requested Government to make me a present for my trouble. Instantly when I heard it, I wrote to Madras, declining any present for myself; but if they would do me a favor, I requested that they would make a present of bricks and lime, of which the Company had here a quantity in store, towards the building of this church, as we had not even money enough to pay the laborers, much less to purchase materials. The General, who went to Madras, promised to support and promote this my request. It lasted a good while, ere I heard anything. At last, in May, the General wrote me word to come up instantly to Madras, because the Governor, Sir Thomas Rumbold, had something of importance to communicate unto me. I go, and behold to my astonishment I am desired to make a journey to Seringapatam, and to assure Hyder Naik, that our Government had no other but thoughts of peace. Sir Thomas addressed me nearly as follows:—It seems that Hyder Ali Cawn meditates upon war; he has in some letters expressed his displeasure, and even speaks in a menacing tone. We wish to discover his sentiments in this weighty affair with certainty, and think you are the fittest person for this purpose. You'll oblige us if you will make a journey thither, sound Hyder Ali, and assure him that we harbour peaceable thoughts. The reason why we have pitched upon you, is, because you understand the Hindoostanee, consequently need no translator in your conferences. We are convinced that you'll act disinterestedly, and won't allow any one to bribe you. In particular, you can travel privately through the country, without external pomp and parade, and thus the whole journey will remain a secret (which is of great importance to us) until you shall speak with Hyder Naik himself. You will have nothing else to do, than to refer Hyder to his own letters, and to answer some dubious circumstances; and if you perceive him to be peaceably disposed, inform him that some principal members of council will come to him for to settle the business finally. As the intention of the journey is good and Christian, namely, to prevent the effusion of human blood, and to preserve this country in peace, this commission militates not against, but highly becomes your sacred office; and therefore we hope you will accept it.

I requested time to consider of the proposal, prayed that God would give me wisdom, and thought it my duty not to decline it. The grounds which determined me, were:

1st. Because the mission to Hyder was not attended with any political intrigues. To preserve the blessings of peace was the only aim I had in view, and at that time I really believed Sir Thomas's intentions to be upright and peaceable. I considered, that if God, according to the riches of his mercy, would vouchsafe to employ poor me, as an instrument to establish the happiness of British India; I durst not withdraw myself, nor shrink back on account of the danger of the undertaking, whereof I was fully aware, but I ventured upon it in firm reliance upon God and his fatherly protection.

2nd. Because this would enable me to announce the gospel of God my Saviour in many parts, where it had never been known before. And

3rd. As the Honorable Company and the Government had shown me repeated kindness, I conceived that by this journey I might give them some marks of my gratitude.

But at the same time I resolved to keep my hands undefiled from any presents, by which determination the Lord enabled me to abide; so that I have not accepted a single farthing of presents, save my travelling expenses.

These were given me, and I went over to Tanjore, where I left directions with the native teachers, how they were to act during my absence, to Trichi-

* The Raja.

[illegible] I preached to the Europeans and natives in the absence of Rev Mr [illegible], who was on a tour to Palamcottah, from which he returned the [illegible] of July

On the [illegible] of July 1779, I set out from Trichinopoly On the 6th, in the [illegible], I reached Caroor, Hyder's frontier garrison, about forty miles to the [illegible] of Trichinopoly: here I tarried a whole month in expectation of Hyder's answer to my letter. However I had always enough to do, going out daily among the heathens with the catechist now country priest Sattianadhen, [illegible] the whole counsel of God concerning our salvation I constantly instructed, and at the end of the month baptized some servants of [illegible], a German officer of Hyder's, and kept Divine Service and daily prayers with him and his household

On the 6th of August we left Caroor, and proceeded on our journey On the 22d, being Sunday, we made a halt, according to my custom, at Madenemalle [illegible] town, where there is a strong [illegible]* of twenty-three very substantial [illegible] After each [illegible] the magistrates of the place must send people to [illegible] any earth that may have been washed away Hyder's economical [illegible] is to repair all damages without losing an instant whereby all is kept in good condition and with little expense. The Europeans in the Carnatic [illegible] everything to go to ruins

N B It was to be remembered, that this was not written in our days, but near thirty years ago (Missionary Compiler

On the [illegible] we arrived near the fort of Mysore [illegible] mountain, with a Pagoda on its summit, was [illegible] The [illegible] of that mountain [illegible] was highly [illegible] with [illegible] But Hyder [illegible] Here also I observed, that wherever [illegible] earth has been washed away [illegible]

On the [illegible] of August we arrived at Seringapatam [illegible] a tent on the [illegible] liberty [illegible]

Hyder [illegible] in the Indian style [illegible]

[illegible]

* [illegible]

* [illegible]

But although the punishments are so dreadful, yet there are people enough who seek such employments, and out-bid each other. The bramins are by far the worst in this traffic. When they have obtained a district, they flay the people with unrelenting and inhuman cruelty, and with the most philosophical *sang froid*. At last they pretend to be poor, receive Hyder's chastisement, and return into their district.

When I came to Hyder, he desired me to sit down alongside of him. The floor was covered with the most exquisite tapestry. He received me very politely, listened friendly, and with seeming pleasure to all what I had to say; he spoke very openly and without reserve, and said, that the Europeans had broken their solemn engagements and promises, but that nevertheless, he was willing to live in peace with them, *provided****. At last he directed a letter to be wrote, had it read unto me, and said, what I have spoken with you, that I have shortly mentioned in the letter. You will explain the whole more at length. (But the Nabob at Madras and others, found means to frustrate all hopes of peace.)

When I sat near Hyder Naik, I particularly observed in what a regular succession, and with what rapid despatch his affairs proceeded one after the other. Whenever he made a pause in speaking, an account was read to him of the district, and letters received. He heard it, and ordered the answer immediately. The writers ran, wrote the letter, read it, and Hyder apposed his seal. Thus, in one evening, a great many letters were expedited. Hyder can neither read nor write, but his memory is excellent. He orders one man to write a letter and read it to him; then he calls another to read it again. If the writer has in the least deviated from his orders, his head pays for it.

What religion people profess, or whether they profess any at all, that is perfectly indifferent to him. He has none himself, and leaves every one to his choice.

His army is under the care of four chief officers, called Buchshee, (from the Persian word Buchsheeden, to give.) One might call them Paymasters. But they have to do, not only with the pay, but also with the recruiting services and other things which belong to an army. They are also judges who settle differences. With these men I had frequent discourses. Some spoke Persian, others only Hindoostanee; but all were Mohammedans. They asked me what the right prayer was, and to whom we ought to pray. I declared unto them, how we, being sinful men, and therefore deserving God's curse and eternal death, could not come before God but in the name of our Mediator Jesus Christ; and I explained unto them also the Lord's Prayer. To persons who understood Tamul, I explained the doctrines of Christ in Tamul; to the others, in the Hindoostanee language.

As the ministers of Hyder's court are mostly bramins, I had many conversations with them. Some answered with modesty; others did not choose to talk on so indefensible a subject, and only meant, that their noble Pagodas were not built in vain. I said, the edifices may indeed serve for some use, but not the idols which ye adore.

Without the fort were some hundred Europeans, commanded by a Frenchman, and a squadron of hussars under the command of Captain Budene, a German. Part of those troops were Germans, others Frenchmen. I found also some Malabar Christians. Every Sunday I performed Divine Service in German and Malabar, without asking anybody's leave, but I did it, being bound in conscience to do my duty. We sang, preached, prayed, and nobody presumed to hinder us.

In Hyder Naik's palace, high and low came to me, and asked what our doctrine was, so that I could speak as long as I had strength. Hyder's youngest son (not Tippoo) saw and saluted me in the durbar or hall of audience. He sent to request me to come into his apartment, I sent him word that I would gladly come, if his father permitted it, without his father's leave I might hurt both him and myself. Of this he was perfectly sensible. The most intimate friends dare not speak their sentiments freely: Hyder has

his spies everywhere. But I knew that I might speak of religion night and day, without giving him the least offence.

I sat often with Hyder in an hall that is open on the garden side. In the garden the trees were grafted and bear two sorts of fruit. He had also fine cypress trees, fountains, &c.

I observed a number of young boys, bringing some earth into the garden. On enquiry I was informed, that Hyder had raised a battalion of orphans, who have nobody else to provide for them, and whom he educates at his own expense: for he allows no orphan to be neglected in all his dominions. He feeds and clothes them, and gives little wooden firelocks, with which they exercise. His care for orphans* gave me great pleasure. Oh, how much were it to be wished, that we might follow this example, and improve upon it, particularly as to religious instruction, so as it becometh Britons, and as God shall certainly require it at our hands, which he hath therefore armed with power, that we should use it chiefly for his service and glory, and not merely for our own.

On the last evening, when I took my leave from Hyder, he requested me to speak Persian before him, as I had done with his people (he understood Persian,† but he does not speak it). I did so; and explained the motives of my journey to him:—"You may perhaps wonder," said I, "what could have induced me, a priest, who has nothing to do with political concerns, to come to you, and that on an errand, which does not properly belong to my sacerdotal functions. But, as I was plainly told, that the sole object of my journey was the preservation and confirmation of peace; and having witnessed, more than once, the misery and horrors attending on war; I thought within my own mind, how happy I should deem myself, if I could be of service in cementing a durable friendship between the two Governments; and thus securing the blessings of peace to this devoted country and its inhabitants. This, I considered as a commission in no wise derogatory to the office of a minister of God, who is a God of Peace." He said, with great cordiality—"Very well! very well! I am of the same opinion with you; and wish that the English may be as studious of peace as you are. If they offer me the hand of peace and concord, I shall not withdraw mine."

"I took my leave of him. He had sent three hundred Rupees into my palankeen, to defray my travelling expenses."

(Remark of the Compiler. From another account, which I cannot now find, I recollect, that when the Rev. Mr. S. would have declined the present, he was told by Hyder's people, it would endanger their life, if they dared to take it back. Mr. Schwartz wished then to return it in person; but he was told by one of the ministers, that it was contrary to etiquette to re-admit him into Hyder's presence, since he had his audience of leave, or to receive his written representation on the subject. That Hyder, knowing a great present would offend Mr. S. had purposely confined it only to the lowest amount of travelling expenses, &c., Rev. Mr. S. produced the money to Government at Madras, but was desired to keep it.

"Of my return, and the several discourses I have held with Roman Catholics, Mohammedans and Heathens, I have no time now to mention anything more. God preserved me on the dangerous journey, gave me abundant opportunities to announce his word, and directed all circumstances so as it was most expedient for me. Praised be his gracious name."

This journey was likewise an occasion, that both the English and the

* This strange misapprehension is a singular example of the good father's credulity. The persons whose situation excited these [illegible] of his humanity were the chelas, captive slaves described in Vol. I. p. 40[illegible], to which the reader is particularly requested to refer.

† This misconception is easily accounted for: the words for peace, war, friendship, two Governments and several others are the same in Persian and [illegible] Hindoostanee, and enabled Hyder to comprehend the general scope of the father's Persian speech and to make an appropriate answer.

Tamulian Church could be finished, which might otherwise hardly have been the case.

On my return, Government resolved instantly that I should not only have the desired bricks and lime, but also that the Reverend Mr. Pohle, at Trichinopoly, as well as I, now here at Tanjore, should henceforth receive from the Honorable Company each an hundred Pounds Sterling, as chaplains to the English garrison.

Of those 100*l.* which I receive, I have given half to Mr. Kholhoff; with the other half, I maintain the native teachers. Rev. Mr. Pohle makes the same use of his 100*l.* for the benefit of the congregations and schools. But should he be obliged to take also a few Pagodas of it for his own use, nobody will I suppose find fault with him for so doing.

The Church in the little fort, or Siwingicotah, is 90 feet long, and 50 feet wide. In the beginning of 1780 it was consecrated and called Christ's Church.